Tides of violence:

mapping the Sri Lankan conflict from 1983 to 2009
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ................................................................. 09

Background to CMAP ........................................................................ 09
Report overview ................................................................................ 09
Key violation patterns in each time period ........................................ 09
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990 ............................................................... 10
10 June 1990 – 18 April 1995 ........................................................... 11
19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002 ...................................................... 12
2 February 2002 – 20 July 2006 ......................................................... 13
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009 ............................................................... 14
Conclusion ......................................................................................... 16

ACRONYMS ....................................................................................... 17

INTRODUCTION ................................................................................ 18

Transitional justice and Sri Lanka ...................................................... 18
Conflict mapping and CMAP ............................................................ 18
From database to report .................................................................. 19
Sources included: database and report ............................................ 19
Incidents included: database ............................................................. 20
Incidents included: from database to report .................................... 21
Single source violations: report ...................................................... 22
Categories of violations included: from database to report ............. 22
Time period ....................................................................................... 23
Report structure .............................................................................. 23
Report style ..................................................................................... 23
Acknowledgements ......................................................................... 24
Background to the conflict ............................................................... 24

24 JULY 1983 – 28 JULY 1987 ........................................................ 26

Period Overview ............................................................................... 26
Western Province ............................................................................. 28
Black July riots ................................................................................ 28
Welikada Prison massacres ............................................................. 28
Vehicle bombs and other IEDs ......................................................... 28
Eastern Province ............................................................................. 30
Village raids and other group attacks ............................................. 30
Killings .............................................................................................. 32
Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs ...................................... 32
Northern Province .................................................................................................................................................. 33
Village raids and other group attacks .................................................................................................................. 33
Killings ................................................................................................................................................................. 34
Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs ............................................................................................................ 34
Suicide attack ...................................................................................................................................................... 35
Aerial attacks and shelling .................................................................................................................................. 35

North Central Province ......................................................................................................................................... 36
Village raids and other group attacks .................................................................................................................. 36

29 JULY 1987 – 9 JUNE 1990 .................................................................................................................................. 37

Period Overview .................................................................................................................................................... 37
Northern Province .................................................................................................................................................. 39
Aerial attacks and civilians killed in crossfire ........................................................................................................ 39
Killings and abductions leading to torture, disappearance or death ...................................................................... 40
Landmine, vehicle bomb, grenade and other IEDs ............................................................................................. 41
Village raids .......................................................................................................................................................... 42

Eastern Province .................................................................................................................................................. 43
Village raids ............................................................................................................................................................ 43
Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups ........................................................................................ 44
Disappearances ..................................................................................................................................................... 46
Attacks on vehicles .............................................................................................................................................. 46
Landmines, bombs and other IEDs (non-vehicle related) .................................................................................... 47

North Central Province ......................................................................................................................................... 48
Village raids and other group attacks .................................................................................................................. 48
Attacks on vehicles .............................................................................................................................................. 49
Attacks on politicians .......................................................................................................................................... 49

Central Province .................................................................................................................................................. 50
Attacks and killings .............................................................................................................................................. 50
Bodies dumped .................................................................................................................................................... 51
IED attack ............................................................................................................................................................. 51

North Western Province ....................................................................................................................................... 53
Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters .......................................................... 53
Attacks on vehicles .............................................................................................................................................. 54

Southern Province ................................................................................................................................................ 55
Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters .......................................................... 55
Arrest or abduction leading to disappearance or death .......................................................................................... 57
Bodies dumped .................................................................................................................................................... 58
Grenades, IEDs and small arms attacks ................................................................................................................ 58
Western Province ................................................................. 59
Killings .................................................................................. 59
Attacks on journalists and the media ........................................ 61
Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death ...... 61
Bodies dumped ....................................................................... 62
Attacks on electoral gatherings and voter intimidation ............... 63
Grenades, vehicle bombs, and other IEDs ................................. 63
Attacks on vehicles .................................................................. 64
Prison attack ........................................................................... 64

Uva Province ........................................................................... 65
Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters .... 65
Grenades and other IEDs .......................................................... 66

Sabaragamuwa Province ......................................................... 67
Disappearances ..................................................................... 67

10 JUNE 1990 – 18 APRIL 1995 ............................................... 68

Period Overview ....................................................................... 68

Eastern Province ...................................................................... 69
Killings and abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death .......... 69
Village raids and other group attacks ........................................ 73
Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs .................................. 74
Attacks on vehicles and boats .................................................. 75
Chemical weapons .................................................................... 76

Northern Province .................................................................... 77
Shelling, landmines and suicide attacks ...................................... 77
Attacks on boats ....................................................................... 79
Village raids and other group attacks ........................................ 79
Killings and abductions leading to torture or disappearance ........... 80
Human shields .......................................................................... 80

Western Province ..................................................................... 81
Killings and abductions leading to torture, disappearance or death ...... 81
Suicide attacks and IEDs ........................................................... 82

North Central Province .......................................................... 84
Village raids and other group attacks ........................................ 84
Abductions and killings ............................................................ 85
Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs .................................. 85

Other Provinces ....................................................................... 86
19 APRIL 1995 – 1 FEBRUARY 2002 ................................................................. 87

Period Overview .......................................................................................... 87

Eastern Province ......................................................................................... 89
Aerial attacks, shelling and civilians killed in crossfire .................................. 89
Killings .......................................................................................................... 90
Arrest or abduction leading to torture, sexual and gender-based violence, disappearance or death ...................................................... 94
Attacks on vehicles, grenades, landmines and other IEDs .............................. 97
Child abduction and recruitment ................................................................ 98

Northern Province ...................................................................................... 100
Aerial attacks, shelling and civilians killed in crossfire .................................. 100
Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups ................................ 102
Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death .................... 105
Sexual and gender-based violence .............................................................. 108
Attacks on vehicles, grenades, landmines, suicide bombings and other IEDs ................................................................. 110
Child abduction and recruitment ................................................................ 112

Western Province ....................................................................................... 113
Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence or death ....................................................... 113
Attacks on journalists ................................................................................ 114
Attacks on politicians, candidates, activists and protestors ......................... 114
Vehicle bombs and other IEDs .................................................................. 115
Suicide attacks ........................................................................................... 116

North Central Province .............................................................................. 117
Village raids ................................................................................................ 117
Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups ................................ 117
Attacks on vehicles .................................................................................... 118
Arrest or abduction leading to detention, torture, disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence or death ....................................... 118
Attacks on religious figures or establishments ........................................... 119
Electoral violence ....................................................................................... 119

North Western Province ............................................................................ 120
Attacks on politicians, candidates and political offices ............................... 120
Vehicle attacks and other IEDs .................................................................. 120

Central Province ........................................................................................ 121
Electoral violence ....................................................................................... 121
Attacks on vehicles .................................................................................... 121

Sabaragamuwa Province .......................................................................... 122

Uva Province .............................................................................................. 123
Village raids ................................................................................................ 123
Attacks on public transport ....................................................................... 123
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period Overview</th>
<th>22 FEBRUARY 2002 – 20 JULY 2006</th>
<th>124</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>Child abduction and recruitment</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks on Muslim people</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public violence, IEDs and grenade attacks</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shelling</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>Killings and disappearances (factional)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Killings and disappearances</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Child abduction and recruitment</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village raids and other group attacks</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks on media and NGO personnel and offices</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landmines, grenades and other IEDs</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human shields</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Province</td>
<td>Killings and disappearances (factional)</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Killings and disappearances</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mass arrests, detention and torture in custody</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks on the media</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central Province</td>
<td>Attacks on Muslim people</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fractional fighting</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mass abductions</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks on villages and village guards</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landmines</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Provinces</td>
<td></td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 JULY 2006 – 19 MAY 2009</td>
<td>Period Overview</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>Aerial and shelling attacks</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks on fleeing civilians</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landmines, grenades, suicide attacks and other IEDs</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disappearances</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Child abduction and recruitment</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual and gender-based violence</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Western Province ........................................................................................................................................... 170
Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups ................................................................. 170
Landmines, suicide attacks and other IEDs ................................................................................. 174
Disappearances .............................................................................................................................. 175
Mass arrests, torture and sexual and gender-based violence in custody ........................................ 177

Northern Province: 20 July 2006 – 1 January 2009 (excluding final stages) ...................... 180
Killings ................................................................................................................................................ 180
Disappearances ............................................................................................................................... 183
Killings and disappearances during cordon-and-search operations ............................................... 184
Detention, torture and sexual and gender-based violence .......................................................... 184
Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups ............................................................... 185
Landmines ................................................. 189
Vehicle bombs, grenades and other IEDs .................................................................................. 190
Suicide bombings .......................................................................................................................... 190
Attacks by armed groups ............................................................................................................... 191
Shelling ........................................................................................................................................ 191
Restricted movement and denial of humanitarian assistance ................................................... 193
Child abduction and recruitment .................................................................................................. 193
Human shields ............................................................................................................................... 194

Northern Province: final stages .................................................................................................. 195
Shelling and use of human shields ............................................................................................... 195
Restricted movement .................................................................................................................... 202
Denial of humanitarian assistance .............................................................................................. 202
Killings and disappearances ......................................................................................................... 203
Child abduction and recruitment .................................................................................................. 205

North Central Province .............................................................................................................. 206
Landmines, vehicle bombs, suicide attacks and other IEDs ..................................................... 206
Killings ........................................................................................................................................ 207
Abduction and disappearance ....................................................................................................... 207
Sexual and gender-based violence ............................................................................................... 207

North Western Province .......................................................................................................... 208
Central Province .......................................................................................................................... 209
Uva Province .................................................................................................................................. 210
Southern Province ...................................................................................................................... 211
Vehicle bombs, suicide attacks and other IEDs ........................................................................ 211

CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................. 213

GLOSSARY OF GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT OR MENTIONED THROUGHOUT THE REPORT .......................... 214
Executive Summary

The Conflict Mapping and Archive Project (CMAP) was established to create a conflict map of the Sri Lankan civil war in support of the transitional justice process. CMAP collects and analyses publicly available documents on incidents during the war that may constitute violations of human rights or international humanitarian law (IHL).

The CMAP report provides a systematic overview of these incidents, covering the period from 24 July 1983 to 19 May 2009. It details patterns of violence across place and time, and provides a basic overview of the context in which this violence occurred.

The report does not seek to make findings or produce new content. Rather, it collates and presents publicly available information in a centralised, easily accessible manner, providing a structured and comprehensive overview of existing information. This report does not replace in-depth investigation into the incidents uncovered, but is an essential preliminary step for the investigation required by transitional justice mechanisms in Sri Lanka.

Background to CMAP

In January 2017, the Public Interest Advocacy Centre (PIAC), an independent legal centre based in Sydney, Australia, established CMAP. The aim of CMAP is to conduct a detailed review of information from publicly available documents on the Sri Lankan civil war. So far, the CMAP team has covered documents published by over 60 sources, including international newswires, international and local non-government organisations (NGOs), local media, government offices, multilateral organisations and commissions of inquiry.

Using this publicly available information, CMAP created a database to record reported incidents from the 24 July 1983 ‘Black July’ riots, which are generally considered to mark the outbreak of civil war, to 19 May 2009, when the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) declared victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). While CMAP looks predominantly at the conflict between the GoSL and the LTTE, it also includes incidents concerning various factional groups that were involved in conflict, as well as incidents that occurred during the second uprising of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

Each incident describes a discrete event, such as a targeted killing or a grenade attack. As CMAP does not seek to make legal findings, incidents were generally categorised according to a descriptive understanding of the event, rather than legal terminology.

Time and resource constraints influenced which sources we could include in both the report and the database. We have endeavoured to include as many and as diverse sources as possible, but are aware that some have inevitably been left out.

Report overview

This report distils information contained in the CMAP database to provide a systematic overview of incident patterns reported throughout the conflict. It does not reproduce the full content of the database, which contains over 4,000 incidents. Rather, it presents samples of incidents that provide insight into the scale of conflict and dominant patterns of violence. Further detail of CMAP’s methodology is contained in the main report.

The report is structured according to six time periods, which include the different phases of conflict and main intervening ceasefires. Each time period is divided into provinces (the highest administrative region in Sri Lanka), and each province subsection is divided into incident categories. The incident categories are not fixed, varying according to the nature of incidents reported.

The report serves as a reminder of the extent, range and widespread impact of the conflict on Sri Lankan society. It reinforces the ongoing need for a meaningful transitional justice process to address the instability, violence and suffering caused by the war, and serves as an example of the tangible support civil society can provide to this process.

Key violation patterns in each time period

The following section provides an overview of the dominant incident patterns in each conflict period. These patterns describe incidents that occurred frequently and/or affected large numbers of civilians over time. The full report provides examples of incidents that illustrate these patterns. Less common incident patterns that affected fewer civilians are also included in the full report.

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1 We acknowledge that many incidents were also reported outside this time period; however, due to time and resource constraints, we were unable to address these in detail.

On 23 July 1983, the LTTE conducted its first large-scale attack, ambushing and killing a group of Sinhalese government security forces (SFs). This incident prompted the 1983 ‘Black July’ riots against Tamil civilians, which are generally considered to mark the outbreak of the Sri Lankan civil war.

Aside from a brief ceasefire in July 1985, this first phase of conflict between the GoSL, LTTE and several other Tamil groups continued until India brokered ceasefire negotiations in June 1987. India was involved throughout this period, reportedly providing funding and training to the LTTE and other Tamil groups.

Conflict in this period was characterised by relatively low-intensity fighting compared with later periods. Notable incident patterns included:

- **Raidson Sinhalese villages:** The LTTE conducted an increasing number of raids on Sinhalese villages from mid-1983 until July 1987, mainly in the Eastern Province. Most of these were reported by the Ministry of Defence (MoD). Many of the raids incurred around 10-30 civilian casualties.

- **Attacks on Tamil civilians:** There were a large number of reported attacks on Tamil civilians in the East, which were generally blamed on SFs and described as reprisals for LTTE assaults on SFs. There were also frequent raids on Tamil villages, most of which were reported by the North-East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESoHR). These attacks generally incurred high (50+) casualties and involved widespread property destruction.

- **Muslim-Tamil violence:** In 1985 and 1986, there was a series of raids and reprisals by the LTTE and Muslim Home Guards and/or Muslim “mobs”, which targeted Muslim and Tamil communities respectively.

- **Bombings:** There were several high-profile and often high-casualty bomb attacks in 1986-1987 in the Western Province. Landmines and car bombs were commonly used in the North and East, particularly in 1986. The GoSL blamed most of these bombings on the LTTE. Some were reportedly followed by SFs reprisal attacks against Tamil civilians.

- **Killings:** Killings mainly occurred in the North, particularly in the city of Jaffna. Most were factional attacks, where members of rival Tamil groups targeted one another. The majority of the killings were blamed on the LTTE, which had become the dominant militant Tamil group by the late 1980s.

- **Suicide attack:** In 1987, what many have identified as the first LTTE suicide attack of the Sri Lankan civil war occurred in Jaffna.

29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

In June 1987, the Indian Government intervened in an SFs offensive on Jaffna and negotiated a ceasefire between the GoSL and the LTTE. On 29 July 1987, the GoSL and Indian Government signed the Indo-Lanka Accord. Provisions included: that SFs troops would withdraw into barracks in the North; that the LTTE and other Tamil groups would disarm; that Tamil-majority provinces would be temporarily unified under one administrative unit; and that an Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) would be deployed to facilitate this process. More than 45,000 Indian troops were subsequently stationed in Sri Lanka.

The LTTE was not a party to the Accord and opposed much of its substance, refusing to completely disarm. As a result, the LTTE and IPKF began to engage in regular armed confrontations, which also involved Tamil militant groups that had allied with the IPKF. Conflict continued until March 1990, when the IPKF withdrew from Sri Lanka.

This period was also marked by an armed insurgency in the South, staged by the JVP. This was the second JVP uprising, following a brief but bloody rebellion in 1971. The second uprising lasted from 1987 until late 1989, with particularly intense violence in 1988-1989. Notable violation categories in this period included:

- **IPKF actions that affected civilians:** The majority of incidents reported in the North involved civilian casualties caused by conflict between the IPKF and LTTE. In most of these cases, news and NGO reports blamed the IPKF for killing civilians while attacking the LTTE, or for committing reprisal attacks against civilians.

- **Killings:** Aside from IPKF-LTTE conflict, the most frequently reported incidents in the North were targeted killings, which were mostly attributed to the IPKF by Amnesty International. There were also dozens of killings and disappearances in the East, most of which were blamed on the LTTE. In the South and West, there were targeted killings every few weeks in 1988 and 1989.

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4 'LTTE-Karuna fight spills over to government areas’, Sunday Leader, 10 July 2005.


• Disappearances: In the North, there were a large number of disappearances blamed on the IPKF. In the South, there was little detailed information on individual disappearances, despite an Amnesty International report claiming that 3,000 people disappeared from this province in 1989 alone.  

• Bodies dumped: Bodies were often left in public places in the South and West. In a number of cases, tens of bodies were dumped at one time.  

• Village raids: The main publicly reported incidents in the East were attacks on villages. Most were Sinhalese villages in Ampara and Trincomalee, but some raids appeared to target Muslim villages. The GoSL blamed the majority of raids on the LTTE.  

• Election-related violence: On 19 December 1988, Ranasinghe Premadasa of the United National Party (UNP) won the second ever Sri Lankan presidential elections. There were several incidents of election-related violence in the West, mostly bombings. All of these were attributed to the JVP.  

• Attacks on journalists and the media: There were several attacks on journalists and the media in the Western Province at the end of 1989 and 1990.  

• Bombings and vehicle attacks: There were fairly frequent attacks on vehicles and bombings reported in the East and West. The GoSL attributed most attacks in the West to the JVP, and some to the LTTE.

Note: While individual incidents of property destruction were generally not included in the database based on the gravity criteria used by CMAP (outlined in the ‘Incidents included’ section of the report), reports suggest that JVP property destruction had a significant impact on civilian life in the South.

10 June 1990 – 18 April 1995

The IPKF withdrawal from Sri Lanka in 1990 signalled the end of a tentative truce between the Premadasa government and the LTTE, as these parties had briefly cooperated against the IPKF.  

Renewed hostilities began in June, after the LTTE killed hundreds of Muslim and Sinhalese Sri Lankan Police Force (SLPF) officers in the East.  

SFs subsequently entered Ampara, Batticaloa and Trincomalee, taking control of major towns. The LTTE largely withdrew from these areas and re-established control over northern regions, which the GoSL frequently bomed between 1990 and 1994.

On 1 May 1993, President Premadasa was killed by a suicide bomber. In November 1994, Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP) candidate Chandrika Kumaratunga won the presidential elections and initiated negotiations with LTTE leaders. At the beginning of 1995, she declared a ceasefire, thereby ending this phase of hostilities.

The main violation patterns in this period were:

• Shelling that caused civilian casualties: In the North, there were over 30 days of shelling that reportedly caused civilian casualties, often hitting specially protected objects (eg hospitals and Hindu temples). SFs were blamed in all cases by various sources, but SFs often claimed that they had bombed LTTE positions and denied that civilian casualties occurred.

• Killings: Killings were the main incident type reported in the West. Over half of these targeted prominent political figures, including President Premadasa.

• Abductions leading to disappearance or death: There were frequent, reported abductions of Tamil civilians in the East, particularly from 1990-1992. These included mass abductions, which targeted up to 185 victims at one time. The attacks were blamed on SFs and members of the Muslim community, and often occurred when SFs conducted round-ups of Tamils in villages and refugee camps.

Many of these incidents were reported by Amnesty International, NESoHR and the University Teachers for Human Rights (UTHR). There were also a number of incidents in the West where individuals were abducted, often tortured and killed, allegedly by the SLPF.
• Attacks on Muslim civilians and reprisals against Tamils: In the East, the LTTE targeted Muslims with dozens of village raids, bombings and vehicle attacks, reported by the MoD and a variety of NGOs and news sources. Several of these incidents were followed by reported reprisals against Tamil civilians. In the North, the LTTE expelled tens of thousands of Muslims from the province. By 1994, all Muslims had reportedly been displaced from Jaffna, Mannar and Kilinochchi.

• LTTE bombings and SFs reprisals against Tamil civilians: There was an increase in bombings in 1992 in the East, which the GoSL blamed on the LTTE. Several high-casualty SFs attacks on Tamil civilians in 1992 reportedly occurred in reprisal for LTTE bombings.

• Suicide bombings: There were three suicide bombings in this period, not including suicide bombings that targeted political figures (categorised above under ‘Killings’). All three targeted high-profile political or military locations or gatherings.

19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002

On 19 April 1995, GoSL-LTTE peace talks broke down after a four-month ceasefire. Hostilities resumed when the LTTE reportedly planted explosives on two Sri Lankan Navy (SLN) gunboats in Trincomalee harbour. The GoSL began a series of military operations against the LTTE in the North, forcing the LTTE to withdraw from the entire Jaffna peninsula by April 1996. However, the LTTE made key gains in the Vanni, capturing a strategic Sri Lankan Air Force (SLAF) base in Mullaitivu in July 1996 and taking control of Kilinochchi town in September 1988. By mid-2000, there was a stalemate in the North, as both sides had suffered heavy casualties.

From December 2000 to 24 April 2001, there was a brief ceasefire. In December 2001, Ranil Wickremesinghe was elected as Prime Minister on a pro-peace platform. On 22 February 2002, the GoSL and LTTE signed a Memorandum of Understanding and an interim ceasefire agreement.

Notable violation categories in this period were:

• Aerial attacks, shelling and civilians killed in crossfire: As SFs captured and sought to consolidate control over Jaffna in late 1995 and 1996, shelling attacks in the North and East caused significant civilian casualties. Reports alleged that some SFs attacks were indiscriminate or targeted civilians, but this was often disputed.

• Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) or death: In the North, scores of Tamil civilians were arrested or abducted before being tortured, sexually assaulted, killed, or disappeared. These attacks were generally blamed on SFs or the SLPF by several sources, including United Nations (UN) reports, Amnesty International and UTHR. Many of the victims were reportedly accused of LTTE involvement. They were often taken into custody at SFs checkpoints, during cordon-and-search operations or in mass village round-ups following an LTTE attack.

• Killings: Both the LTTE and SFs reportedly engaged in tens of targeted killings, often shooting victims on the street. Most occurred between 1995 and 2000. Many victims were civilians suspected of personal or professional affiliation with the LTTE or SFs, who were killed by the opposing party.

• Child abduction and recruitment: Towards the end of this period (2001-2002), several organisations began reporting consistently on the abduction and recruitment of children by the LTTE and other armed groups in the North and East. According to some reports, the LTTE demanded that each family provide one child to them. Families who refused were reported to have been beaten or declared traitors.

• Attacks on politicians, political candidates, activists and supporters: Dozens of MPs, election candidates and mayors were injured or killed across the country, particularly during elections. There were also several attacks on political offices and campaign rallies. Attacks were often attributed to opposing political parties.

• Attacks on villages, mass killings or abductions of villagers: From 1995 to 1999, the SFs accused the LTTE of several mass abductions and massacres of Sinhalese and Muslim civilians from villages across the country.


22 Hashim, above n 10.


24 UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UNHCR CDR Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum Seekers from Sri Lanka (Report, 30 April 2004); Weiss, above n 6; Hashim, above n 10; ‘Sri Lanka Army Denies Many Civilian Deaths’, Reuters, 6 June 1992.

26 Ibid.
• **Bombings and vehicle attacks:** A significant number of well-known suicide attacks, grenades and other explosions across the country killed and injured civilians throughout this period. Vehicles and public transport were often attacked, incurring high civilian casualties. The GoSL and others blamed the majority of these attacks on the LTTE.

• **Mass graves:** In the North, two mass graves were discovered and linked to reports of disappearances in Jaffna.

### 2 February 2002 – 20 July 2006

On 2 February 2002, after six years of almost constant armed conflict, the LTTE and GoSL signed a ceasefire agreement (CFA). The Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission (SLMM), operated by Nordic countries, monitored ceasefire compliance, while Norway mediated five rounds of talks. Cooperation deteriorated until 1 April 2003, when the LTTE withdrew from talks in protest over its exclusion from a multilateral conference in the United States of America. On 31 October 2003, the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran issued a peace plan, which involved establishing an LTTE-run Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA) in the East and North.

The UNP expressed its willingness to discuss the ISGA; however, the proposal angered some nationalist politicians, who perceived it as a separatist declaration. In response, President Kumaratunga declared that the UNP had undermined national security by making concessions to the LTTE. She then suspended parliament, took control over four ministries (including the MoD) and called for an election. On 8 April 2004, Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected Prime Minister, defeating Wickremesinghe.

The election coincided with an internal LTTE crisis, when Colonel Karuna, Commander of the Eastern Province, defected along with 2,500-3,500 cadres. An LTTE offensive quickly drove Karuna into the jungle; however, he regained influence by cooperating with the GoSL and providing the SFs with valuable intelligence on the LTTE.

In 2005, Rajapaksa defeated Wickremesinghe again, this time in the presidential elections. President Rajapaksa began to adopt a hard-line stance towards the LTTE, preparing to resume hostilities. The LTTE increased attacks on both SFs and civilians, assassinating Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar in 2005. This prompted a further deterioration in the national situation, as political violence increased across the country.

By February 2006, the SLMM had recorded 4,000 ceasefire infractions since the implementation of the CFA, most of which were attributed to the LTTE. On 20 April 2006, the LTTE withdrew from emergency peace talks designed to preserve the CFA. At the end of July 2006, a dispute over LTTE closure of the Mavil Aru anicut (dam) sluice gates provoked a renewed outbreak of overt hostilities.

• **Child abduction and recruitment:** According to several reports by UTHR and Human Rights Watch, child conscription was widespread in the North and East. The majority of publicly reported forced recruitment in the East occurred in Batticaloa in 2002, and continued on a smaller scale throughout the East from 2003 to 2006. In 2006, there were a number of conscription cases in Batticaloa that Human Rights Watch attributed to the Karuna Group. In the North, the majority of reported cases occurred in 2002 and 2003, with a relatively large number in 2004 and only a handful in 2005 and 2006 (this decrease was partly due to fewer NGO reports on the issue).

In 2002, the LTTE made a public pledge to end child recruitment and release all children to UNICEF. They periodically released children over the next few years, although conscription appeared to continue.

• **Killings and disappearances (factional):** There were a significant number of attacks between rival Tamil groups in the Northern, Eastern and Western provinces, with a dramatic increase in 2005-2006. This trend was exacerbated by the LTTE-Karuna split in 2004.

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29 Ibid; Weiss, above n 6; Hashim, above n 10.
31 Hashim, above n 10.
32 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27; Hashim, above n 10.
33 Weiss, above n 6.
38 Report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict in Sri Lanka, UN Doc S/2006/1006 (20 December 2006).
39 Ibid.
• **Killings and disappearances (non-factional):** In the North and East, killings and disappearances began to increase from 2004 onwards. By 2005-2006, publicly reported incidents occurred almost daily in the North, contributing to a reported ‘crisis’ of political killings.\(^{40}\) According to reports, the LTTE targeted civilian ‘dissidents’ who refused to comply with LTTE rules on store closure, permits, ransom payments and taxes. SFs reportedly targeted civilians with perceived LTTE affiliation, including relatives of LTTE members.

• **Attacks on political office-holders and candidates:** Many killings in the West targeted political figures and GoSL workers. A variety of sources blamed most of these incidents on the LTTE. In the East, a dozen or so local political candidates were attacked.

• **Attacks on Muslim people:** In the East, there were tens of confrontations between Muslims and Tamils, which reportedly occurred as the LTTE tried to consolidate power.\(^{41}\) Many were reported by UTHR and various news sources. The LTTE or Karuna Group were blamed in the majority of cases, but SFs were suspected in others. There were also several cases of intercommunal rioting, which involved high levels of civilian casualties and property destruction.

• **Public violence:** In the East, there were frequent incidents of large-scale public violence that caused civilian casualties and mass displacement. Several of these incidents were riots against Tamil civilians in response to LTTE attacks.

• **IED, landmine and grenade attacks:** Starting in April 2006, there was a claymore (or sometimes grenade) attack reported almost every week in the North. The majority reportedly targeted SLPF/SLA patrols, vehicles or checkpoints, but still caused civilian casualties.

• **Attacks on the media and NGOs:** In the North, there were a handful of attacks on Tamil daily Uthayan and de-mining NGOs. In Colombo, there were several attacks on newspaper offices.

• **Mass arrests:** Following the GoSL introduction of Emergency Regulations in 2005, there were several mass arrests of Tamils in Colombo, affecting up to 920 civilians at a time.

### 20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

The final phase of the civil war began at the end of July 2006 and continued until May 2009, when the GoSL declared victory over the LTTE. The first main phase of conflict was the July 2006 – July 2007 Eastern Campaign, when the GoSL reclaimed control over LTTE-held territories in the Eastern Province, reportedly with help from the Karuna Group.\(^{42}\) The GoSL subsequently began a campaign to recapture LTTE-held areas in the North.\(^{43}\)

The 2002 CFA technically held until January 2008, when the GoSL formally withdrew and declared its intention to defeat the LTTE militarily. The GoSL withdrawal intensified fighting, and the SLMM ceased to operate.\(^{44}\) On 3 September 2008, the GoSL ordered all UN agencies and NGOs to leave LTTE-controlled areas, stating that the safety of staff could not be guaranteed.\(^{45}\)

By January 2009, the GoSL had captured the de facto LTTE capital in Kilinochchi and re-claimed most of the North, surrounding the LTTE in a small section of Mullaitivu Province.\(^{46}\) Subsequent violence is discussed in a separate section below.

From July 2006 – January 2009, notable violations included:

• **Aerial and shelling attacks affecting civilians:** Shelling during the Eastern Campaign often caused civilian casualties, sometimes hitting specially-protected objects (e.g., Muttur hospital). A variety of NGOs and news source blamed SFs for most cases, but SFs usually claimed they only hit LTTE positions and were unaware of civilian casualties. In some cases, SFs blamed the LTTE for co-locating with civilian areas or using civilians as shields.

Shelling in the North intensified when SFs began the Northern Campaign in October 2007. By the end of 2008, civilian casualties were reported in Kilinochchi every few days.

• **Restriction of movement, forced displacement and denial of humanitarian assistance:** In the East in 2006, there were a couple of reported incidents where the LTTE fired at hundreds of fleeing civilians, although no casualties were reported. In 2006 and 2007, several reports alleged that the GoSL forced internally displaced persons (IDPs) to return to Trincomalee, despite safety concerns.

Once the Northern Campaign began, the LTTE heightened restrictions on movement out of the Vanni. Meanwhile, the GoSL increased restrictions on humanitarian aid entering northern LTTE-controlled areas.

• **Killings:** In the North and East, the majority of killings took place in late 2006. Victims included Tamil civilians reportedly killed by SFs, civilians reportedly killed by the LTTE for being ‘disloyal’ or refusing to pay ransom or protection money, and political figures. In the West, several killings in 2008 targeted politicians.

40 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
41 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/CHR/30/CRP.2.
43 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/CHR/30/CRP.2; Public Interest Advocacy Centre (PIAC), ‘Island of Impunity - Investigation into international crimes in the final stages of the Sri Lankan civil war’ (Report, 28 February 2014).
44 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/CHR/30/CRP.2.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid; PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
• **Disappearances**: Disappearances were the most common publicly reported incident in the West. In the second half of 2006 and beginning of 2007, disappearances were reported on an almost weekly basis. Most cases involved white vans. A motive for the disappearance was rarely reported. In the North, around half of the disappearances in this period occurred in Jaffna in 2006. Many of these were reported by Human Rights Watch. SFs or the SLPF were blamed for the majority of cases, and the majority of victims were Tamil.

• **Abduction or arrest leading to torture, SGBV or death in custody**: Dozens of these incidents were reported in the West, most of which were blamed on the SFs or SLPF by various NGO and news sources. Most victims were accused of being LTTE supporters and forced to sign false confessions in Sinhalese. There were also several cases where the LTTE reportedly abducted people, demanded a ransom and released victims with signs of torture. In the North, there were a similar number of incidents blamed on SF/SLPF, most of which involved SGBV. According to Human Rights Watch, the rate of sexual violence in custody increased in this period compared to prior periods.47

• **Child abduction and recruitment**: In the East, child conscription occurred during the Eastern Campaign (mid-2006 to mid-2007), mostly in Batticaloa. Sources including UTHR, Human Rights Watch and the MoD reported on incidents, which were blamed on the LTTE or Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP). There were around a dozen reported cases where children fled the LTTE, and some were injured or killed in the process.

• **Attacks on the media and NGOs**: In the West, there were over a dozen reported attacks on journalists or their offices. In the East, there were multiple attacks on distributors of Tamil-language newspapers, and on the Tamil publication Uthayan. In the North, several attacks targeted de-mining NGOs, and several targeted employees of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

• **IED attacks and suicide bombings**: In the West, there were over 15 high-casualty bombings in 2008. Some appeared to target SFs or the SLPF, but still caused civilian casualties. In the North, landmine attacks occurred roughly on a monthly basis in 2007 and 2008, and were blamed on the LTTE or the SFs Deep Penetration Unit.

On 2 January 2009, Kilinochchi fell to the SFs. By 9 January, SFs troops surrounded Mullaitivu from the west, north and south. Over the next 4 months, the SFs pushed LTTE defence lines towards the north-eastern coast. During this period, the Sri Lankan Army declared three successive ‘safe areas’ for civilians, known as No Fire Zones (NFZs). Civilians began to congregate in the NFZs, setting up shelters around hospitals and humanitarian hubs.

It is important to note that from mid-2007 onwards, foreign journalists and independent human rights monitors had little or no access to the Vanni. As this conflict-mapping report only includes publicly reported incidents, information below relies on a small number of sources, which had limited reach and capacity.48 These included Tamilwin articles, a few MoD reports and witness statements used in subsequent investigations by the UN, PIAC, Crisis Group and other organisations.

Dominant incident patterns in the final stages included:

• **Shelling and the use of human shields**: Shelling occurred almost daily in the NFZs, causing thousands of casualties and frequently hitting humanitarian sites and hospitals. The SFs were reportedly responsible for the bulk of shelling incidents, although, as in past periods, SFs often denied that shelling caused civilian casualties, or blamed the LTTE for operating from civilian areas. The LTTE was frequently accused of using human shields in the NFZs.

• **Restricted movement and targeting of displaced civilians**: Both the LTTE and SFs were accused of targeting civilians who were attempting to leave the NFZ.49 There were about a dozen cases in the database where the LTTE shot at crowds of fleeing civilians, often causing low-level casualties. The majority of publicly reported incidents blamed on SFs occurred when they detained fleeing civilians and transferred them to ‘GoSL screening sites’, where some were reportedly tortured.

• **Denial of humanitarian assistance**: After humanitarian workers were forced to leave Kilinochchi in September 2008 due to intensified shelling, humanitarian aid provision was severely limited. In a handful of publicly reported cases, humanitarian convoys attempted to enter or leave the NFZs, but were prevented from doing so by ongoing shelling. In a couple of reported incidents, there were allegations that humanitarian aid was explicitly turned away.

• **Killings and disappearances**: In mid-May 2009, several senior LTTE leaders and members surrendered to SFs after negotiations between the GoSL and international officials. It is commonly alleged that some of those who surrendered were killed.

• **Child abduction and recruitment**: In the final months of conflict, the LTTE reportedly recruited a large number of children, including those under the age of 14 or 15.50 However, due to limited reporting in this period, only a handful of cases were recorded in the database.

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47 HRW, Return to War, above n 27.
49 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
Conclusion

The incident categories outlined above emphasise the widespread, consistent and grave nature of alleged violations of human rights law and IHL during the Sri Lankan civil war.

While certain cases, time periods and issues have been addressed by inquiries and judicial proceedings, the establishment of a comprehensive, independent transitional justice process in Sri Lanka has been hampered by delays and obstacles. Information on the conflict is often controversial, as different sources provide conflicting details on incidents, and parties to the conflict have censored information at various points. The scale and contested nature of violations reinforces the need for a meaningful transitional justice process to address the instability, violence and suffering caused by the war.

The CMAP report is intended as a research tool for current and future transitional justice mechanisms, and for civil society groups monitoring these mechanisms. It also serves as a contribution to the historical record, acknowledging the experiences of the countless people affected by the conflict.
# Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>Agence France-Presse (in footnotes)</td>
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<td>AGA</td>
<td>Assistant Government Agent</td>
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<td>AI</td>
<td>Amnesty International (in footnotes)</td>
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<td>APN</td>
<td>Associated Press</td>
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<td>CCD</td>
<td>Colombo Crime Division</td>
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<td>CID</td>
<td>Criminal Investigations Department</td>
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<td>CMAP</td>
<td>Conflict Mapping and Archive Project</td>
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<td>CSU</td>
<td>Ceylon Transport Board</td>
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<td>DPU</td>
<td>Deep Penetration Unit (of the SFs)</td>
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<td>EPDP</td>
<td>Eelam People’s Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPRLF</td>
<td>Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front</td>
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<td>EROS</td>
<td>Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>Government Agent</td>
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<td>GoSL</td>
<td>Government of Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch (in footnotes)</td>
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<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Commission of Jurists (in footnotes)</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally displaced person</td>
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<td>IED</td>
<td>Improvised explosive device</td>
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<td>IPKF</td>
<td>Indian Peace Keeping Force</td>
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<td>ISGA</td>
<td>Interim Self-Governing Authority</td>
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<td>JVP</td>
<td>Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna</td>
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<td>JHU</td>
<td>Jatika Hela Urumaya</td>
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<td>LTTE</td>
<td>Tamil Tigers, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam</td>
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<td>MBRL</td>
<td>Multiple barrel rocket launcher</td>
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<td>MoD</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Ministry of Defence</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>NESoHR</td>
<td>North East Secretariat on Human Rights</td>
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<td>NFZ</td>
<td>No Fire Zone</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Government Organisation</td>
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<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
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<td>OISL</td>
<td>OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>OMP</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Office on Missing Persons</td>
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<td>PA</td>
<td>People’s Alliance</td>
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<td>PIAC</td>
<td>Public Interest Advocacy Centre</td>
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<td>PLOTE</td>
<td>People’s Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam</td>
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<td>PTA</td>
<td>Prevention of Terrorism Act</td>
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<td>PTK</td>
<td>Puthukkudiyiruppu</td>
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<td>P-TOMS</td>
<td>Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure</td>
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<td>RAW</td>
<td>Indian Research and Analysis Wing</td>
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<td>RPGs</td>
<td>Rocket-propelled grenades</td>
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<td>SGBV</td>
<td>Sexual and Gender-Based Violence</td>
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<td>SFs</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Government Security Forces</td>
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<td>SIS</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Intelligence Service</td>
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<td>SLA</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Army</td>
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<td>SLAF</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Air Force</td>
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<td>SLBC</td>
<td>Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<td>SLFP</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Freedom Party</td>
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<td>SLMC</td>
<td>Sri Lanka Muslim Congress</td>
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<td>SLMM</td>
<td>Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission</td>
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<td>SLN</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Navy</td>
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<td>SLPF</td>
<td>Sri Lankan Police Force</td>
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<td>STF</td>
<td>Special Task Force</td>
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<td>TELO</td>
<td>Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization</td>
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<td>TID</td>
<td>Terrorist Investigation Department</td>
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<td>TMVP</td>
<td>Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNA</td>
<td>Tamil National Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRO</td>
<td>Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TULF</td>
<td>Tamil United Liberation Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>UAV</td>
<td>Unmanned aerial vehicle</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNF</td>
<td>United National Front</td>
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<td>United Nations Human Rights Council</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<td>UNP</td>
<td>United National Party</td>
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<td>UTHR</td>
<td>University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna)</td>
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<td>yo.</td>
<td>year-old</td>
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Introduction

Transitional justice and Sri Lanka

During almost three decades of civil war in Sri Lanka, there were thousands of alleged violations of human rights and international humanitarian law (IHL). While isolated cases have been addressed and inquiries have examined specific issues or time periods, Sri Lanka is yet to engage in a comprehensive, independent transitional justice process.

Steps have been taken to begin this process. On 1 October 2015, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) adopted Resolution 30/1 promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka (the Resolution), which was co-sponsored by the government of Sri Lanka (GoSL). The Resolution welcomed and encouraged the GoSL’s proposal to establish a range of transitional justice mechanisms, including a truth-seeking commission and offices of missing persons and reparations for victims of the conflict. It also welcomed the GoSL’s commitment to establish a judicial mechanism to investigate violations of human rights and IHL.

However, the implementation of such measures has been significantly delayed. At the time of drafting this report, the most established mechanism was the Office on Missing Persons (OMP). The OMP came into existence via the Office on Missing Persons (Establishment, Administration and Discharge of Functions) Act, passed by the Parliament of Sri Lanka (Parliament) in August of 2016. Commissioners were announced in February 2018.

In early 2018, during the 37th session of the UNHRC, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) submitted a report concluding that

‘[t]he fulfillment of the transitional justice commitments made under Human Rights Council resolution 30/1 has been virtually stalled for more than a year. Progress with some confidence-building measures has often been insufficient and inconclusive’.51

On 10 October 2018, Parliament passed the Office for Reparations Bill. On 23 October 2018, a concept paper was also submitted to cabinet on a Bill to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

On 21 March 2019, Resolution 40/1 was passed. This provided the Government of Sri Lanka with a two year extension to Resolution 30/1 and followed the OHCHR report which stated:

‘[t]he lack of progress shows that the situation of human rights in Sri Lankan should remain firmly on the agenda of the Human Rights Council.’

On 4 April 2019, Commissioners for the Office of Reparations were announced.52

Conflict mapping and CMAP

The Conflict Map and Archive Project (CMAP) is a project established by the Public Interest Advocacy Centre (PIAC) that responds to both the importance of transitional justice processes and the challenges - including delays - that such processes can face.

PIAC is an Australian non-profit organisation, independent of government and other interests. Its purpose is to pursue social justice and human rights. PIAC’s primary sources of funding and further information about its governance and operations are available at www.piac.asn.au.

CMAP is a PIAC project designed to facilitate the progress of transitional justice and other truth, justice and accountability pursuits, irrespective of the pace of the transitional justice process in Sri Lanka.

Documentation, research and investigation are all integral to the effectiveness of transitional justice mechanisms. CMAP provides a resource that will support each mechanism to design their strategies on documentation, research and investigation by providing a detailed overview of the kinds of violation that are alleged to have occurred, when, where, and to whom.

There is a vast amount of existing documentation on human rights violations committed by many actors during the Sri Lankan civil war. This documentation has been collected by various civil society organisations (both in and outside Sri Lanka), including PIAC; various government and other commissions and inquiries; and open sources such as the media. However, this information is stored

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52 ‘President appoints five commissioners to the Office for Reparations’, Sunday Times, 5 April 2019.
in disparate locations, making it difficult to collectively analyse. The aim of CMAP is to collate and organise documents on the civil war, providing a centralised source of information that can be used by transitional justice mechanisms in Sri Lanka.

One way that CMAP has organised available documentation is in this conflict mapping report. According to the OHCHR, there are three main benefits of conflict mapping:

1. It makes the transitional justice process more objective by basing strategic decisions on preliminary indications of actual events, rather than on pure suppositions.
2. As a result, it establishes the essential discipline of ‘rational hypotheses’ in complex investigations, ie proceeding on the basis of presumptions which are supported by available evidence and gradually building on those to construct further ‘hypotheses’.
3. It allows those directing the process to make more realistic estimates of the necessary resources.53

The CMAP report aims to provide these benefits to current and future transitional justice mechanisms.

This report also serves as a reminder of the extent, range and widespread impact of the conflict on Sri Lankan society. It includes a significant number of violations that affected people across Sri Lanka and are blamed on various parties to conflict. Information on these violations is often controversial, as different sources provide conflicting details. Both during and after the civil war, some sources were censored or threatened because of their reporting. This reinforces the need for a meaningful transitional justice process to address the instability, violence and suffering caused by the war.

A conflict map is an overview of the incidents that occurred during a conflict, often organised by geography and chronology. It provides a detailed inventory and analysis of the types of violations, the scale of alleged violations, potential patterns of abuses, potential victims and perpetrators, and identifies possible evidentiary leads or sources relating to a conflict.

A conflict map is a first step for creating an informed approach to research and investigations for a truth commission, reparations body, and judicial mechanism.

From database to report

CMAP was established in January 2017. The aim of CMAP is to create a database (CMAP database) of publicly available documents on incidents during the Sri Lankan civil war that may constitute violations of human rights or IHL. This conflict mapping report (CMAP report) is based on the CMAP database.

Both the CMAP database and report provide a basis for further investigation and research. They do not replace in-depth investigation into the incidents uncovered, and are not intended as an “end point” for transitional justice work. Rather, they are an essential preliminary step, allowing researchers and investigators to easily identify patterns of violence and types of violations to explore further. Therefore, incidents are described succinctly in the report in order to allow trends to be more easily identified.

CMAP presents information that is already available in a clear, easily accessible manner. CMAP does not seek to make findings, suggest causes, or attribute blame. It is the role of the formal transitional justice mechanisms to investigate further and find the more detailed, nuanced truth.

CMAP relies solely on publicly reported information and does not include any confidential documentation. This, combined with the intentionally brief incident descriptions, means that the report is unable to reflect the suffering of victims or the emotion of individual accounts. Hearing and conveying the suffering of victims is one of the essential functions required of a truth-seeking process, a reparations program, and a missing persons office.

The CMAP report serves as an example of the meaningful and tangible support civil society can provide to transitional justice.

Sources included: database and report

CMAP only includes publicly available documents, including the following types of secondary sources:

• Government reports (including reports from commissions and inquiries and Ministry of Defence reporting);
• United Nations (UN) reports and documents;
• International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reports and media releases;
• Non-government organisation (NGO) reports and papers (Sri Lankan and international); and
• Media reports (Sri Lankan and international).

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In total, thousands of documents from over 60 source organisations were used in the database. Most of these documents were found online. However, some were found in news archives in Sri Lanka. The majority were in English, but Tamil and Sinhalese sources were also used, particularly for the period between 2006 to 2009.

Many Sinhalese sources were only available in physical archives, which have various limits on access to documents (eg limits on the number of documents that can be examined at one time). Because of these constraints, there were fewer Sinhalese documents than English and Tamil documents used in the database.

Further, documents from the Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission (SLMM) were not used often in the report, for two reasons: 1) Many of their reports are no longer publicly available, and 2) Many of the reports provided general information that did not meet CMAP criteria for detail inclusion (further explained in ‘Minimum level of information’ sub-section below).

Reliability and veracity
CMAP has sought to only include sources from organisations that have a reputation of producing reliable and credible material. Reliability of the source organisation was determined using the following factors:

- the perceived objectivity and professional standing of the source;
- whether the information was direct or indirect (ie did it use information from witnesses and its own research, or was information always drawn from reports by other source organisations);
- a clearly understood methodology used in reporting (ie did the source organisation generally explain where its information came from and how it was gathered); and
- the high quality of prior information obtained from that source (ie the source generally had a track record of providing useful information).

While source organisations were chosen according to these criteria, CMAP did not make determinations about the reliability and veracity of information in each of the documents derived from the organisation. Once a source organisation was included, the information it provided was included in the database, and subsequently this report, without further specific consideration or discussion of reliability or veracity.

In particular, there was careful consideration of the use of Ministry of Defence documents. On the one hand, using Ministry of Defence documents may be problematic, given they were a party to the conflict. In the absence of an equivalent source from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) side of the conflict, we are also very mindful of concerns about impartiality and balance. On the other hand, Ministry of Defence reports provide a useful source of incident information, despite the fact that, as a party to the conflict, they could not objectively describe incidents or assign blame. Ultimately, it was decided to include the Ministry of Defence for two reasons: 1) they had the resources to report information that was not found elsewhere, and 2) they provided an example of how the GoSL reported on the conflict, which is a useful factor to consider when further investigating the conflict. We have clearly signposted use of Ministry of Defence sources throughout the text of the report. It is for the reader to determine how they wish to use this information.

Challenges to source inclusion
Time and resource constraints have necessarily limited which sources we could include in both the report and database. We have endeavoured to include as many diverse sources as possible. The CMAP database remains a work in progress, and we continue to add sources and documents as they are brought to our attention to ensure it is as useful a resource as possible.

We are also mindful that during different periods of conflict, there were varying levels of media freedom and censorship. We acknowledge that this is another limitation of relying on publicly reported information, and have tried to address this by using a wide range of sources. This limitation highlights the value of further, in-depth investigations by transitional justice mechanisms.

Ultimately, these and similar methodological challenges are inevitable in any exercise of this kind and need to be kept in mind by readers of this report and those using the database.

Incidents included: database
In the context of the database and the report, an ‘incident’ refers to a discrete event that satisfies the criteria for inclusion described below. This could include, for example, a targeted killing, a suicide attack, a distinct period of shelling that hit civilians, or a roadside bomb.

Each incident entry in the database collates information from all publicly available documents identified by CMAP that pertain to the given incident. This information includes:

- location and date of the incident;
- descriptive summary of all information on the incident;
- applicable violation categories;
perpetrator allegations;
approximate victim numbers;
victim identity (political, ethnic, religious, professional)
weapons used; and
an assessment of the consistency of available information.

When different source documents contain conflicting information on the same incident (for example, three sources all provided different casualty numbers), the differences are identified and noted, but no determination is made regarding the correct set of details.

CMAP’s criteria for including incidents are as follows.

**Connection to conflict**
CMAP has only included incidents that were reported as connected to the conflict.

**Minimum level of information**
Only incidents with enough information to allow for further investigation are included. For this reason, general statistics (eg 1000 civilians disappeared in 2001) are not included as incidents, although some were referred to in context sections in this report.

The minimum level of information necessary to record an incident in the database included:

- an identifiable timeframe (at least the month and year of occurrence);
- an identifiable location (at least the province of occurrence); and
- a basic descriptive information about how the incident occurred/what happened.

There also has to be enough information to distinguish incidents, in an effort to ensure that the same incident is not included twice. For example, incidents described in several SLMM reports (eg ‘three people killed in the month of May in Jaffna’) did not meet the above criteria for sufficient levels of information.

**Incident gravity threshold**
Incidents are considered against a set of gravity criteria (below) before being included in the database. Not all incidents need to meet all four criteria. One criterion alone may be influential, but would not by itself class an alleged violation as sufficiently grave so as to warrant inclusion. The criteria are:

1. The nature of violations linked to a given incident, ie, the violation would or could constitute one or more international crimes or violations of international humanitarian or human rights law. According to this criterion, alleged crimes relating to the person (eg killing, sexual violence or disappearances) were considered more serious than those relating to property or materials.
2. The scale of crimes and violations linked to an incident, including the number of crimes involved in a particular incident, and the number of victims affected by these crimes.
3. How the crimes and violations were committed, ie were they widespread or systematic, did they appear to target a specific group, and/or were they indiscriminate or disproportionate.
4. The contextual impact of crimes and violations on communities, regions or the course of the conflict, ie sufficiently grave incidents included those that had a devastating, often long-term impact on the overall conflict by triggering further violence, threatening peace processes, preventing humanitarian relief efforts and the return of displaced persons etc.

**Civilian casualties and unlawful incidents targeting military personnel**
The database includes two broad categories of incidents: 1) those that allegedly caused civilian casualties, and 2) allegedly unlawful incidents targeting military personnel (such as suicide bombings or disappearances). Death and injury caused to parties in the course of combat are not included.

**Inclusion of Sri Lankan Police Force (SLPF) and Home Guard attacks**
Attacks affecting the SLPF and Home Guards were generally included, for two reasons: 1) in many incidents, attacks targeting SLPF and Home Guards caused a disproportionate number of civilian casualties; and 2) in many situations, it is unclear whether the affected SLPF or Home Guards would be considered combatants under IHL. In order to avoid making legal assessments on the status of these individuals, they are generally included in the database where there is a significant number of SLPF/Home Guard casualties, or where a larger pattern of violence is observed.

**Incidents included: from database to report**
Currently, there are approximately 4,000 incidents in the CMAP database. Including them all in a report would make it lengthy and
cumbersome to read. Therefore, in most of the report, we have sought to provide a representative sample of the reported incident(s) in the database. This may include:

- a sample of the types of incidents that occurred in a given period, including typical or remarkable incidents, varieties and patterns; or
- a sample of incident frequency, for example when an incident happened daily or weekly.

The number of sample incidents for a particular violation category in the report has been deliberately made proportionate to the total number of incidents in the database for that violation category. For example, if the report includes more sample incidents for disappearances than for landmine attacks in a particular province and period, the reader can assume that there were more disappearances than landmine attacks in the database as well.

As stated above, only publicly available information provided by selected source organisations was included in the database (and therefore in the report). As a result, underreported crimes such as sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) are not well-represented in the report. SGBV sections of the report include most incidents in the database, rather than smaller samples, in order to increase their exposure. Incidents that targeted a large number of individual victims, such as killings and disappearances, were also likely to have been underreported due to the volume of cases and lack of publicly available details on individual incidents. This applies particularly to LTTE and SFs personnel who went missing in action over the course of the conflict. Where possible, we have sought to include general information on violation categories that were likely underreported.

Because of limited access to Sinhalese-language archives (see ‘Sources included: database and report’ section above), there are also fewer Sinhalese documents cited in the report than English or Tamil documents.

Single source violations: report
Where possible, we have tried to include incidents in the report that were reported by multiple sources. We have, however, frequently included incidents that are only covered by one source, and have generally indicated where this is the case. We included these single-source incidents because they often provide information on periods or areas that were less commonly reported on. Additionally, some NGOs and other reports had a thematic focus, covering important issues that no one else has addressed. We have consistently used footnotes throughout the report, which readers can use to conduct follow-up research on individual incidents and make their own conclusions about information provided.

We were specifically concerned about incidents that were only reported by the Ministry of Defence, given that the Ministry of Defence was a party to the conflict. We have attempted to be as transparent as possible when this is the case, signposting in the text when the only source for an incident was the Ministry of Defence.

Categories of violations included: from database to report
As CMAP does not seek to make legal findings, incidents in the database were generally categorised according to a descriptive understanding of the event, rather than legal terminology.

Incidents were categorised under one or more overarching violation categories:

- attack-related violations (eg an attack that caused injury or death of civilians);
- individual-related violations (eg disappearance or violence to person);
- weapon(s) used (eg grenade, small arms); and
- civilian-related violations (eg denial or restriction of humanitarian assistance).

Like violation categories in the database, violation categories in the report are generally descriptive, rather than legal. However, categories used in the report differ slightly from categories in the database, in order to more accurately reflect specific patterns of violence in different time periods and regions.

Categories of violations used in the report include:

- torture and mis-treatment;
- SGBV;
- targeted killing;
- targeted attacks on politicians, journalists, NGOs/NGO personnel and other specific groups of individuals;
- people arrested or abducted leading to torture, mistreatment, disappearance or death;
- dumping of dead bodies;
- abduction and recruitment of children;
- attacks on vehicles, religious objects, and in public places;
• improvised explosive device (IED) attacks;
• aerial attacks that hit civilians/civilian areas;
• attacks on villages and other attacks by armed groups;
• suicide attacks;
• denial of humanitarian assistance;
• restriction of movement;
• forced displacement; and
• use of human shields.

Some incidents in the report could fit into more than one category. In these instances, we have explained why it has been put into its assigned category.

Some matters concerning the destruction and appropriation of property are covered if they were a significant issue for a province in a given time period. These are placed in the relevant overview sections, and are not listed as individual incidents.

**Time period**

Both the database and report include incidents that took place in the period between 24-25 July 1983 Black July riots, which are considered to mark the outbreak of civil war; and 19 May 2009, when the GoSL declared victory over the LTTE.

In many cases, the available archives did not go as far back as 1983. Further, recent NGO and government reporting contained information that was more detailed, better quality, and covered a wider range of violations than previous reporting. This meant that there were far more incidents recorded in the CMAP database for the latter years of the conflict. While this is partly because more violations occurred as the conflict intensified, it is also a result of this trend in reporting.

The improved quality and greater quantity of NGO and government reporting in later years can also be attributed to the presence of more on-the-ground correspondents, information sources and local NGOs with a capacity to disseminate information. However, the final stages of conflict in Sri Lanka are an exception to this trend, as the lack of correspondents in conflict zones naturally led to less variety in reporting. This issue also affected the number of violations that have been included in the report for this time period.

The authors are aware that many violations reportedly occurred prior to 1983 and post-2009. While the object of the report is to focus on periods of active hostilities and the main ceasefires, this is not intended to minimise violations that occurred outside this period.

**Report structure**

There are six main sections in the report, which cover four periods of conflict and two of the main, intervening ceasefires. Each period is broken down into subsections for different Sri Lankan provinces. The province subsections are ordered depending on where violence was concentrated, and how it progressed during that period. Provinces with no incidents, or a very small number of incidents that followed no notable pattern or trend, were not included in the relevant time period. Therefore, not all periods refer to all provinces. Although the North-East was temporarily merged into one province from 1988, we have continued to categorise the provinces separately in order to demonstrate more specific regional patterns.

Each province subsection describes the main categories of incidents that occurred there. The categories include samples of incidents, which have been succinctly summarised based on incident entries (as noted above).

All sources for the incidents have been referenced to allow readers to engage in follow-up research.

**Report style**

The words ‘allegedly’ and ‘reportedly’ are used throughout the report to emphasise that the information included simply reflects information in source documents, rather than facts that we have independently verified. This applies to every incident included in the report, even where these qualifiers are not explicitly used.

As the report only includes publicly reported cases, which provide useful but incomplete information on the scale of conflict, it cannot be used as a source for conclusive statistics on the quantity and character of violations in the conflict. We have therefore used general terms such as ‘a handful’, ‘dozens’ or ‘over 50’, rather than exact numbers to describe the frequency of incidents. Therefore, readers should not focus on individual incidents or total numbers of incidents, but rather on types and patterns of alleged violations.

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In many instances where there is more than one source of information, details vary between sources. In such cases, we have provided both pieces of information, for example: ‘6 or 9 people were killed’ or ‘he was shot or stabbed to death’. Where there were multiple victim counts, such as ‘6, 7 or 9 people killed’, we have provided a range, for example: ‘6 to 9 people were killed’. Many reports have different spellings for people or place names. We have tried to use a consistent approach to spelling, but we have made a note of where spelling differs.

We have mentioned alleged perpetrator groups and accusers for the incidents where source documents identified these parties. Where reporters or their root sources have directly accused perpetrators, we have used the word ‘blamed’. Where perpetrators are merely suspected, we use ‘suspected’. We have also noted, where possible, any instances where sources report that an accused party denied involvement. When there are no allegations regarding perpetrators, we have either written nothing regarding blame, or have written phrases such as ‘alleged perpetrator unknown’. Generally, if the report says ‘X blamed’, rather than ‘Y blamed X’, it means the source we are relying on did not attribute their information on the alleged perpetrator(s).

We have provided footnotes for each incident. However, due to time and space constraints, we have not identified the source for specific pieces of information within an incident. It is the reader’s responsibility to follow-up on which source(s) provided each piece of information.

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Many people have generously reviewed drafts of the report and we are extremely grateful for their support and input. We acknowledge that a report that ambitiously seeks to cover almost three decades of conflict, 60 sources, and over 4,000 incidents will inevitably contain errors. Any errors are our own and are a reflection of volume, time constraints, and human fallibility. They are not politically motivated. Our commitment is to truth, justice and accountability for victims from all sides of the conflict. As mentioned earlier, our database is a work in progress, and we are grateful for any requests and advice regarding sources that have been missed or any errors that have been made.

Background to the conflict

Sri Lanka gained independence from Britain on 4 February 1948. Following independence, the GoSL introduced several policies that favoured the majority Sinhalese population (predominantly Buddhist) over the minority Tamil population (predominantly Hindu). The first major pro-Sinhalese piece of legislation was the 1956 Sinhala Only Act, which made Sinhalese the official language of Sri Lanka. This legislation was strongly opposed by the Tamil population and prompted riots in 1956 and 1958, in which hundreds of Tamils were killed.

In the 1970s, a number of militant Tamil groups emerged, the most prominent of which was the LTTE (known as the ‘Tamil New Tigers’ until 1976). The LTTE sought to establish an independent state for Tamils in North-East Sri Lanka, to be known as ‘Tamil Eelam’, and carried out a number of violent, guerrilla-style attacks to this end throughout the 1970s. The GoSL responded by implementing harsh security measures, most notably the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act (PTA), which provided the SLFP with broad arrest and detention powers.

Tamil separatist ambitions were also espoused by several political parties, led by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), an umbrella group for multiple pro-Tamil parties that formed in 1972. In the 1977 parliamentary elections, TULF won all seats in Tamil regions and became the dominant opposition party in the country.

The GoSL and Sinhalese population often responded violently to both political and militant Tamil separatist movements. Two notable examples were the 1977 anti-Tamil riots (reportedly a reaction to the electoral success of TULF) and the 1981 attack on the
Jaffna Public Library (allegedly a reprisal for the killing of Sinhalese policemen). From the late 1970s, there was also an increased GoSL military presence in the Tamil-dominated North. This escalating cycle of violence peaked in 1983, when the LTTE killed 13 GoSL soldiers in the northern Jaffna District. The resulting large-scale violence and rioting against the Tamil population, known as ‘Black July’, is often considered to mark the outbreak of civil war.

For the next four years, until July 1987, the LTTE and GoSL engaged in a low-intensity conflict. The LTTE used guerrilla tactics, suicide bombings and assassinations, directed against a range of military, police, political and civilian targets, and managed to gain control of territory in the North-East. It also eliminated and suppressed rival Tamil groups, becoming the dominant militant opposition group to the GoSL by the mid-1980s.

There were various ceasefires between the LTTE and GoSL, often brokered and monitored by foreign powers. The first was the Indo-Lanka Accord of 29 July 1987 which led to the deployment of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka for almost 3 years. Subsequent IPKF-LTTE conflict in the North incurred high civilian casualties.

During this period of IPKF intervention, a militant Marxist group known as the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), which had led a brief but bloody uprising in 1971, led another insurrection based in the South from 1987-1989. While the JVP cited Indian intervention in the North-East as a catalyst for this second, more protracted and deadlier uprising, some said that it had been brewing for years in response to socio-economic inequality.

The IPKF withdrawal in 1990 precipitated another phase of conflict between the GoSL and LTTE. Hostilities began after the LTTE reportedly killed hundreds of Muslim and Sinhalese SLPF personnel in the Eastern Province. The Security Forces (comprising the Navy, Army, Air Force, and Police Force, collectively referred to as the SFs) subsequently conducted a violent campaign to drive the LTTE from the East, and were often accused of targeting Tamil civilians. SFs also shelled LTTE positions in the North, sometimes incurring high civilian casualties. Meanwhile, the LTTE engaged in a series of political killings, including the 1993 assassination of President Ranasinghe Premadasa. They also targeted Muslim civilians in the East, sparking a cycle of violence between the LTTE, Muslim community and Tamil community that continued throughout the conflict.

The 1994 election of President Chandrika Kumaratunga led to a brief ceasefire in January 1995, but hostilities had resumed by April that year. LTTE tactics over the subsequent 7-year phase of conflict included suicide bombings, targeted killings of rival group members and perceived dissidents, and recruitment of child soldiers. Meanwhile, the GoSL has been accused of subjecting Tamil civilians to arbitrary detention and torture, disappearance and killing in custody.

On 22 February 2002, the Norwegian Government mediated a ceasefire. Nordic countries sent observers to oversee the peace process (Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, or SLMM). The SLMM recorded thousands of infractions of the ceasefire agreement, predominantly by the LTTE. In April 2003, the LTTE withdrew from peace talks in protest over its exclusion from a donors’ conference, although the ceasefire technically held until GoSL withdrawal in 2008. Active conflict resumed in August 2006, following an armed confrontation over LTTE closure of the sluice gates to the Mavil Aru reservoir.

By July 2007, the SFs had reclaimed full control of the Eastern Province, and by January 2008, only small parts of northern Sri Lanka remained in LTTE control. In January 2009, the GoSL captured and gained control over several significant and strategically important areas, including various major roads and an important LTTE base. Over the final months of the conflict, the LTTE and remaining civilians were trapped in an increasingly small area of land.

On 19 May 2009, the GoSL declared victory over the LTTE.

Period Overview

On 23 July 1983, the LTTE conducted its first large-scale attack, ambushing and killing a group of Sinhalese SFs soldiers. This incident provoked the ‘Black July’ riots against Tamil civilians in Colombo and other Sinhalese-majority areas, which involved large-scale violence against Tamils and extensive property destruction (described further under ‘Black July riots’ sub-section below). Following the riots, hundreds of thousands of Tamils were internally displaced, while tens of thousands moved abroad.

The riots are often considered to mark the outbreak of the Sri Lankan civil war. The initial period of conflict, which continued until 28 July 1987, was characterised by relatively low-intensity fighting. The SFs were ill-prepared for the outbreak of guerrilla war, lacking the manpower, intelligence capabilities and ties with the Tamil community necessary to counter an insurgency. The LTTE was still a small, poorly-equipped organisation, which spent the first months of the war looting SLPF stations and banks in order to arm and fund cadres.

However, from August 1983 onwards, Indian Government support allowed the LTTE to enhance its military capabilities. The Indian intelligence agency, known as the ‘Research and Analysis Wing’ (RAW), reportedly provided funding and specialist training to the LTTE and to other Tamil militant groups. The LTTE was also permitted to establish key bases in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

The LTTE received additional support from the Tamil diaspora, which grew throughout this period as Tamils fled Sri Lanka. Starting in the late 1980s, the LTTE established an overseas network of members to exert influence over the diaspora, raising money through both legal and illicit means.

This influx of overseas assistance provided the LTTE with the resources necessary to conduct small-scale attacks on SFs targets from 1983-1987, and larger-scale bomb attacks in 1986-1987. In addition, the GoSL Ministry of Defence (MoD) reported frequent LTTE raids on Sinhalese villages in the East, where villagers were reportedly attacked with small arms, knives and other hand-to-hand weapons. The LTTE also targeted Muslim civilians, prompting a cycle of Tamil-Muslim violence that continued throughout the conflict (described further under ‘Eastern’ sub-section below).

Meanwhile, SFs reportedly engaged in large-scale attacks on Tamil civilians, which were often reported as reprisals for LTTE bombings. In some cases in the database, SFs conducted ‘round-ups’ and cordon-and-search operations following LTTE attacks, arresting and killing tens or hundreds of Tamils. This pattern continued throughout the conflict.

The only, brief lull in violence in this period occurred in June 1985, when the Indian Government sponsored talks between the GoSL and several Tamil opposition groups, which were ultimately fruitless. The LTTE subsequently sought to assert its dominance over these rival groups, killings hundreds of members of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) and Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPLRF) in 1986. By the late 1980s, the LTTE was the dominant militant group in the North and East.

The final, major offensive in this period began on 26 May 1987, when the SFs launched ‘Operation Liberation’ in the Vadamarachchi area of the Jaffna Peninsula. It was their largest military operation so far, involving around 8,000 troops. The LTTE resisted, but SFs were able to capture the northern coastline of the Jaffna Peninsula within a week. The second stage of the operation, which aimed at capturing Jaffna town from the LTTE, commenced in early June 1987.

However, this stage of the offensive was brought to a halt by Indian intervention. First, the Indian Government sent a flotilla of ships to aid the Tamil population, which was stopped by the Sri Lankan Navy (SLN). It then entered Sri Lankan air space to drop humanitarian supplies in Jaffna, effectively ending the siege of Jaffna and indicating its opposition to further GoSL-LTTE military

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69 Leary, above n 2
71 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
72 Ibid.
73 Hashim, above n 10.
74 Ibid.
76 Crisis Group ‘The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora After The LTTE’ (Report, 23 February 2010); Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2.
77 Hashim, above n 10.
78 Weiss, above n 6.
79 Ibid.
Reports suggest that this interference was partly motivated by anger among the Indian Tamil population over high Tamil casualties in Sri Lanka, and partly by the Indian Government’s fears regarding the potential impact of the conflict on its own national unity.81

Following Indian intervention, the Indian Government pressured the GoSL and LTTE to agree to a ceasefire, thereby ending this period of conflict.82

Note on incidents: As mentioned in the Scope and methodology section, there are fewer incidents in the database in the period, which reflects reporting limitations as well as actual conflict dynamics. In particular, there are limited individual cases of disappearance and torture. However, Amnesty International recorded over 680 disappearances in the same timeframe, all of which they say occurred after victims were taken into custody by SFs in the North-East.83 Amnesty also found that ‘hundreds’ of victims were tortured between 1985 and mid-1987.84

80 Ibid.
81 Hashim, above n 10.
82 Weiss, above n 6.

Western Province

**In this section:**
- Black July riots
- Welikada Prison massacres
- Vehicle bombs and other IEDs

**Black July riots**

- Beginning 24 July 1983, Colombo: Tamil civilians killed and beaten in streets, and on buses and trains. Tamil-owned businesses and properties looted and burned. Death toll ranged from GoSL estimates of 350 to 387, to 1000 or more. SFs admitted killing at least 20-26 or 51-57 civilians. An estimated 90,000 civilians in Colombo and other Tamil areas left homeless, and 100,000 civilians sought refuge in 27 temporary camps across Sri Lanka. Attackers were allegedly composed of SFs, groups coordinated by the UNP government and Sinhalese civilians. SLPF and SFs reportedly did not attempt to prevent the attacks.

- 25 July, Trincomalee: 130 SLN personnel reportedly burned 175 Tamil homes, killed 1 Tamil civilian and injured 10 others.

Following the riots, 120 Sri Lankan Army (SLA) soldiers and 105 SLN sailors were dismissed from service.

**Welikada Prison massacres**

Two consecutive attacks on Tamil detainees in Welikada prison, Colombo, are often considered to be part of Black July. There were 72 Tamil political prisoners in the prison at the time of the massacre. Most of the victims had not been convicted, and only six of the 72 prisoners were serving sentences.

- 25 and/or 27 July: about 300 to 400 Sinhalese prisoners at Welikada prison reportedly attacked Tamil detainees, killing 35 of them. SLA soldiers guarding the prison were reportedly ordered not to radio headquarters for help. Soldiers reportedly prevented victims from being transported to hospital, allowing them to die.

- 27 or 29 July: 17 or 18 Tamil prisoners killed in second attack. Sinhalese prisoners reportedly responsible for attack, and prison officials may have collaborated with attackers.

Aside from the Black July riots, the main incidents in the Western Province were high-profile bombings in Colombo.

**Vehicle bombs and other IEDs**

Most of the vehicle bombs and other IED attacks in this period occurred in 1986, when there were five high-profile attacks with high casualties in Colombo, including an attack on a political rally. The most notable examples include:

- 3 May 1986, Colombo: bomb exploded at rear of airplane (AirLanka L-1011) while passengers were boarding. At least 15 people or 16 killed, 39 or 40 injured. Of those killed, 3 were Sri Lankans and 13 were foreigners. GoSL blamed LTTE, LTTE denied responsibility.

- 30 May 1986, Colombo: truck bomb exploded in Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd, a soft-drink bottling plant in Colombo, killing 8 people and injuring 50. SLPF suspected LTTE.

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86 Leary, above n 2.
88 Ibid; Leary, above n 2.
89 Ibid.
91 AI, ‘Sri Lanka: When Will Justice Be Done?’ (Report, 30 June 1994); Leary, above n 2; UTHR, ‘Supplement to Special Report No. 25 - Scripting the Welikade Massacre Inquest and the Fate of Two Dissidents’ (Research Report, 31 May 2007); Fernando, above n 70.
92 Ibid.
• 31 May 1986, Gampaha: bomb exploded near Veyangoda on train, up to 15 killed and 24 injured. Bomb was reportedly timed to detonate on arrival at main Colombo terminal, but train was running late. SLPF suspected ‘Tamils’.

• 4 September 1986, Colombo: bombs thrown at political rally at Mount Lavinia, right before leader of Mahajana (People’s) Party was about to give speech. At least 40 people injured.

• 21 April 1987, Colombo: car bomb exploded at Colombo’s main bus terminal, killing 105 or 113 people, injuring 200 or 298 others. Most victims were Sinhalese. GoSL blamed LTTE and Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students (EROS). However, EROS denied involvement.


Eastern Province

In this section:
- Village raids and other group attacks
- Killings
- Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs

The main trends in the Eastern Province were village raids and armed reprisal attacks. Most of the raids blamed on the LTTE were only reported by the MoD, which alleged the LTTE attacked ‘border villages’ in order to terrorise Sinhalese civilians into moving South. Some authors have attributed this trend to the divided ethnic demographics in the East, where there was a larger Sinhalese minority than in the North.

Similarly, most of the raids blamed on SFs were only reported by the North East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESoHR), which was established in 2004 as part of the Norwegian-facilitated peace process. These incidents, which were often described as reprisals for alleged LTTE attacks on SFs, generally incurred high casualties and involved widespread property destruction. Most occurred in 1985 and 1986.

A number of raids also involved Muslim-Tamil violence. Muslims comprised around one-third of the population in the East, and were the largest ethnic group in the district of Ampara. In the 1970s and early 1980s, some Muslims in the North and East had supported Tamil political parties and even joined the LTTE, while the LTTE expressed solidarity with Muslim political grievances. However, following the outbreak of conflict in 1983, Tamil militant activities, particularly extortion of Muslim businessmen, heightened intercommunal tension. It has been suggested that the GoSL and SFs attempted to exacerbate this tension in order to stymy possible cooperation between minority communities. SFs were allegedly involved in multiple incidents of Muslim-Tamil violence.

Village raids and other group attacks

According to incidents recorded in the database, the LTTE and SFs each conducted a significant number of raids on villages in the East from mid-1983 until July 1987.

Examples of raids on Sinhalese villages reported by the MoD (except one) include:
- 7 November 1985, Trincomalee: 10 Sinhalese civilians shot dead in attack on Namalwatta village. MoD blamed LTTE.
- 4 June 1986, Trincomalee: 17 or 20 villagers killed in attack on Sinhalese village of Andankulam. MoD blamed LTTE.
- 24 July 1986, Ampara: 9 killed, 13 injured in attack on Damana Sinhalese village. MoD blamed LTTE.
- 3 February 1987, Ampara: 13 Sinhalese villagers killed in attack on Mahantottal village. LTTE suspected. Attack was reportedly reprisal for killing of more than 200 Tamils by SLFP in Batticaloa on 24 January.
- 25 March 1987, Trincomalee: Sinhalese village of Serunuwara raided. 25 civilians killed. MoD blamed LTTE.
- 25 July 1987, Trincomalee: Thoppur village attacked. 9 killed. MoD blamed LTTE.
There were also many large-scale attacks on Tamils, where villagers were rounded up and killed, property was stolen or destroyed and displaced people were often targeted. Unless accusers were specified below, allegations of responsibility were made in NESoHR and Crisis Group reports. Examples include:

- 19 February 1985, Ampara: 85 SFs attacked Thankavelayuthapuram and Udumpankulam villages. 103 people rounded up, some raped, mutilated, killed. Others lined up, shot dead. 108
- Late 1985, Trincomalee: 70 civilians killed, 900 Tamil houses destroyed during 3-day long attack in Sampur. SFs blamed. 109
- 16 September 1985, Trincomalee: SFs allegedly rounded up Nilaveli internally displaced persons (IDP) camp, arrested and shot dead 24. 110
- 18 July 1986, Trincomalee: SFs conducted cordon-and-search operation in Manalchenai and Peruveli villages. 44 arrested, taken away and reportedly shot dead. 111
- 18 September 1986, Ampara: 47 civilians shot dead. Tamil Information Centre in Madurai, India blamed SFs. Attack was reportedly reprisal for car bomb attack in Batticaloa on same day. 112
- 10 November 1986, Batticaloa: 103 Tamil villagers in Pullumalai killed. Villagers raped, burned. Property stolen. SLA blamed. 113
- 4 July 1987, Batticaloa: crowd of Tamils at Hindu festival in Pavakokichenai fired on. 17 killed. ‘Local citizens committee’ blamed SLPF. However, SLA official claimed that victims were killed in crossfire between SLPF and LTTE. 114

NESoHR reported that SFs attacked some villages repeatedly over a period. For example, Thambalagamuwa village in Trincomalee District was reportedly targeted multiple times in November 1985, and May and June 1986:

- 12 November 1985, Trincomalee: SFs rounded up villagers at Thambalagamuwa, 9 people shot dead. 115
- 26 November 1985, Trincomalee: 3 farmers shot dead at Thambalagamuwa, bodies burned. SFs blamed. 116
- 25 May 1986, Trincomalee: 3 IDPs shot dead at Thambalagamuwa. SFs blamed. 117
- 30 May 1986, Trincomalee: SFs in black uniforms entered a home in Thambalagamuwa, 4 killed, 2 injured. 118
- 17 June 1986, Trincomalee: SFs arrested people in rice mill, bodies later discovered in nearby forest. 34 dead. In nearby Sampalthevul, 5 civilians shot dead. One burned inside car. SFs blamed. 119

There was a pattern of Muslim-Tamil violence in Ampara in 1985 and Trincomalee in 1986, which involved raids by LTTE, Muslim ‘mobs’ or Muslim ‘militia men’ and subsequent reprisal killings. For example:

- 16 April 1985, Ampara: 50 shops owned by Muslim traders burned in Akkaraipattu. GoSL blamed LTTE. 120
- 16 April 1985, Ampara: 125 Tamil shops damaged as reprisal for attacks on Muslim shops on same day. GoSL blamed Muslim civilians. 121
- 15 June 1986, Trincomalee: 12 Muslim ‘militiamen’ killed in raid on a Muttur village. Residents suspected LTTE. Attack was allegedly reprisal for attack on Tamil civilians 2 days earlier. 122

108 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
110 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
111 Ibid.
113 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
115 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
120 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
A couple of attacks targeted businesses:

- 17 July or September 1986, Trincomalee: attackers entered block 4 of Sugar Corporation in Kantalai, killing 10 villagers, including 7 Sinhalese, 2 Muslims and 1 Tamil. ‘Many others’ injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.124
- January 1987: 80 employees of a prawn factory in Kokkaddichcholai shot dead. Special Task Force (STF) blamed.125

Towards the end of the period, there was an ambush on Buddhist monks in Ampara:

- 1 or 2 June 1987, Ampara: bus ambushed near Arantalawa village. Buddhist monks dragged off. 35 people, 30 or 33 of whom were monks/31 monks/30 monks and 4 Sinhalese people were killed. 10 or 15 injured. MoD and GoSL blamed LTTE. LTTE blamed GoSL.126

Killings

There was one mass killing in the East, where 23 young Tamil men were arrested, forced to dig their own graves and shot dead.

- 17 May 1985, Ampara: 23 young, reportedly unarmed Tamil men were arrested in 3 villages - Naipattimunai, Thuraineelavanai and Chenaiyudiyiruppu. They were made to dig graves, shot dead and dumped in graves. STF reportedly dug up bodies and disposed of them at later date. STF, reportedly from Kallady camp, blamed for killings, but they denied involvement. Batticaloa SLPF and president of Kalmunai Citizen’s Committee, Paul Nallanayagam, initiated investigation on 18 May 1985, but it was abruptly discontinued on 19 May 1985. Paul Nallanayagam arrested and charged with spreading false information about incident. He was tried before Colombo High Court, but acquitted of all charges on 17 July 1986.127

Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs

Bombings in the East were mostly landmines and car bombs. As in the North, the majority occurred in 1986. The GoSL blamed nearly all of the incidents on the LTTE. Examples include:

- 19 February 1986, Trincomalee: SLA convoy escorting farmers or IDPs to market in Kantalai was hit by mine in Dehiwatte/Sittaru. 35 civilians killed. More than 30 people injured. All victims were Sinhalese. GoSL suspected LTTE.128
- 11 June 1986, Trincomalee: timed bombs exploded on 2 buses, killing 15-40. 73 or 75 injured. Bombs exploded almost simultaneously or 5 minutes apart. GoSL blamed LTTE.129
- 25 June 1986, Trincomalee: GoSL-run bus hit by bomb. 16 or 17 killed, 6 injured. Most victims were Sinhalese. GoSL blamed LTTE.130
- 18 September 1986, Batticaloa: car bomb killed 7 or 10 people. 5 SLPF officers injured.131
- 11 June 1987, Trincomalee: pressure mine at Veppankulam exploded under private van. 1 SFs soldier and 13 civilians killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.132

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Northern Province

In this section:
• Village raids and other group attacks
• Killings
• Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs
• Suicide attack
• Aerial attacks and shelling

The main incidents reported in the North were SFs attacks on Tamil civilians, often reportedly as reprisals for LTTE landmine and IED attacks. There were also a handful of factional killings, mostly in Jaffna, as the LTTE attempted to consolidate power over rival Tamil groups.

Village raids and other group attacks
The well-known 1984 Kent and Dollar Farm massacres in Mullaitivu are among the first attacks of the conflict:

• 11 or 30 November 1984, Mullaitivu/Vavuniya: armed group attacked Dollar Farm village. 33 Sinhalese civilians killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^ {133}\)
• 30 November 1984, Mullaitivu/Vavuniya: Kent Farm village attacked. 29 Sinhalese civilians killed. Attackers looted and set fire to houses. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^ {134}\)

There were a large number of raids on Northern Tamil villages reported by NESoHR in this period. According to NESoHR, the SFs were responsible for all of the following examples:

• 28 March 1984, Jaffna: SLA tanks and jeeps opened fire at crowd in Chunnakam market and bus stop. 8 civilians killed, 50 injured. Market set alight, shops burned down. Vehicles then drove to Mallaham and Tellippalai, opened fire on students leaving Union College. 1 killed, 46 injured.\(^ {135}\)
• 2 December 1984, Vavuniya: SFs imposed curfew, cordoned off Chettikulam. 52 men taken in SLA vehicles for questioning to Madhawachchi, subsequently disappeared. Villagers alleged men were killed by knives, run over with vehicles.\(^ {136}\)
• 10 May 1985, Jaffna: 70 people killed in round-up of Valvai. SFs arrested 24 men from Valvai, locked them in community hall. Grenade thrown into hall. 12 civilians shot dead at water tank, 34 others killed. SFs blamed.\(^ {137}\)
• 10 June 1986, Jaffna: SLN personnel wearing black attacked and tortured 32 fishermen from Kurunagar and Mandaitivu, then killed and mutilated them. Boats and nets destroyed.\(^ {138}\)

Several of the raids were reportedly reprisals against Tamils for landmine or other bombing attacks:

• 16 September 1984, Jaffna: 16 civilians killed in Point Pedro. Hartley College and library burned down. SLPF blamed. Reportedly retaliation for killing of 4 SFs in landmine explosion.\(^ {139}\)
• 4 December 1984, Mannar: civilians shelled from Thallady camp. 15 men who had been arrested burned alive, 30 people on road outside SFs camp also burned. Several villages rounded-up, homes burned, people shot and killed. Bus on Madhu road stopped, all passengers shot dead. More than 200 killed in attacks. SFs blamed. Suspected retaliation for landmine attack on SFs in Mannar.\(^ {140}\)

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134 Ibid.
135 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
138 Ibid.
139 Ibid. North East Rights, ‘a week prior to their disappearance
140 Ibid.
15 March 1985, Jaffna: 40 Tamil civilians killed, 30 injured in attack on coastal ferry travelling between islands of Delft and Pungudutivu. SLPF blamed SLN sailors, but GoSL denied SLN involvement. SLPF said attack was likely reprisal for attack in Anuradhapura on 14 May 1985.141

16 August 1985, Vavuniya: 21 to 200 Tamil civilians killed. SLPF, United News of India and LTTE blamed SFs. Attack was allegedly reprisal for mine attack on same day.142

3 March 1986, Jaffna: 30 Tamil civilians killed, others raped and tortured at Nainativu Island. Hindu temple, shops and houses burnt. Bodies thrown into burning houses and ocean. Tamil Information Centre in Madurai blamed SFs, but GoSL denied allegations. Attack was reportedly reprisal for LTTE mine attack that killed several SLN personnel at Nainativu the same day.143

There was also a large-scale attack on an SLPF station in Kilinochchi in this period:

1 March 1985, Kilinochchi: 50 people killed in attack on SLPF station. LTTE and Tamil TELO members blamed.144

Killings

The majority of killings (although not all) reported in this period were factional attacks, where members of rival Tamil groups targeted one another. Of the factional killings, only ones involving members reportedly in non-military roles have been included. Most of these incidents occurred in Jaffna and were blamed on the LTTE by the GoSL or Sunday Leader reports. Examples include:

26 June 1985, Jaffna: principal of St. John’s College killed. LTTE blamed.145

2 September 1985, Jaffna: K. Alalasunderam, TULF MP for Kopay, killed. TELO ‘on the instructions’ of Indian agency RAW blamed by most sources. GoSL blamed LTTE.146

2 or 3 September 1985, Jaffna: V. Dharmalingam, ex-TULF MP for Manipay and father of People’s Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) leader D. Siddharthan, killed. TELO ‘on the instructions’ of Indian agency RAW blamed by most sources, GoSL blamed LTTE.147

22 August 1985, Mullaitivu: P. Thambipillai, President of the Citizens Committee of Oddusudan, killed. LTTE blamed.148

6 May 1986, Jaffna: Shri Sabaratnam, a Tamil TELO Leader, killed in Kondavil. MoD blamed LTTE.149

Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs

There were several bus bombs, landmine and other IED attacks in the North, mostly occurring in 1986. Nearly all of the incidents were blamed on the LTTE. While some of the landmines and car bombs had minimal casualty tolls, they were often followed by larger-scale reprisal attacks on the Tamil population (as noted in the ‘Village raids’ section). Examples of these types of attacks include:

1 August 1985, Mullaitivu: landmine exploded, 2 civilians killed, 2 injured. Victims, who were in jeep, were contractors working on land settlement project at Welioya. GoSL blamed LTTE. Attack was reportedly first ambush reported since GoSL and 5 major rebel groups agreed on cease-fire in June 1985.150

22 July 1986, Vavuniya: landmine exploded under civilian bus in Mammaduwa, killing 32 or 38 mostly Sinhalese civilians, injuring 20 others. GoSL blamed LTTE.151

24 July 1986, Vavuniya/Anuradhapura: bomb exploded inside bus travelling from Vavuniya to Anuradhapura. 13 or 31 people killed, 33 or 40 injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.152

11 June 1987, Jaffna: explosion under private bus at Morawewa village killed 17 Muslims who had hired bus for hospital visit. GoSL suspected LTTE.153

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147 Ibid.
149 Ibid; MoD, Erasing of Tamil National Leadership’, above n 12.
**Suicide attack**

In 1987, what some have identified as the first LTTE suicide attack of the Sri Lankan civil war occurred in Jaffna:

- 5 July 1987: a suicide bomber drove an explosive-laden truck into the former Nelliady school, which had been converted into an SLA camp. It is unclear whether there were any casualties, although some reports suggested that there were around 40. The bomber was allegedly LTTE member Vasanthan Vallipuram, alias Miller.

**Aerial attacks and shelling**

While airstrikes were not a common mode of attack during this phase of conflict, there were a handful of high-casualty attacks in the database, including:

- 6-7 January 1986, Mannar: Vankalai shelled, and civilians hit. 9 civilians, including a priest, shot dead. SFs returned all bodies except priest’s. Eyewitnesses saw smoke in SFs camp, suspected body was burned.

- 22 April 1987, Jaffna: 15 children or over 100 civilians were killed, over 50 others injured in airstrikes on school. LTTE blamed SLAF, but GoSL claimed the helicopters strafed LTTE bunkers and weapons depots. According to GoSL, the success of air attacks was limited because pilots were not flying low in their light-weight bombers for fear of being hit by LTTE fire.

- 29 May 1987, Jaffna: SFs shelled Muthmariamman Temple in Alvai. 40 people seeking refuge in temple killed. SFs had prior advised people to take refuge in temples via radio and pamphlets dropped by air.

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155 LTTE-Karuna fight spills over to government areas’, The Sunday Leader, 10 July 2005.
156 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
158 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.

North Central Province

In this section:
- Village raids and other group attacks

Village raids and other group attacks

There were several raids on Sinhalese villages in the North Central Province, reported by the MoD. Some include:

- 20 April 1987, Polonnaruwa: 15 civilians killed in raid on Jayanthipura Sinhalese village. GoSL blamed LTTE. 160
- 12 or 21 June 1987, Polonnaruwa: 8 villagers killed and 1 or 6 injured during attack on Godapotha. GoSL blamed LTTE. 161

There were also two attacks on Buddhist temples and worshippers:

- 14 May 1985, Anuradhapura: attackers raided bus-stop and parts of Sri Maha Bodhiya holy site. 120 or 148 people, including Sinhalese Buddhist monks and worshippers, killed. 85 or 100 others injured. GoSL blamed LTTE. 162
- 2 August 1985, Polonnaruwa: 3 Sinhalese Buddhist monks and 3 civilians shot dead at Ruhunu Somavathiya Temple in Thrikonamadu. GoSL blamed LTTE. 163

And large armed attack on vehicles:

- 17 April 1987, Polonnaruwa: 3 buses and 2 lorries ambushed in Aluth Oya. 107 to 130 killed, 60 to 70 injured. Victims mostly Sinhalese. GoSL blamed LTTE. 164

160 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1987, above n 106.
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990
Period Overview

On 29 July 1987, the GoSL and Indian Government signed the Indo-Lanka Accord. Provisions of the Accord included, among other things: that SFs troops in the North would withdraw to their barracks; that all militant groups would surrender their arms; that Tamil-majority provinces would be temporarily unified under one administrative unit; and that Tamil would be made an official language of Sri Lanka.

The Accord also stipulated that the Indian Government would assist in the implementation of a ceasefire and subsequent disarmament by deploying an Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka. An estimated 70,000-80,000 IPKF troops were stationed in the North-East over the next three years. During this time, the IPKF was frequently accused of attacking civilians, although the Indian Government denied these accusations.

While the LTTE had consented to a prior ceasefire agreement, it was not a party to the Accord and opposed much of its substance, refusing to completely disarm. As a result, the LTTE and IPKF began to engage in regular armed confrontations, along with Tamil militant groups that had allied with the IPKF.

At the same time, the JVP commenced their second insurgency. While the group cited the IPKF presence in North-East as a catalyst for the uprising, they had reportedly started to mobilise before the Accord was signed, building up their resources and capabilities throughout the 1980s. During the uprising, the JVP was reportedly responsible for attacking public transport, banks, and GoSL officers; for killing thousands of civilians; and for sabotaging agrarian centres, electrical power structures, communication structures, tea estates, and factories.

The SFs suppressed the JVP in a campaign marked by thousands of killings and disappearances, targeting anyone who was vaguely suspected of being a JVP member or supporter. According to Amnesty International, some observers estimated that as many as 30,000 people were killed between 1988 and 1989 in the South. Many of these killings occurred in late 1989 and were blamed on SFs and SF-affiliated vigilante groups. Additionally, four Commissions of Inquiry ordered by GoSL President Kumaratunga verified 21,215 cases of disappearances throughout Sri Lanka from the beginning of 1985 until the end of 1990. However, despite confidential dossiers of information being produced for the Attorney General’s Department, there is limited publicly available information on any of these individual cases, including those briefly listed in reports.

In August 1989, there was a spike in political violence and property destruction blamed on the JVP, which announced that it planned to kill the relatives of soldiers who did not immediately resign from the SFs. The SFs responded by staging increasingly violent anti-insurgency operations, which culminated in the November 1989 capture and killing of the JVP leader, Wijeweera, in Kandy. By mid-January, the GoSL had reportedly captured the entire JVP ‘politburo’, effectively signalling an end to the insurgency.

166 Ibid.
167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
171 AI, ‘The Indian Peace Keeping Force’, above n 7.
172 Weiss, above n 6.
178 Ibid.
181 Weiss, above n 6.
182 AI, ‘A Human Rights Crisis’, above n 8
Amidst these hostilities, the second ever Sri Lankan presidential elections occurred on 19 December 1988, and were won by Ranasinghe Premadasa of the UNP. There was relatively frequent election violence, including violent incidents targeting electoral gatherings, voter intimidation, and attacks on political party members and candidates.

Following the election, there was increased fighting between the LTTE and the IPKF. The Premadasa Government wanted the IPKF to withdraw, and provided arms to the LTTE for the purpose of weakening the IPKF. IPKF withdrawal became increasingly likely after the 1989 electoral defeat of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who brokered the Indo-Lanka Accord. Eventually, in March 1990, the IPKF complied with President Premadasa’s request and pulled out of Sri Lanka.\(^{183}\)

Note: Despite reports on the significant amount of killings, disappearances and abductions during this period, this section does not reflect the magnitude of what purportedly occurred. This suggests more about the availability of detailed public information than the actual volume of incidents.

\(^{183}\) Weiss, above n 6.
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

Northern Province

In this section:
- Aerial attacks and civilians killed in crossfire
- Killings and abductions leading to torture, disappearance or death
- Landmine, vehicle bomb, grenade and other IEDs
- Village raids

The majority of incidents reported in the North related to civilian casualties caused by conflict between the IPKF and the LTTE. There were also a large number of incidents where civilians were disappeared or killed, which were mostly blamed on the IPKF. Various reports estimated ranges in the thousands of civilians who are believed to have died from 1 July 1987 to 1 March 1990.184

Attacks on villages, IED explosions and vehicle ambushes also proliferated in this period.

Aerial attacks and civilians killed in crossfire

This section mainly includes incidents where the IPKF is blamed for killing civilians while engaged in armed confrontations with the LTTE, or for committing reprisal attacks on civilians. The Indian Government denied these allegations, maintaining that the IPKF was attacking legitimate targets, or that LTTE fighters were the only casualties.

In October 1987, IPKF soldiers advanced to the centre of Jaffna. The LTTE attempted to resist the IPKF offensive.185 There were many civilian casualties during this time. The IPKF denied using heavy artillery or air strikes, but some residents claimed they did.186 SLA and IPKF sources alleged that the LTTE used human shields during the IPKF offensive.187 This section also includes the first allegation of a party using chemical weapons.

In September and October 1987, IPKF troops and LTTE were fighting in Mannar and Jaffna. Examples include:

- 23 September 1987, Mannar: IPKF troops fired on a crowd of 5000 Tamil demonstrators who were throwing stones in Mannar, killing 1 civilian and injuring 20 others, according to officials. The incident occurred when Indian guards blocked the demonstrators from entering their camp at Mannar. 20 IPKF troops also injured. Indian High Commission official in Colombo confirmed incident and Indian casualties.188
- 29 October 1987, Jaffna: IPKF conducted an aerial attack on Chavakachcheri, Jaffna. 20 civilians reportedly killed when central market, bus station and nearby houses hit. Indian Government spokesman claimed helicopters attacked LTTE position at Chavakachcheri, killing 27 LTTE fighters. He claimed that the attack occurred after advancing IPKF troops were fired on from an isolated building and a petrol station.190

In 1988, sample incidents include:

- 23 February 1988, Mullaitivu: MoD claimed that IPKF troops shot and killed 20 Tamil civilians. Spokeswoman for Indian High Commission denied Tamil civilians killed, saying body of one LTTE soldier recovered and at least 10 more LTTE soldiers believed killed. IPKF officer and 3 SLA soldiers had earlier been killed in ambush in Puthukudiyiruppu (PTK).191

186 Ibid.
• 20 April 1988, Mullaitivu: 8 civilians killed during battle between IPKF soldiers and LTTE fighters at PTK. Residents said IPKF fired machine guns and mortars at the village. Indian Embassy official said there were reports of an encounter, but no reports of civilian casualties.192

• 2 or 3 August 1989, Jaffna: 25 to 52 civilians killed in attack on Valvettithurai. Attackers burned houses and shops and kept village under lockdown for around 2 days while they surveyed the area. Some blamed IPKF. Indian Government and GoSL claimed 18 civilians died in crossfire between IPKF and LTTE. Indian Government spokesman claimed LTTE used civilians as cover when firing at IPKF.193

• 28 August 1989, Mullaitivu: LTTE accused IPKF of ‘going on a rampage’, killing 4 civilians and destroying 22 houses at Alampil. LTTE claimed the incident followed a gun battle between its fighters and IPKF soldiers.194

The first recorded accusation in the CMAP database of chemical weapons being used was:

• 25 August 1989, Jaffna: 25 to 52 civilians killed in attack on Valvettithurai. The victims were believed to be IPKF informants. GoSL blamed LTTE.198

Killings and abductions leading to torture, disappearance or death

This section has been separated by alleged perpetrator, because the nature of the attacks generally differed depending on who was allegedly involved. For attacks blamed on the LTTE, they mainly targeted people who appeared to dissent or criticise them. A common pattern in IPKF attacks was round-ups of groups of young civilian men in the immediate vicinity of an LTTE attack, allegedly involved. For attacks blamed on the LTTE, they mainly targeted people who appeared to dissent or criticise them. A common pattern in IPKF attacks was round-ups of groups of young civilian men in the immediate vicinity of an LTTE attack, according to Amnesty International (which is the primary reporter of these incidents). However, incidents reported by Amnesty International are the only incidents in the CMAP database that demonstrated this pattern.

**LTTE involvement**

Almost all incidents reported in this period occurred in Jaffna. Below are some examples from this period:

• 22 January 1988, Mannar: Government Agent (GA) ambushed by 4 gunmen, taken to jungle and killed. ‘Officials’ suspected LTTE, as LTTE had previously threatened him for defying their call to close offices.196

• 8 March 1988, Jaffna: Tamil and secretary of Jaffna Communist Party or District Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party, killed by gunmen on a motorcycle. SLFP suspected LTTE.197

• 5 June 1988, Jaffna: 4 Tamil civilians killed and notes pinned to their bodies calling them traitors. Bodies found near bus stop in Valvettithurai. The victims were believed to be IPKF informants. GoSL blamed LTTE.198

• 28 June 1989, Jaffna: Assistant Government Agent (AGA) of Kopay killed. LTTE blamed.199

• 28 January 1990, Jaffna: human rights activist and lecturer in Anatomy at University of Jaffna, killed. LTTE blamed. The victim allegedly led the University in opposing LTTE.200

• June 1990, Jaffna: former medical student and member of small left group picked up in Nallur, never seen again. He was a close relative of LTTE deputy leader Mahattaya, and was allegedly critical of LTTE.201

**IPKF involvement**

Almost all incidents of disappearance and killings that the IPKF were implicated in occurred in Jaffna, apart from a small number in Vavuniya. All were reported by Amnesty International, and occasionally by other sources as well. Below are some examples:

• 11 October 1987, Jaffna: IPKF vehicle hit landmine in Alaveddy. Five minutes later, IPKF soldiers allegedly entered house of person nearby, arrested him with his nephew. Neither seen since.202

• 12 November 1987, Jaffna: female and her 3 daughters aged 10, 12 and 17, detained in Nallur, allegedly by IPKF soldiers using a neighbouring house as a base. Officials denied they were in IPKF custody, but they were never seen again.203

203 Ibid.
• 16 November 1987, Jaffna: IPKF arrested 6 young men from Valvettithurai, apparently acting on informants’ information. One of those arrested was shot dead. Authorities did not acknowledge his death. 204

• 31 December 1987, Jaffna: male arrested in Chunnakam by IPKF accompanied by members of ‘Three Star’ (a name given at that time to an alliance of anti-LTTE groups). He was not seen since. IPKF informed his mother he was released after interrogation and likely joined LTTE. 205

• 8 January 1988, Jaffna: male reportedly arrested while worshipping at a Murugan temple in Sivan Kovilady, Vaddukoddai. Wife and child went to IPKF camp and saw him and 3 other prisoners being escorted by 25 IPKF soldiers. On 10 February 1988 they were informally told by an IPKF officer he had been shot dead. Death certificate said he died on 13 January 1988 in an IPKF action at Araly. 206

• 8 September 1988, Jaffna: male arrested, allegedly by IPKF, after 2 IPKF soldiers killed close to his home at Pandaterruppu. He was seen in detention at Thottilady IPKF camp. 2 days later relatives told he had been released, but never arrived home (200 yards away from IPKF camp). 207

• 15 or 16 February 1989, Jaffna: 2 sisters shot dead in their Udupiddy home. IPKF soldiers blamed. Victim’s brother said IPKF soldiers tried to force him to sign a statement claiming LTTE killed his sisters. 208

• 13 July 1989, Jaffna: young fisherman icing fish was called over, allegedly by IPKF soldiers, and shot dead. The IPKF had announced a ban on fishing that day. 209

EPRLF involvement

Very few incidents were reported that allegedly involved the EPRLF. Of those reported, two had journalists as the victims.

• 10 May 1989, Jaffna: attackers came to house of son of editor of Murasoli Tamil-language newspaper to question father. Instead, took son and shot dead. EPRLF blamed. 210

• 8 October 1989, Jaffna: 18 journalists from Eelanadu offices, abducted. One of journalists blamed EPRLF. 211

SLPF involvement

There is only one incident recorded in this period relating to arbitrary detention by SLPF officers in the North.

• 7 June 1990, Vavuniya: SLPF superintendent of Vavuniya, arrested Sri Lanka Red Cross driver under the PTA for allegedly having discussions with LTTE leaders, concealing information on the killing of SLPF officers and collection of explosives. He was brought to Colombo Criminal Investigations Department (CID) office and interrogated. He was detained for 3 days, produced before the Magistrate and remanded indefinitely. On 28 December 1998, Attorney-General advised SLPF the evidence was insufficient, but he was only released on 13 January 1999. 212

Landmine, vehicle bomb, grenade and other IEDs

The LTTE was blamed for a handful of bomb or IED attacks in this period. For example:

• 12 November 1987, Vavuniya: landmine exploded as bus passed near Chettikulam, killing all 25 Tamil passengers. GoSL blamed LTTE. 213

• 28 November 1987, Jaffna: hand grenades thrown into crowd of Tamils waiting for food packages handed out by IPKF soldiers, 5 killed according to Indian diplomats. Indian diplomats blamed LTTE. 214

• 29 February 1988, Jaffna: office of Eelanadu newspaper bombed. GoSL blamed LTTE. 215

• 9 or 11 November 1988, Jaffna: car bomb exploded near Jaffna. 4 killed and 20 injured (including 16 school children). Victims all Tamils. SFs suspected LTTE. 216

• 17 August 1989, Vavuniya: IED explosion killed 8 civilians and injured 4 at Nochchikulam. GoSL blamed LTTE. 217

204 Ibid.
205 Ibid.
207 Ibid.
208 Ibid; UTHR, ‘Palmyra Fallen: Rajani to War’s End – Chapter 2: A Parlous Quest to Live in Truth’ (Report, 1 May 2014).
210 Ibid.
Village raids

The only reports of villages being attacked in the North in this period were in Vavuniya. These attacks were not frequent, one was reported by Reuters and the other two by MoD.

- 7 October 1987, Vavuniya: Sinhalese village, 4 killed. LTTE blamed. 218
- 22 March 1988, Vavuniya: Medawachchikulam, one of the last remaining Sinhalese villages in Vavuniya. 9 killed, 3 injured. MoD blamed LTTE. 219
- 17 January 1989, Vavuniya: Maharambekulam, one of last remaining Sinhalese villages on Vavuniya-Anuradhapura border. 9 killed, 7 injured. MoD blamed LTTE. 220

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29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

Eastern Province

In this section:
- Village raids
- Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups
- Disappearances
- Attacks on vehicles
- Landmines, bombs and other IEDs (non-vehicle related)

The Eastern Province was one of the key areas where the LTTE operated during this period. The main types of publicly reported incidents that occurred in the East between July 1987 and early June 1990 were attacks on villages. Other reported incidents in the region included disappearances, killings of individuals and small groups, vehicle ambushes, and some bomb explosions. There was also continued tension between the Tamil and Muslim populations, which can be seen in various attacks throughout this section.

Village raids

There were regular, sometimes daily, incidents reported of villages being attacked by the LTTE in this period. Most were Sinhalese villages in Ampara and Trincomalee, but some raids appeared to target Muslims. There was a small amount of village raids recorded in Batticaloa.

The majority of incidents were only reported by the MoD and they invariably blamed the LTTE. According to reports, the raids generally involved villagers being attacked and killed with small arms and sharp weapons, and houses being set on fire. There was one instance of IPKF soldiers taking civilians from a village and killing them in an alleged reprisal.

Below is a sample of incidents reported in October 1987. The ones with multiple sources can be identified by the footnotes.

- 6 October 1987, Batticaloa: Tharavi Sinhalese village, 25 killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 221
- 6 October 1987, Trincomalee, Sagarapura Sinhalese village, 27 killed, 6 injured. MoD blamed LTTE. 222
- 10 October 1987, Trincomalee: Gantalawa, Kantalai, 9 or 10 killed, 3 injured. MoD blamed LTTE. 223
- 10 October 1987, Trincomalee: Sinhalese villagers in Mollipathana, 10 killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 224
- 15 October 1987, Trincomalee: Ella Kantalai villagers, attacked in the village, or attacked in 2 trucks carry the villagers, 14 killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 225

Similar patterns can be seen in other sample periods, like March 2008:

- 2 March 1988, Trincomalee: Morawewa ancient Sinhalese village, 15 to 24 killed, 3 injured. MoD blamed LTTE. 226
- 5 March 1988, Trincomalee: Sittaru Sinhalese village in Kantalai, 24 or 26 killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 227
- 14 March 1988, Trincomalee: Sinhalese village of Galmetiya (various spellings) 11 or 12 killed and 2 or 6 injured. MoD blamed LTTE. 228
- 15 March 1988, Kivulkade, Trincomalee: Sinhalese village in Morawewa, 7 killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 229

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221 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1987, above n 106.
222 Ibid.
227 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1988, above n 219.
17 March 1988, Ampara: Deegawapi Sinhalese village, 13 killed, 9 injured. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{230}\)

There was also one reported attack on a Muslim village in this period, although there were no reports of casualties, only destructions of homes.

- 4 January 1988, Batticaloa: 40 Muslim homes ablaze in Kattankudy village. LTTE blamed. The attack reportedly followed the destruction of 2 Tamil homes in a nearby village (allegedly by a Muslim ‘fundamentalist organisation’).\(^{231}\)

Around 18 March 1988, following attacks in Trincomalee, hundreds of Sri Lankan troops were moved to the East, reportedly to prevent attacks on Sinhalese by the LTTE. The troop deployment was reported as a decision by Sri Lankan and Indian officials, and reversed a stipulation of the Indo-Lanka Accord confining SFs to barracks and assigning peacekeeping to the IPKF and SLPF.\(^{232}\)

MoD reports of attacks on villages from this point were less frequent, although they were slightly more varied. Below are some examples similar to what was reported from July 1987 to March 1988, although less regular:

- 10 August 1988, Ampara: Central Camp village, 11 killed. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{233}\)
- 10 September 1988, Ampara: 16\(^{th}\) Colony Sinhalese village at Central Camp, 7 or 11 killed, 5 injured. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{234}\)
- 12 December 1988, Trincomalee: Sumedagama Sinhalese village, 7 killed, 4 injured. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{235}\)

There were, however, more attacks on Muslim villagers reported (mainly by the news wires):

- 31 March 1988, Batticaloa: Muslim villages of Mallayakadu and Sainthamaruthu, 17 killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^{236}\)
- 11 February 1989, Ampara: farming colony raided. 6 Muslim villagers shot dead. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^{237}\)
- 4 May 1989 to 25 May 1989, Ampara: 10 Muslims killed and 700 houses damaged in village of Sammanthurai, during clashes between LTTE and Muslims. Muslim residents claimed Tamils trying to drive them away.\(^{238}\)
- 17 November 1989, Ampara: 38 unarmed Muslim SLPF officers in Karaitivu, killed. Free-lance journalist blamed ‘Tamil militia’.\(^{239}\)

There was also a village attack blamed on the IPKF:

- 13 September 1989, Trincomalee: 15 Tamil civilians killed at Kaddaiparichan village by taking them to a school and firing indiscriminately. The attack was in apparent retaliation for an attack on them by the LTTE. LTTE accused IPKF. Indian High Commission did not comment.\(^{240}\)

**Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups**

During this period in the Eastern Province, a large number of civilian individuals or small groups were attacked or killed for various purported reasons, including the position they held, accusations that they were traitors or informers, their religion or ethnicity, or reprisal attacks.

In September and October 1987 there was a spate of attacks on GAs and AGAs:

- 3 September 1987, Trincomalee: AGA of Muttur, shot dead on way to mosque. GoSL blamed LTTE. The SLA spokesman said in response, Muslim residents of Muttur set fire to two LTTE offices.\(^{241}\)
- 15 September 1987, Ampara: AGA of Sammanthurai, Vignarajah killed. LTTE blamed.\(^{242}\)
- 8 October 1987, Batticaloa: AGA of Batticaloa killed. LTTE blamed.\(^{243}\)
- 8 October 1987, Batticaloa: GA of Batticaloa killed. LTTE blamed.\(^{244}\)

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\(^{242}\) ‘The Trail of Terror’, The Sunday Times, above n 145.
\(^{243}\) Ibid.
\(^{244}\) Ibid.
There were also attacks and fighting targeting the SLPF. On at least one reported occasion, shortly after the attacks on the GA’s, there was an attack on the SLPF that had serious ramifications for civilians in the area.

- 27 December 1987, Batticaloa: Sinhalese SLPF officer shot dead. LTTE blamed. Gunfight between LTTE and SLPF ensued in crowded market. 18 or 24 civilians killed, including 17 deaths from crossfire and other victims who were allegedly dragged out of shops by SLPF and shot. 20 shops caught fire. IPKF soldiers suspected to be involved. Indian diplomat denied involvement.\(^\text{245}\)

There were attacks targeting Muslim people, sometimes reported as reprisal attacks. One case involved large-scale property destruction, with no reported casualties. Some examples include:

- 30 December 1987, Batticaloa: small group of Muslims in Kattankudy abducted and killed as reprisal for killing of LTTE fighters by a little-known Muslim group. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^\text{246}\)
- 19 March 1988, Trincomalee: 2 Muslims shot dead in Muttur. Officials blamed LTTE.\(^\text{247}\)
- 25 March 1988, Trincomalee: Muslim fishermen shot dead off coast and 9 others disappeared. Victims’ bodies washed ashore on 26 March 1988. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^\text{248}\)
- 26 March 1988, Ampara: suspected LTTE fighters set fire to around 25 shops belonging to Muslims in Kalmunai, according to SLPF. No one killed.\(^\text{249}\)
- 29 May 1989, Ampara: 5 Muslim traders abducted, taken into jungle and shot dead at Akkarapattu. Residents and GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^\text{250}\)
- 17 November 1989, Ampara: 38 unarmed Muslim SLPF officers killed in Karaitivu. SLA blamed ‘Tamil militia’.\(^\text{251}\)

One attack on Muslims in 1990 occurred after a public protest demanding the release of Muslim captives abducted by the LTTE.

- 1 February 1990, Ampara: 5 Muslim patients in a private hospital in Kalmunai, shot dead. 10 others injured. Muslim Congress member suspected LTTE. The victims were being treated for injuries suffered during a protest outside the LTTE office in Kalmunai demanding the release of Muslims taken captive by the LTTE. The LTTE had fired shots and threw a hand grenade into the crowd and as a result 17 people were injured of the 20 protesters.\(^\text{252}\)

There were also killings targeting Sinhalese people, for example:

- 11 November 1987, Batticaloa: Sinhalese people selling fish shot dead. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^\text{253}\)
- 22 December 1987, Trincomalee: Sinhalese fishermen fishing in Morawewa Tank, abducted and tortured to death. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^\text{254}\)
- 2 August 1988, Ampara: 5 Sinhalese people killed in Akkarapattu. Officials suspected LTTE.\(^\text{255}\)
- 15 October 1988, Ampara: Sinhalese businessman shot dead. GoSL blamed JVP.\(^\text{256}\)

Some killings targeted people suspected of being ‘traitors’ or informers:

- 14 December 1987, Batticaloa: small group of Tamils shot dead for meeting with senior IPKF officials. Bodies found in Palukamam, with the word ‘traitor’ pinned to them. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^\text{257}\)
- 17 October 1988, Ampara: 6 civilians (including 3 children) taken from homes and shot dead at Mangala Oya. Residents alleged victims were killed because they were suspected informers. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^\text{258}\)

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252 ‘Sri Lankan Tamil Group Said to Kill Five Hospital Patients’, Reuters, 1 February 1990.
There was a significant amount of inter-group violence in this period. In mid-September 1987, the SLFP accused LTTE gunmen of killing 75 unarmed people from ‘rival Tamil groups’ in Batticaloa District – the EPRLF, PLOTE and TELO. Later, there were also examples of members or representatives of various political groups being targeted:

- 7 March 1989, Batticaloa: senior candidate of the TULF political party killed. LTTE blamed.260
- 28 January 1990, Trincomalee: former provincial minister or Ex – EPRLF provincial council minister for North and East C.M. Ganeshalingam, shot dead at home. Council spokesman blamed LTTE.261
- 30 January 1990, Ampara: local politician M.P. Munsoor shot and injured in Sammanthurai. LTTE blamed. LTTE said the politician was a member of Jihad, a ‘shadowy [Muslim] militant group’.262

**Disappearances**

There were very few public reports that contain detailed information on individual cases of disappearances, despite it being a significant issue. For example:

- 9 October 1987, Ampara: 2 people arrested, allegedly by SLA personnel, while waiting for a bus in Kondavattanvan. They were not seen again.263
- 19 July 1988, Ampara: male seized reportedly by a group of IPKF soldiers accompanied by the local leader of the PLOTE. Subsequently, PLOTE leader said they ‘lost him’ while running for safety from heavy LTTE firing. According to Amnesty International, this is the only documented disappearance in Ampara District for which the IPKF are believed responsible.

**Attacks on vehicles**

Between October 1987 and November 1988, a number of vehicles were attacked, mainly buses. Some vehicles were ambushed by gunmen who separated Sinhalese passengers from Tamil ones, and killed the Sinhalese passengers. Others were attacked using various IEDs. The LTTE was blamed for all but one attack. There was one attack on Tamils that the JVP was blamed for, but most JVP attacks occurred in the South and West.

There were a number of attacks in October 1987:

- 6 October 1987, Batticaloa: night train from Batticaloa to Colombo ambushed at Valaichchenai. Sinhalese separated and 40 shot dead. Carriages set on fire. GoSL blamed LTTE.265
- 7 October 1987, Ampara: 20 or 25 passengers, all Sinhalese, killed on bus in Pottuvil. GoSL blamed LTTE.266
- 16 October 1987, Trincomalee: private bus stopped at Pulmoddai. Sinhalese passengers separated and 11 killed, including 3 SLFP. GoSL blamed LTTE.267
- 19 October 1987, Batticaloa: landmine exploded under private bus transporting Tamil passengers in Kalkudah, Batticaloa. 30 or 40 people killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.268

There was another spate of attacks with a similar frequency again in March 1988:

- 5 March 1988, Trincomalee: landmine detonated under lorry in Sittaru. Sinhalese and Muslims passengers killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.269
- 15 March 1988, Trincomalee: 3 Tamil bus passengers dragged away near Tampalagama and hacked to death. Indian High Commission blamed JVP.270
- 20 March 1988: Trincomalee: unidentified gunmen fired at passenger van in Pankulam, killing and injuring passengers. All victims were Tamils, gunfire identity unknown.271

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264 AI, ‘The Indian Peace Keeping Force’, above n 7.
Vehicle ambushes in the following months were less frequent, for example:

- 1 May 1988, Trincomalee: landmine near Sittaru exploded under CTB bus killing 26 people and injuring others. GoSL blamed LTTE. 272
- 14 November 1988, Trincomalee: bus attacked with bombs and rifle fire in Paniketiya. Victims were Sinhalese. GoSL blamed LTTE. 273

**Landmines, bombs and other IEDs (non-vehicle related)**

The other incident type that occurred with some level of frequency during this period was IED or bomb attacks. These have been separated from attacks on vehicles, even though some of these involved IEDs as well. One attack appeared to target the SLPF, and another to target a place IPKF soldiers frequented. One was related to an electoral rally. In two instances, reporters linked identified subsequent incidents as reprisals for given attacks.

The following is a sample of the types of attacks:

- 8 October 1987, Batticaloa: landmine explosion killed 14 people, including area SLPF chief Nimal de Silva, his administrative officer Mariampallai Anthonymuttu, and 6 soldiers. 500 SLPF commandos were flown to Batticaloa and destroyed an LTTE office, according to a Batticaloa Citizens Committee member. 274
- 2 May 1988, Batticaloa: bomb exploded, injuring people and destroying a 2-storey building with a Muslim-owned textile shop inside, according to SLPF. 275
- 6 July 1988, Trincomalee: bomb exploded at SLFP rally in Sagarapura. 1 killed, 7 injured, all from UNP. Local politicians were addressing a by-election meeting when the attack occurred. 276
- 21 July 1988, Trincomalee: bomb exploded inside a small restaurant, killing a small number of civilians. 277
- 16 August 1988, Trincomalee: bomb exploded near Clock Tower area. 7 or 10 killed and 19 or 20 injured. 278
  - Reportedly, bodies of 2 Tamils with gunshot wounds found near Clock Tower, killed in a ‘reprisal attack’. 279
- 4 November 1988, Trincomalee: 1 bomb exploded in courthouse, and 1 in shop that served IPKF patrons. 1 IPKF soldier, 1 SLPF officer and 1 Muslim civilian killed. 10 Indian civilians and 4 Sri Lankan civilians injured. 280
- 13 April 1989, Trincomalee: prior to Sinhalese New Year, 38 or 42 killed and around 55 injured when a bomb exploded in a car in a crowded market. GoSL blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied responsibility. 281
  - In an alleged retaliation, ‘Sinhalese mob’ stabbed to death 1 Tamil and injured 7 people. They also set fire to a Tamil owned shop. 282

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279 Ibid.
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990
North Central Province

In this section:
- Village raids and other group attacks
- Attacks on vehicles
- Attacks on politicians

Village raids and other group attacks

There were many reported incidents of villages being attacked in this period, mainly in 1988. Most were Sinhalese villages in Anuradhapura, and Polonnaruwa and were blamed on the LTTE. The majority of incidents were only reported by the MoD. The cases generally involved villagers being attacked and killed with small arms and sharp weapons, and houses being set on fire.

Below is a sample of attacks in late 1987 and 1988:
- 15 or 16 December 1987, Polonnaruwa: Devagodalla village, 7 to 10 killed. GoSL blamed LTTE, wearing SLA uniforms according to some.283
- 8 April 1988, Anuradhapura: Meegaswewa, ancient Sinhalese village in Horowpathana, 14 killed. MoD blamed LTTE.284
- 28 July 1988, Anuradhapura: Sinhalese cinnamon farmers near Padaviya village, 16 killed, 2 injured. LTTE blamed.285
- 25 August 1988, Polonnaruwa: Marawila, Sinhalese village, 11 killed. MoD blamed LTTE.286
- 9 or 10 October 1988, Anuradhapura: Mahakongaskada village, 44 to 47 killed (including 18 children) and 4 to 17 injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.287

An attack in 1989 included:
- 27 February 1989, Polonnaruwa: attackers raided Borawewa or Welikanda, moving from house to house. 37 or 38 civilians killed. The attackers also allegedly set up mines along the roads out of Borawewa to serve as booby traps for SLA soldiers. GoSL blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied responsibility and blamed ‘other Tamil groups’.288

From around March 1989, there were attacks on groups of people where the ‘Black Cats’ and/or the JVP was blamed, and in one instance the SLA. These were generally reported by media sources. These incidents also seem to be reported as reprisals for earlier incidents.
- 19 March 1989, Anuradhapura: unidentified gunmen shot and killed 17 Sinhalese men in Tirapanne. SLPF said ‘Black Cats’ may be responsible.289
- 20 March 1989, Anuradhapura: 14 bodies found in abandoned cemetery at Meegaswewa, near Eppawala. Locals said victims were in SLPF custody for up to 2 weeks, and believed they were killed in retaliation for landmine explosion the previous day that killed 3 SLPF. SLPF blamed ‘Black Cats’ as note found near bodies saying killings were punishment for JVP followers.290

290 AI, ‘When Will Justice Be Done?’, above n 91.
• 18 July 1989, Anuradhapura: 20 Sinhalese men in Vijithapura and Siripura villages shot dead. Victims were members of JVP. SFs alleged that ‘Black Cats’ claimed responsibility.291

• 25 August 1989, Anuradhapura: 20 or 35 villagers from Tirapanne or Punchikulame killed, thrown in houses and burned. SFs blamed JVP, ‘opposition critics’ blamed unidentified, SFs-affiliated ‘terror’ groups supported by SFs, residents blamed SLA soldiers dressed as civilians.293

• 31 August 1999, Anuradhapura: 25 or 31 young men rounded up and shot dead, bodies burned and dumped on roadside in Punewa, and their homes burned. Pro-GoSL assailants wearing SLA uniforms blamed, and some suggested it was reprisal for killing by JVP. SLPF and SFs denied it.293

• 7 September 1989, Anuradhapura: 8 unidentified civilians killed and burned on pile of rubber tyres. Residents said killings were carried out by pro-GoSL vigilantes hunting JVP members and supporters.294

• 1 November 1989, Anuradhapura: armed men raided adjoining villages of Galanewa and Thambuttegama, burning at least 50 houses and killing people. Residents said that victims were suspected LTTE. Many women were shot and bodies were burned. Attack was reportedly revenge for earlier landmine destruction of SLPF jeep, which killed 4 SLPF. Residents suspected JVP.295

Attacks on vehicles

There were a small number of bus attacks reported in the North Central Province in this period. Two examples from March 1988 include:

• 11 March 1988, Anuradhapura: gunmen in masks and black clothing attacked bus carrying mainly Tamil passengers with guns and grenades. 17 to 22 killed, others injured. SLPF accused JVP, GoSL accused LTTE. The attack may have been a reprisal for an earlier one on Sinhalese civilians.296

• 29 March 1988, Anuradhapura, bomb exploded on bus. 9 or 10 Sinhalese farmers killed and others injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.297

Attacks on politicians

There were a small number of attacks on politicians or office holders in the North Central Province in this period. All were blamed on the JVP.

• 24 April 1988, Polonnaruwa: jeep ambushed carrying UNP provincial council candidates at Medirigiriya. 2 people killed and 3 injured. JVP blamed.298

• 25 July 1988, Anuradhapura: village council officer killed. SLPF suspected JVP.299

• 5 December 1989, Polonnaruwa: 3 bombs exploded or attackers set off smoke bombs and fired shots at campaign rally for former PM Sirimavo Bandaranaike at Hingurakgoda. Mrs. Bandaranaike survived. 38 others injured, many of whom were shot by Bandaranaike’s security guards firing randomly in response to the explosions. SLPF accused JVP.300

29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

Central Province

In this section:
- Attacks and killings
- Bodies dumped
- IED attack

Attacks and killings

In the Central Province, the attacks were quite diverse in nature. However, they were most often blamed on either the JVP or ‘pro-government vigilantes’. Many were considered to be reprisal attacks. There were a small number that seemed to be election-related, and there were some cases where the victims were accused of being traitors.

All but one of the attacks was in Kandy, and all but one of the attacks occurred in 1989.

The attack reported in 1988 targeted someone accused of being an informer:

- 25 November 1988, Kandy: gunmen shot dead 2 people in Kandy, as well as 1 person suspected to be a SLPF informant. GoSL suspected JVP.301

Office holders and candidates were attacked, for example:

- 29 January 1989, Matale: town council chairman and member of UNP, killed at home in Matale. JVP blamed.302
- 25 January 1989, Kandy: candidate for United Socialist Alliance/SLFP, shot dead at home along with 4 or 5 others. Opposition parties blamed UNP supporters led by GoSL. UNP denied responsibility and blamed JVP, who also denied responsibility. SLFP blamed JVP.303
- 25 June 1989, Kandy: Anura Daniel, UNP MP for Kandy, shot dead by gunmen in his office. 1 civilian and 1 SLPF officer also died. Gunmen were disguised as SLA soldiers. SLPF blamed JVP.304

Some killings were reported as reprisals. Below are some examples:

- 13 September 1989, about 16 relatives of SFs members were killed at Kundasala, Kandy. SLPF suspected JVP.305
- Between 14 and 16 September 1989, Kandy: 18 to 150 people killed in Kandy villages. Many houses burned. SFs, pro-GoSL ‘vigilante’ groups, SLPF and Eagles of the Central Hills all blamed. Attack was allegedly a reprisal for 13 September 1989 JVP attacks on SLA soldiers’ relatives. The GoSL denied involvement.306

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305 AI, ‘When Will Justice Be Done’, above n 91.
June 1989, Kandy: 16 year-old (yo.) student, shot dead during demonstration at Teldeniya. 7 SLPF were charged but later released due to insufficient evidence.307

26 October 1989, Kandy: lawyer abducted from house by armed men. 27 October 1989, dead body found with 2 shots to head, along with 4 other bodies. Lawyer was representing the relatives of the 16 yo. above in a case/inquiry about the killing, allegedly by SLPF. One perpetrator allegedly wore an SLA shirt. Posters issuing death threats to those planning on attending the victim’s funeral were signed by the ‘Red Dragon’, a ‘vigilante’ group in Kandy.308

23 November 1989, Kandy: bus set on fire. SLPF blamed JVP.

24 November 1989, Kandy: 12 young men killed at Heeragagala. Pro-GoSL vigilantes blamed. SLPF said it was a reprisal.309

24 November 1989, Kandy: 3 people shot dead at Mahiyawwa. Pro-GoSL vigilantes blamed.310

The GoSL declared a three-day ceasefire on 27 September 1989, after which the following two incidents occurred:

27 September 1989, Kandy: 3 people shot dead, including a GoSL labour officer. GoSL blamed JVP.311

27 September 1989, Kandy: train driver shot dead. GoSL blamed JVP.312

Bodies dumped

There were a number of incidents in the latter half of 1989 in Kandy where dead bodies were found in public places. Some had been shot, some were burned and some were accompanied by notes accusing the victims of being traitors. In many cases, the victim’s identity was unknown and bodies were dumped with no explanation. Many reports have linked the bodies to other cases, suggesting they were reprisals.

There were a couple of incidents in August 1989:

12 August 1989, Matale: 8 people killed in Laggala village. Bodies were shot, and hanged from trees and cement posts in village. Victims were 5 local politicians, 2 GoSL officials and a school principal. SLA blamed JVP.313

26 August 1989, Kandy: 12 bodies were discovered on roadside in Kandy.314

There were a greater number of incidents reported in October and November 1989:

4 or 6 October 1989, Kandy: 15 Sinhalese youths shot dead and bodies left on roadside. 1 or 2 Sinhalese youths shot dead and found either on road or at main bus station. 4 or 6 Sinhalese youths shot dead and their bodies left on the roadside. Pro-GoSL vigilantes, including ‘security men’ suspected. The killings were reportedly a reprisal against murder of Edward Nagahawatta, university assistant registrar and volunteer soldier for the SLA, who was killed by 2 gunmen on a bicycle.315

5 October 1989, Kandy: 18 male Sinhalese youths shot or beheaded. Naked bodies left around Peradeniya University campus, with heads placed around a pond. The victims were unidentified. SLPF and residents blamed Pro-GoSL vigilantes, which allegedly included SFs members. The attack was reportedly a reprisal against the killing of Edward Nagahawatta.316

17 October 1989, Matale: 15 burnt bodies found. It was an alleged retaliation for the shooting of a woman SLPF constable in the area on 13 October 1989. Residents suspected pro-GoSL vigilantes of responsibility.317

23 October 1989, Kandy: bodies of 11 young men spread across main road. Pro-GoSL vigilantes blamed. 2 other bodies found in Kandy area. One had a note on it saying it was the punishment for giving information to the SLPF.318

24 or 25 October 1989, Kandy: 24 or 34 killed. SLPF officials found the bodies of 24 Sinhalese men, women and children in Kandy area on 13 October 1989. Residents suspected pro-GoSL vigilantes of responsibility.317

24 or 25 October 1989, Kandy: 24 or 24 killed. SLPF officials found the bodies of 24 Sinhalese men, women and children in Katugastota who had been killed in a raid. 24 young men had their throats slashed and their bodies ‘strewn’ over a road in Kandy (residents and SF’s sources) and 10 other people were killed in the area by death squads. Reuters claim killing was revenge for...
killing of 7 members of a SLPF members' family in Kandy which occurred on 24 October 1989. A vigilante group called ‘The Eagles’ claimed responsibility in poster left near bodies.319

• 2 November 1989, Matale: bodies of 31 unidentified young men found ‘scattered’ around Laggala village. Residents suspected pro-GoSL vigilantes blamed. Killings allegedly in retaliation for the killing of 17 people in the same Laggala village on 11 November 1989 by JVP. Posters reportedly left beside the bodies saying victims were SLPF informants.320

• 14 November 1989, Kandy: 55 people shot dead. 30 bodies found on a road at Pujapitiya and 12 more bodies found following day. 13 bodies found in other areas. GoSL blamed pro-GoSL group.321

A report found that in Kandy 90% of reported disappearances in 1989 occurred in the last six months of that year.322 The CMAP database did not have any detailed individual cases of disappearances publicly reported for this period in Central Province, only bodies found.

IED attack
The latter half of 1987 had virtually no reported incidents for this region. The only incident reported was a time bomb that exploded on 31 December 1987. There were two other explosions in this region, one in a town hall,323 one in a bus,324 both of which resulted in injuries but no deaths.

• 31 December 1987, Kandy: time bomb exploded in front of Pavilion Hotel just after Buddhist procession passed. 4 people killed and 50 or 60 injured. Thousands of people had reportedly been gathered at the New Year’s Eve celebration.325

322 Human Rights Data Analysis Group, above n 307.
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

North Western Province

In this section:

- Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters
- Attacks on vehicles

Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters

The JVP was blamed or suspected in almost all the killings or attacks identified in this region in his period. Only one attack was attributed to the LTTE. Most of the targets were political candidates or politicians. The sources were mainly news outlets.

Political candidates and politicians:

- 2 November 1987, Puttalam: private secretary to a UNP MP, killed at home in Anamaduwa. SLPF blamed JVP.326
- 6 May 1988, Kurunegala: local secretary of UNP, shot dead. SLPF suspected JVP.327
- 28 May 1988, Kurunegala (or Matale): candidate for United Socialist Alliance, and 2 supporters shot dead in his home. SLPF suspected JVP.328
- 9 July 1988, Kurunegala: Minister Jayawickrema Perera injured when gunman opened fire at political rally in Katugampola. JVP blamed.329
- 26 or 27 September 1988, Kurunegala: unidentified gunmen shot dead Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Minister, Lionel Jayatilleke, and injured 2 bodyguards. SFs and SLPF suspected JVP.330
- 31 January 1989, Kurunegala: UNP candidate shot and injured. SLPF suspected JVP.331

Other people targeted include:

- 12 November 1988, Kurunegala: 4 GoSL supporters, including brother of GoSL lawmaker, killed in car ambush. GoSL blamed JVP.332
- 10 August 1989, Kurunegala: wife and 2 daughters of SLPF sergeant away on duty killed at Maho. Others injured and house set on fire. GoSL blamed JVP.334

333 Jansz, ‘Haunting memories of the JVP’, above n 303.
Attacks on vehicles

There were limited incidents of vehicles being ambushed during this period in this region. These included one incident blamed on the LTTE, and another on the JVP.

- 14 November 1988, Puttalam: bus near Pinkatiya village, ambushed when gunmen opened fire on passengers, at least 27 people killed. Victims were Sinhalese. GoSL blamed LTTE. 335

- 19 June 1989: jeep blown up, 6 SLPF and 2 children killed in North Western Province. SLPF suspected JVP. 336

The Southern Province was one of the main areas where the JVP insurgency took place. Violence appeared to peak in 1988 and 1989, with only three incidents in the database in 1987 (all in Hambantota).

The main incident patterns were attacks on individuals, particularly killings and disappearances. Targets appeared to be political candidates or people who somehow supported elections; family members of SLPF, soldiers and other SFs members; JVP members, or suspected JVP members; or suspected informers. There were also several large-scale attacks involving IEDs and arson, and a number of cases where dead bodies were publicly dumped.

Additionally, there were a large number of reported JVP attacks on buildings and infrastructure in the South. For example, on 26 May 1988 in Hambantota, the JVP reportedly burned down GoSL buildings, cut telephone lines cut and damaged water pipes in a reported attempt to disrupt provincial elections.337 In early June alone, the JVP was blamed for at least 75 cases of arson in the Southern Province.338 Incidents of arson and property destruction have generally not been included in the database as priority was placed on recording incidents relating to loss of life and injury. However, this is not intended to diminish the fact that arson and property damage had a serious impact on civilian life in the South.

Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters

Most of these incidents related to individuals who held official positions or their alleged supporters. There were incidents where bodies were dumped, either into burning houses or public places. These have not been included in the specific section on ‘Bodies dumped’, because that section relates to people whose identities are unknown.

There were about four times the amount of attacks reported in this category in 1988 compared to other years in this period. Most reports came from news outlets.

The only attack reported in 1987 targeted a UNP MP:

- **20 July 1987, Hambantota: UNP MP for Tangalle, Jinadasa Weerasinghe killed in Angunakolapelessa, Hambantota. JVP blamed.**339

In 1988, there were many attacks on people involved in political activities, such as office holders, candidates and supporters. Some examples include:

- **27 January 1988, Galle: UNP Organiser for Akmeemana electorate, Sarath Nanayakkara shot dead at Habaraduwa, Galle. JVP blamed.**340

- **1 May 1988, Galle: jeep ambushed in Talpe and G.V.S. De Silva, Minister for Southern district of Galle or UNP MP for Habaraduwa and District Minister shot dead. SLPF suspected JVP.**341

- **15 May 1988, Matara: raid on home a UNP official in Akuressa. 5 killed. Official not home at the time. GoSL blamed JVP.**342

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340 Jansz, ‘Haunting memories of the JVP’, above n 303
- 27 May 1988, Galle: United Socialist Alliance candidate stabbed to death. SLPF blamed JVP.343
- 8 June 1988: candidate for District Council from United Socialist Alliance, shot dead while campaigning in the South. GoSL suspected JVP.344
- 27 June 1988, Galle: UNP candidate (who was unsuccessful in recent provincial elections) shot dead in Urugale. GoSL suspected JVP.345
- 20 September 1988, Hambantota: house of UNP member attacked. 5 killed and house set alight. SLPF suspected JVP.346
- 27 September 1988, Matara: 2 UNP supporters stabbed to death. SLPF suspected JVP.347
- 13 October 1988, Matara: UNP provincial council member, killed. GoSL blamed JVP.348
- 21 November 1988, Hambantota: businessman believed to be UNP supporter shot dead in Angunakolpelessa. The 4 gunmen were killed as they tried to escape. SLPF suspected JVP.349
- 18 January 1989, Matara: 3 SLFP supporters beheaded at house in Dondra. GoSL blamed JVP.350

People assisting elections were also targeted:
- 19 May 1988, Matara: wife of postman killed, polling cards stolen from bag, house set on fire. MoD blamed JVP.351
- 9 June 1988, Hambantota: GoSL official shot dead while taking food to election workers.352

There were a number of incidents where superintendents were killed, reported in the Sunday Leader:
- 26 February 1988, Matara: superintendent of Silverdale Estate in Akuressa, killed. JVP blamed.353
- 2 July 1988, Matara: superintendent of Pasgoda Tea Factory in Urubokka, killed. JVP blamed.354
- 9 July 1988, Matara: superintendent of Galkaduwewehena Estate Mirissa at Weligama, killed. JVP blamed.355
- 31 August 1988, Galle: superintendent of Sirisumana Estate at Akmeemana, killed. JVP blamed.356
- 25 January 1989, Galle: superintendent of Elpitiya Estate killed. JVP blamed.357
- 18 February 1989, Galle: superintendent of Vilehena Estate at Ahangama, killed. JVP blamed.358
- 9 March 1989, Hambantota: superintendent Senaka Gunawardena of Hanford Estate at Deniyaya killed. JVP blamed.359

Suspected informers were also targeted:
- 19 May 1988, Matara: 2 suspected SLPF informers tied to a tree and killed at Hakmana, Matara. SFs suspected JVP.360
- 20 April 1989, Matara: 4 members of Sinhalese family beheaded and a fifth stabbed to death. Bodies found in Kottegoda village, with note beside them saying one was an informer. GoSL blamed JVP.361
- 26 December 1989, Matara: 4 Sinhalese men were killed when attackers stormed a wedding ceremony in Urubokke. Victims accused of being GoSL spies. GoSL blamed JVP.362

353 Jansz, ‘Haunting memories of the JVP’, above n 303.
354 ibid.
355 ibid.
356 ibid.
357 ibid.
358 ibid.
359 ibid.
SLPF members and the families of SLPF and SLA were also targetted:

- 27 June 1988, Hambantota: off-duty SLPF sergeant killed in Hambantota. GoSL blamed JVP.363
- 24 July 1988, Southern: home of Deputy Inspector-General P. Udugampola, stormed. 4 members of family killed, bodies set on fire. JVP suspected.364
- 14 October 1988, Matara: SLPF officer N. Ratnayake killed and beheaded in Thihagoda. Severed head later displayed in public. GoSL blamed JVP.365
- 27 August 1989, Hambantota: 5 members of SLPF officer’s family shot dead at Walasmulla and house set on fire with bodies inside. JVP blamed.366
- 11 December 1989, Matara: 24 men and women hacked to death in Hatmana village. 15 were relatives of members of the SFs. GoSL suspected JVP.367
- 4 February 1990, Galle: 4 siblings of SLA soldier killed. GoSL suspected JVP.368

Arrest or abduction leading to disappearance or death

Despite reports of frequent abductions leading to disappearance or death during this period, there is little information on individual incidents. Amnesty International claimed that in 1989 alone, 3,000 people were reported to have disappeared in the South, which was likely a small fraction of the disappearances that actually occurred.369 According to Amnesty, many of the victims were young males suspected of JVP involvement who were detained and killed by SFs. Their bodies were often cremated, or were simply dumped in public places.370 Other accounts of the period estimate that tens of thousands of young Sinhalese were killed by the SFs.371

Most of the disappearance incidents in the database were blamed on SFs, who often denied involvement. According to reports, the families of victims were often provided with conflicting information on the whereabouts of victims. Given the infrequency of public reporting on these cases, the sample below includes examples of cases with more detail than the average reported case:

- 13 November 1987, Hambantota: assistant lecturer at University of Ruhuna abducted on or near a bus. Witnesses and family members blamed SLPF and STF.372
- 1 December 1987, Hambantota: man arrested by SLA at Buddhist temple, Giriyaya Raja Maha Viharaya. Held at SLA camp. 18 January 1988 body found on Hungama rd.373
- 8 March 1988, Hambantota: 6 Sinhalese civilians abducted and killed near Beliatta, including a GoSL official and 2 family members. Abducted by men wearing SLPF uniforms, and bodies found on 9 March 1988. GoSL blamed JVP.374
- December 1988, Matara: about 23 soldiers surrounded a village and searched houses, beating some residents, killing others and taking away 18. 14 returned home on 10 January 1989. SFs denied detaining remaining 4.375
- 1 December 1988, Galle: two people arrested by soldiers near Karapitiya Hospital. They were reportedly seen at Kotigala SLA camp by 2 women who said they had been tortured and raped, dragged away, heard gun shots and could smell burning bodies.376
- 26 December 1988, Hambantota: 50 ‘youths’ rounded up and taken away in raid on Hungama village. No trace of their bodies found. United Organisations for Peace and Democracy blamed SLA, but SLA denied charges.377

From March 1989 onwards, there were reports of various ‘vigilante’ groups abducting and killing people, there were also many reports of armed men in civilian clothes abducting and killing people, but little further detail is available.378

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368 ‘Seven People Shot Dead in Sri Lanka’, Reuters, 5 February 1990.
370 Ibid.
371 Weiss, above n 6.
376 Ibid.
Bodies dumped

There were multiple cases where dead bodies were found, often in public places. At the end of 1988, (26 and 27 December) charred bodies of 44 suspected JVP fighters were found along roads in the South. The GoSL blamed the People’s Revolutionary Red Army for killing the victims and dumping their bodies.379

In late 1989, there was another series of dead bodies dumped in public places recorded in the database:

- 30 November 1989, Matara: bodies of 6 young men found burning on rubber tyres. Pro-GoSL vigilantes suspected, in retaliation to JVP setting fire to small GoSL store on 29 November 1989.380
- 17 December 1989, Hambantota: 5 people shot dead and bodies incinerated on piles of burning car tyres in Tangalle. Residents blamed pro-GoSL vigilantes.381
- 18 December 1989, Matara: 6 burning bodies found on roadside in Akuressa. Residents said it was a reprisal for a landmine attack on SLPF officers at the same location.382

The most significant incident in the database occurred in late December 1989.

- 20 to 21 December 1989, Hambantota: between 140 and 200 men aged 18 to 35 were killed and their bodies found on roadsides and beaches. Most were naked and were shot with their bodies left on burning tyres. Some were decapitated and others hanging from trees and lampposts. Amnesty International blamed SFs or Pro-GoSL vigilantes, residents blamed JVP or Pro-GoSL vigilantes.383

Grenades, IEDs and small arms attacks

In June 1988 and at the end of 1988/beginning of 1989, the JVP was blamed for several IED attacks and armed attacks, for example:

- 8 June 1988, Matara: bomb exploded in market at Weligama town. 4 Sinhalese civilians killed. SLPF blamed JVP.384
- 20 June 1988, Matara: gunman in ‘SLA fatigues’ jumped out of bus blocked by a crowd of protesting students at Vijitha school in Dikwella and fired at them, killing 1 person and injuring 3 others. Gunman unknown.385
- 8 December 1988, Galle: time bomb exploded a People’s Party rally in Galle. SLPF suspected JVP.386
- 13 January 1989, Hambantota: grenades thrown at car in Deniyaya, and killed its 2 civilian occupants. SLPF suspected JVP.387
- 22 March 1989, Galle: gunmen opened fire at bus and shot dead 1 passenger at Ambalangoda. Residents blamed JVP.388

380 ‘Sri Lankan Vigilantes Kill Six and Burn Bodies on Tyres’, Reuters, 30 November 1989.
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

Western Province

In this section:
- Killings
- Attacks on journalists and the media
- Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death
- Bodies dumped
- Attacks on electoral gatherings and voter intimidation
- Grenades, vehicle bombs, and other IEDs
- Attacks on vehicles
- Prison attack

While the JVP insurgency was based in the South, there was also a significant amount of JVP-related violence in the Western Province.

Killings

The majority of killings occurred in the first half of 1988 and in 1989, particularly in the months of July to September. Most incidents were reported by news outlets.

The targets were a mix of political figures and people who did not heed calls to strike or support the JVP.

Numerous political party members were attacked. In most cases, this was blamed on the JVP. There is one case in the sample below for which the LTTE was reportedly responsible:

- 23 December 1987, Colombo: 2 men on a motorcycle shot dead Chairman of the UNP, Wellawatte. 3 others also killed. SLPF blamed JVP.
- 8 February 1988, Kalutara: UNP MP Mervyn Cooray critically injured, and 2 killed in attack in Panadura. SLPF suspected JVP.
- 16 February 1988, Colombo: 2 gunmen on motorcycle shot dead the husband of future President Chandrika Kumaratunga, leader of the Mahajana (People’s) Party and popular actor. Artist Upali Sarath also killed in the attack. SLPF blamed JVP. JVP military wing claimed responsibility in a leaflet.
- 8 May 1988, Gampaha: candidate for United Socialist Alliance in local council elections shot dead while addressing a meeting. SLPF suspected JVP.
- 20 May 1988, Colombo: gunmen fired on car of general secretary of UNP, Nandalal Fernando, Wellawatte. He later died. SLPF blamed JVP.
- 28 May 1988, Colombo: group attacked UNP politician’s home, in Homagama, with automatic weapons. 6 people killed and a small number injured. SLPF blamed JVP.
- 1 June 1989, Colombo: motorcycle gunmen shot dead a councillor and member of UNP, and her friend. SLPF blamed JVP.

11 June 1989, Colombo: gunmen seized member of United Socialist Alliance and village official, tied them to lamppost and shot them. SLPF suspected JVP.396

26 or 27 June 1988, Colombo: Communist Party leader and trade unionist stabbed to death in Dematagoda. SLPF blamed JVP.397

26 July 1988, Gampaha: parliamentarian’s secretary in Beruwala, Gampaha, shot dead. SLPF blamed JVP.398

10 January 1989, Colombo: unidentified gunmen killed 2 SLFP candidates and bodyguard. The attackers reportedly fired at them at their car. SLPF blamed JVP.399

15 February 1989, Colombo: son of Fuel Minister Weerasinghe, either shot or stabbed to death when his jeep was ambushed. SLPF blamed ‘Sinhalese terrorists’.400

1 July 1989, Colombo: member of Colombo Municipal Council killed. JVP blamed.401

13 July 1989, Colombo: 3 attackers shot dead Tamil TULF leader in his home along with former Tamil MP. Tamil Congress politician injured. Attackers shot dead by guards during their escape. Victim’s family suspected ‘Tamil militants’. EPRLF official said 2 of the killers were identified as LTTE members. LTTE denied allegations.402

5 September 1989, Colombo: National Workers Union politician shot dead. Officials suspected JVP.403

3 August 1989, Colombo: Buddhist priest killed when gunmen entered Kolonnawa temple and shot him. The victim had reportedly been interviewed on state television a week earlier, and had praised GoSL President Premadasa. SLPF blamed JVP.404

21 February 1989, Colombo: Sinhalese cashier shot dead in Colombo. He allegedly did not heed a strike call and kept his store open. JVP blamed.405

11 June 1989, Colombo: 2 gunmen shot dead an SLPF officer driving with his wife to a temple, injuring his wife, and causing the uncontrolled car to kill a bystander.406

1 May or June 1989, Colombo: 2 gunmen on motorcycle shot dead Bennet Perera, head of the special investigations division or Director of CID, at an intersection. Driver killed and wife injured. SLPF blamed JVP.407

12 September 1989, Colombo: gunman killed sister-in-law of former GoSL President and Chairwoman of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation. SLPF blamed JVP. Suspected motive was her role as head of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation, which had been defying a JVP-led boycott on Indian goods.408

Others who opposed the JVP or defied their orders were targeted. Some examples include:

1. 8 February 1988, Colombo: house at Kelaniya attacked, 2 people killed and 4 injured with machine-gun fire. Victims were students who reportedly opposed JVP activity at university.409

2. 6 February 1989, Colombo: ‘Leading industrialists’, the Shanmugam brothers killed at Pettah, Colombo. JVP blamed.410

3. 21 February 1989, Colombo: Sinhalese cashier shot dead in Colombo. He allegedly did not heed a strike call and kept his store open. JVP blamed.411

4. 3 August 1989, Colombo: Buddhist priest killed when gunmen entered Kolonnawa temple and shot him. The victim had reportedly been interviewed on state television a week earlier, and had praised GoSL President Premadasa. SLPF blamed JVP.412

5. 12 September 1989, Colombo: gunman killed sister-in-law of former GoSL President and Chairwoman of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation. SLPF blamed JVP. Suspected motive was her role as head of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation, which had been defying a JVP-led boycott on Indian goods.413

There were some attacks that appeared to be targeted, but where no motive was provided in reporting. For example:

1. 18 August 1989, Colombo: director of a Colombo firm, Hebtulabhoy Company, and driver shot dead by unidentified gunmen at Kohuwela. JVP suspected.414

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401 Jansz, ‘Haunting memories of the JVP that linger’, above n 304.
11 September 1989, Colombo: vice-chancellor of Moratuwa University, shot dead in his office. The university’s security chief at the campus entrance also shot dead. GoSL suspected JVP.412

11 September 1989, Colombo: director of private supermarket chain, abducted from car at gunpoint and killed. Body found in Kahawita. Officials accused JVP.413

There were two incidents where superintendents of various estates were killed, reported by the Sunday Leader:

12 September 1989, Kalutara: superintendent of Talgaswala Estate killed. JVP blamed.414

15 September 1989, Gampaha: superintendent of Nugegodawatte Estate killed. JVP blamed.415

There was also one case reported where a lawyer was killed:

1 July 1989, Colombo: lawyer who had filed numerous habeas corpus petitions, killed at boarding house in Slave Island. Soon after, 2 lawyers who had worked closely with him, received death threats from someone who claimed responsibility for the death of their colleague. A few weeks later one of them was killed at his house by a gunman.416

Attacks on journalists and the media

Towards the end of 1989 and beginning of 1990, there were a number of noteworthy attacks on journalists and the media. For example:


31 July 1989, Colombo: radio and television announcer at SLBC and Rupavahini, abducted from his home by 6 armed men and shot dead in Homagama. GoSL blamed JVP.418

13 August 1998, Colombo: gunmen shot dead chief news editor of state-owned Rupavahini Corporation in his home. GoSL blamed JVP.419

13 September 1989, Colombo: Rupavahini or Intendent Television Network person abducted from home by 6 gunmen. Her naked body, cut by knives, found on a beach the next day. SLPF suspected JVP.420

17 or 18 February 1990, Colombo: Inter Press Service journalist Richard de Zoysa abducted. Body found on 19 February 1990 at beach in Moratuwa. The Judicial Medical Officer reported he had been shot twice through the neck and head at close range. Body was thrown into sea after he was shot, according to SLPF officials. SLPF and SLA were accused by witnesses, SLPF denied involvement and accused ‘Sinhalese militants’. MoD also denied SFs involvement.421

Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death

There were few publicly reported incidents of abduction or arrest leading to torture, disappearance or death in the West, despite reports that this violation occurred frequently in the province. For example, while there were at least 126 reported disappearances identified in Gampaha in the latter half of 1989,422 very few were publicly reported with any detail.

Below are two examples of disappearance, torture or death following arrest or abduction with significantly more information than other reported cases:

25 August 1988, Colombo: Wijedasa Liyanarachchi, male lawyer, arrested for suspected involvement with JVP and several assassinations. He died on 2 or 3 September 1988 at Colombo hospital from multiple injuries, allegedly resulting from torture while in SLFP custody. 3 SLFP police officers from Tangalle SLFP station were convicted in March 1991 after the charges against them had been reduced to illegal detention and conspiracy to detain illegally. Deputy Inspector General (DIG) of Police

414 Jansz, ‘Haunting memories of the JVP, above n 303.
415 Ibid.
418 Ibid.
422 HRDAG, ‘Clarifying the Past’, above n 308.
Premadasa Udagampola was also suspected of involvement in the victim’s arrest, detention and an attempt to cover up the torture and death. No one was found guilty of his murder.423

- 12 September 1988, Colombo: bomb thrown at bus during a strike in Colombo, injuring 14 or 17. The driver of another bus was stabbed. 2 buses and a train were set on fire. SLFP blamed JVP. The attack occurred during a strike called by the JVP in response to the death of Wijedasa Liyanarachchi.442

- 10 December 1989, Colombo: male taken away by 6 armed men from home at Wanathamulla, Borella. The abductors were 22 August 1989, Gampaha: 17 bodies found on roadside. MoD did not know who was responsible.

- 13 October 1989, Colombo: 20 people killed, and bodies piled on burning tyres at Kelaniya. Victims could not be identified.

- 28 August 1989, Kalutara: 14 people found dead at Bandaragama with gunshot wounds. The people allegedly killed in retaliation in at the end of August 1989, and also in October 1989. These were mainly reported on by news outlets.

- 22 August 1989, Colombo: 10 bodies, mostly charred, found in a pit at Athurugiriya, Colombo. MoD did not know who was responsible.427

- 28 August 1989, Kalutara: 14 people found dead at Bandaragama with gunshot wounds. The people allegedly killed in retaliation for the killing of a woman soldier and her family by the JVP. Residents suspected an unidentified gang backed by the SFs. GoSL denied allegations.428

- 29 August 1989, Kalutara: 14 Sinhalese men pulled from homes in Panadura and shot by people wearing ‘army-style uniforms’. 14 bodies found near Panadura. SLA denied responsibility.429

Bodies dumped

As mentioned above, there were few publicly reported, individual incidents of disappearance that provided much detail on the relevant case. However, there were a number of incidents where dead bodies were dumped, which may have been linked to disappearance cases. Victims were identified in some cases, but remained unidentified in many others. There seemed to be a spike in at the end of August 1989, and also in October 1989. These were mainly reported on by news outlets.

In August 1989, the following incidents were reported:

- 22 August 1989, Gampaha: 17 bodies found on roadside. MoD did not know who was responsible.426

- 28 August 1989, Kalutara: 14 bodies found near Panadura. SLA denied responsibility.429

- 11 October 1989, Kalutara: bound bodies of 80 Sinhalese youths, shot and some set on fire, found along a road between Panadura and Matagama. SLFP speculated it was a reprisal for killing of 3 Sinhalese soldiers by JVP on 9 October 1989.430

- 11 October 1989, Colombo: 9 bodies with gunshot wounds found on banks of the Kelani River at Hanwella.431

- 13 October 1989, Colombo: 20 people killed, and bodies piled on burning tyres at Kelaniya. Victims could not be identified.432

Examples from October 1989 include:

- 11 October 1989, Kalutara: bound bodies of 80 Sinhalese youths, shot and some set on fire, found along a road between Panadura and Matagama. SLFP speculated it was a reprisal for killing of 3 Sinhalese soldiers by JVP on 9 October 1989.430

- 11 October 1989, Colombo: 9 bodies with gunshot wounds found on banks of the Kelani River at Hanwella.431

- 13 October 1989, Colombo: 20 people killed, and bodies piled on burning tyres at Kelaniya. Victims could not be identified.432

In February 1990, there was one incident reported where villagers were abducted, sexually violated, killed and dumped in a clearing:

- 27 February 1990, Gampaha: 13 villagers abducted from their homes in Wavulkelle, Nittambuwa, driven to an isolated clearing, stripped and 12 shot dead in a single file. 1 survivor escaped and returned later, charred bodies were found. Some male victims were forced to sexually abuse 1 young female victim. Most victims may have been SLFP supporters. 14 SLFP officers arrested after a CID investigation. 7 charged with abduction and murder, including 4 Superintendents of Police and 3 SLFP constables from Weeragala and Attanagalla SLPF stations. 1 of the accused, the suspected leader, was shot dead during a Magistrate’s Court hearing. The Attorney-General did not link this killing to the Wavulkelle killing.433

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427 Ibid.


Attacks on electoral gatherings and voter intimidation

The second ever Sri Lankan presidential elections were held on 19 December 1988. In addition to the killing of political party members (described in ‘Killings’ sub-section above), there were several incidents of violence at electoral gatherings and voter intimidation reported mainly by news outlets. These include:

- 18 August 1987, Colombo: 3 bombs or at least 2 hand grenades thrown into UNP meeting in Parliament. 1 or 2 killed including UNP member and an employee. Others injured, including Ranasinghe Premadasa. Sunday Leader blamed JVP. An MP claimed the attack was an attempt to assassinate President Jjunius Jayewardene, who was uninjured.434
- 24 October 1988, Colombo: 3 bombs thrown into UNP members meeting in Kotahena District. 7 killed and 39 injured. SLPF official blamed JVP.435
- 17 November 1988, Colombo: bombs launched at meeting addressed by presidential candidate Ossie Abeygunasekara. 40 people had minor injuries. SLPF blamed JVP.436
- 1 December 1988, Gampaha: attackers fired from a passing vehicle on an Mahajana (People’s) Party election rally for presidential candidate Ossie Abeygunasekera in Gampaha. 4 people killed, including Devabandara Senaratne, Vice President of the Mahajana (People’s) Party and a North Central Provincial Council member. 50 others injured. SLPF and GoSL blamed JVP.437
- 16 December 1988, Colombo: 2 bombs exploded at election rally for opposition candidate Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Rathmalana. Bandaranaike was not injured, 3 supporters were critically injured.438
- 29 January 1989, Colombo: 3 SLFP stations attacked with grenades, IEDs and small arms, reportedly aimed at frightening voters away from polls in the upcoming parliamentary election. SLFP blamed JVP.439
- 26 November 1989, Colombo: 9 injured in grenade attack on GoSL-sponsored rally in Moratuwa, including Youth Affairs and Sports Minister Nanda Mathew and 2 deputies. SLFP suspected JVP.440

Grenades, vehicle bombs, and other IEDs

There were a number of IED attacks in the West (mainly reported by news outlets). Most were blamed on the JVP, although some were attributed to the LTTE. Some of the attacks reportedly occurred in response to people or businesses failing to comply with JVP strikes. Examples include:

- 9 November 1987, Colombo: roadside or vehicle bomb exploded near SLFP station in Maradana. 23 to 50 killed and 100 injured. Surrounding cars and buses damaged. Following the incident, SFs fired into the air to disperse crowds. 15 of the victims may have been killed by gunfire, allegedly from the perpetrators. SLFP suspected JVP. GoSL suspected LTTE.441
- 16 February 1989, Colombo: 2 hand grenades or bombs exploded during religious festival in Hindu temple in Colombo. 5 or 7 Tamils killed and more injured.442
- 6 September 1988, Colombo: bomb exploded in bag in restaurant in Palace Hotel. 5 killed and at least 20 injured. Most victims were Muslim. SLFP suspected JVP, because the restaurant’s Muslim owner had ignored a general strike they called.443
- 17 November 1988, Colombo: bomb thrown at video centre. 3 shop employees killed and 1 injured. It was reportedly attacked because it stayed open when JVP called for an anti-GoSL strike.444
- 21 February 1989, Colombo: bomb exploded in restaurant in Narahenpitiya, killing 4 people and injuring 8 others. GoSL blamed JVP.445
- 16 April 1989, Colombo: series of bomb blasts in commercial centre. 1 killed, 20 injured. All victims were Tamil. 2 bombs went off near a stand for buses bound for Jaffna.446

**Attacks on vehicles**

There were a handful of incidents of vehicles being ambushed and set on fire, but few involved fatalities. Those that did are included here:

- **9 July 1988, Colombo**: bus carrying 40 passengers from Jaffna to Mullaitivu was attacked. 2 passengers killed, 15 injured. Witnesses blamed LTTE.447

- **26 November 1988, Colombo**: passengers on a bus in Pannipitiya, Colombo shot and stabbed. 1 civilian killed.448

**Prison attack**

- **13 December 1988, Colombo**: attackers opened fire and threw bombs at Welikada Prison, freeing 221 or 225 inmates. Guards reportedly killed 2 or 3 inmates during escape attempt, and 1 civilian killed during subsequent crossfire. GoSL blamed JVP, which was reportedly helped by prison officials. 30 JVP reportedly killed during attack.449

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29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

Uva Province

In this section:
- Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters
- Grenades and other IEDs

Uva Province was less affected by conflict than other regions. Nonetheless, there were a number of attacks reported.

Attacks on politicians, candidates, government workers and supporters

Despite the smaller number of incidents, the style of attacks and victims targeted in Uva resembled those in other provinces.

There were a number of attacks targeting political office holders or candidates, including:
- 13 October 1988, Badulla: UNP provincial council member, killed. GoSL blamed JVP.
- 27 September 1989, Badulla: gunmen attacked car of UNP provincial council member killing 1 bodyguard and injuring 3 other guards. GoSL blamed JVP.
- 12 December 1989, Badulla: 12 people shot dead and bodies burned in attack on home of local councillor K. Leelaratne. House set on fire after people killed.

There was an attack on Indian nationals:
- 23 November 1988, Monaragala: gunmen attacked sugar factory in Siyambalanduwa, robbing and killing 4 people (3 Indian nationals and 1 Sri Lankan company executive). Attackers also demolished houses of the Indian nationals. The SLPF and SFs suspected the JVP, and the Indian High Commission suspected either the JVP or the LTTE.

SLPF personnel and their families were targeted, such as:
- 22 June 1988, Badulla: bombs thrown into 2 SLPF homes in Bandarawela, killing 4 people (including the 89 yo. father of one officer) and injuring 3 others. JVP blamed. According to SLPF, attack was revenge for officers killing 2 JVP members attempting to burn down a magistrate’s court early in June.
- 28 September 1989, Badulla: gunmen killed parents of SLPF officer. SLA suspected JVP.

There were a couple of incidents linked to the elections:
- 28 April 1988, Monaragala: voter killed at Wellawaya.
- 15 February 1989, Badulla: 2 election officials and 1 SFs soldier killed in jeep ambush near Bandarawela. SLPF blamed JVP.

452 'Sri Lankan Rebels Kill 12 More People and Burn the Bodies', Reuters, 13 December 1989.
There were also two incidents where superintendents were killed, reported by Sunday Leader as part of a broader report:

- 7 June 1989, Badulla: superintendent of Thundola Estate killed at Meegahatenna. JVP blamed.

### Grenades and other IEDs

During this period in Uva, there were two attacks that involved bombs or grenades, both of which were blamed on the JVP:

- 2 July 1989, Badulla: bomb/s thrown into crowd at festival near Mahiyanganaya, 1 or 2 killed and 30 injured. President and key Cabinet members had attended the festival. GoSL suspected JVP. 2 alleged JVP members were arrested.
- 18 July 1989, Monaragala: 2 or 3 grenades thrown into large crowd of worshippers at Buddhist procession at Kataragama temple. 13 people killed, 60 or 85 injured, including Dharamadasa Banda, Deputy Minister for Upcountry Rehabilitation. EPRLF and SLPF blamed JVP.

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458 Jansz, ‘Haunting memories of the JVP, above n 303.
459 Ibid.
29 July 1987 – 9 June 1990

Sabaragamuwa Province

In this section:

- Disappearances

The main incident in Sabaragamuwa Province was the well-known disappearance of 50 students around Embilipitiya. A handful of other incidents in the province included: an attack on a political office; an attack on men preparing for a political rally; a bomb in a restaurant; and the killing of JVP sympathisers.

Disappearances

From late 1989 to early 1990, around 50 students disappeared around Embilipitiya. All were believed to be detained at Sevana SLA camp, Embilipitiya, Ratnapura District at the time they disappeared. The principal of their school and six SFs soldiers were convicted of conspiring to abduct and abducting and kidnapping the students to murder and/or with intent wrongfully to confine them (one brigadier was later acquitted on appeal). The bodies of the students were not found. However, there are suggestions that the bodies in a mass grave at Suriyakande were those of the victims. At least 12 skeletons were also found by construction workers in Embilipitiya in January 1994.

465 AI, 'When Will Justice Be Done?', above n 91.
Prior to the IPKF withdrawal from Sri Lanka in March 1990, a tentative truce developed between the Premadasa Government and the LTTE, as these parties temporarily cooperated against the IPKF.\textsuperscript{467} This détente appeared to last in the months following IPKF withdrawal, when the GoSL and LTTE reportedly engaged in negotiations regarding administration of the North-East. Meanwhile, the LTTE conducted factional attacks against rival Tamil groups.\textsuperscript{468}

However, GoSL-LTTE hostilities resumed in June 1990, when the LTTE reportedly killed hundreds of Muslim and Sinhalese SLPF officers in the East.\textsuperscript{469} SFs subsequently entered the districts of Ampara, Batticaloa and Trincomalee, taking control of major towns and reportedly engaging in a campaign to violently displace Tamil civilians. This campaign was characterised by mass round-ups and abductions of Tamils, many of whom were reportedly disappeared or killed. As a result, the LTTE largely withdrew from the East, although remaining LTTE fighters continued to engage in large-scale attacks on Muslim and Sinhalese civilians.\textsuperscript{470}

In the North, the LTTE established control over territory vacated by the IPKF. In response, the SFs conducted bombing campaigns throughout 1990-1994, which reportedly incurred high civilian casualties. The GoSL also placed an embargo on food and medical supplies.\textsuperscript{471} Civilians who could obtain LTTE permits fled the bombing, while an estimated 75,000 to 85,000 Muslims were forcibly displaced by the LTTE.\textsuperscript{472} According to Crisis Group, LTTE attacks on Muslims in both the North and East may have been motivated by concern over a possible alliance between the Muslim community and the GoSL, and by fears that another sizeable minority in the North-East would undermine LTTE control.\textsuperscript{473}

In the West, the LTTE was reportedly responsible for several killings targeting high-profile political figures, including President Premadasa. While the CMAP database only recorded violations that happened on Sri Lankan soil, another notable assassination was the 1991 killing of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by a suspected LTTE suicide bomber in Tamil Nadu, India.\textsuperscript{474}

The 1994 election of President Chandrika Kumaratunga appeared to mark a turning point in this period of violence. The SLFP campaign criticised the incumbent UNP Government for allowing human rights abuses and advocated for a political solution to the conflict.\textsuperscript{475} This seemed to reflect the national mood, as a movement for peace became increasingly popular throughout the country.\textsuperscript{476} Once elected, President Kumaratunga initiated negotiations with LTTE leaders. At the beginning of 1995, she declared a ceasefire, thereby ending this phase of hostilities.\textsuperscript{477}

\textsuperscript{467} Weiss, above n 7.
\textsuperscript{470} Ibid; Crisis Group, ‘The Failure of the Peace Process’, above n 11.
\textsuperscript{473} Crisis Group, ‘Sri Lanka’s Muslims’, above n 101.
\textsuperscript{474} Weiss, above n 7.
\textsuperscript{477} Hashim, above n 10.
10 June 1990 – 18 April 1995

Eastern Province

In this section:
• Killings and abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death
• Village raids and other group attacks
• Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs
• Attacks on vehicles and boats
• Chemical weapons

Conflict in the East was marked by two patterns of violence, which mainly occurred between 1990 and 1992: the abduction, killing and disappearance of Tamil civilians, reportedly by SFs and members of the Muslim community who sought to displace Tamils from the East, and LTTE attacks on Muslim civilians, which were reportedly intended to displace Muslims from the East.

Many of the killings and disappearances of Tamil civilians occurred when SFs conducted ‘round-ups’, which often targeted civil servants and educated persons. As a result, Tamil civilians moved to IDP camps, where they continued to experience frequent attacks. Amnesty International reports suggest that the majority of Tamils who disappeared from villages and IDP camps were likely killed in GoSL custody.

The latter trend of LTTE attacks on Muslims prompted the GoSL to introduce new units of Muslim Home Guards, some of whom reportedly engaged in reprisal attacks against Tamil civilians. As a result of this cycle of violence, the Muslim population in the East rapidly abandoned villages in Tamil-dominated rural areas, escaping to more secure Muslim towns on the coast.

In 1992, another pattern of attacks and reprisals emerged, as an increase in bombings blamed on the LTTE was accompanied by reported reprisals against Tamil civilians by SFs.

Killings and abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death

The 11 June 1990 killing of SLPF officers in the East precipitated the outbreak of this phase of conflict. Reports show that between 400 and 1000 SLPF surrendered or were abducted from SLPF stations throughout East. The officers were gagged and beaten, and hundreds of the Muslim and Sinhalese SLPF abductees were killed. On 14 June 1990, 60 additional SLPF were abducted from Kinniya SLPF station in Trincomalee. Their burnt bodies were found on 6 July 1990.

In an interview with the BBC, Colonel Karuna, the second-in-command of the LTTE at the time, alleged that the LTTE was responsible. However, according to University Teachers for Human Rights (UTHR), LTTE leadership did not order the killings.

Following the massacre, SFs entered the Eastern Province. There were over 60 incidents (some involving large numbers of victims) of killings, disappearances and torture in the CMAP database in this period, mainly reported by Amnesty International and UTHR in...
1990 and 1991. Over 50 incidents were blamed on SFs, the SLPF and/or Muslim Home Guards. A handful were blamed on the LTTE. Allegations were reported by a variety of NGOs, particularly Amnesty International, UTHR and NESoHR.

Disappearances reportedly began to decrease in 1992; Amnesty International recorded a statistic of ten to 18 incidents per month in the East. According to Amnesty International, all of these cases were perpetrated by SFs. However, only a fraction of the disappearances are recorded in the CMAP database, which only includes the publicly recorded individual cases with enough information to allow for further investigation.

**Mass round-ups or abductions leading to disappearance, death or use as human shields**

This section includes cases where at least 20 victims were affected by one attack or a series of consecutive, related attacks. All of these large-scale round-ups or abductions were blamed on SFs and occurred during the first months of conflict. Most were reported by UTHR, NESoHR and Amnesty International. Unless the accuser is identified below, allegations of responsibility were reported by the sources used. Several attacks targeted IDP camps, and two were mass round-ups of civilians reportedly for use as human shields. Like other sections, a sample selection of incidents are listed below, examples include:

- **Over several weeks beginning 18 June 1990, SLA reportedly abducted 253 persons from IDP camp in Veeramunai. Detainees possibly taken to Kondaveeduvan SLA camp.**
- **13 June 1990, Trincomalee: according to TULF MP, 58 men and unspecified number of women abducted, allegedly by SFs soldiers who entered Trincomalee town. Victims taken to Muttaveli esplanade and killed. Surviving women led, blindfolded, to SLA camp.**
- **25 June 1990, Ampara: SLA entered Akkaraipattu on 24 June 1990. 25 June, SLA and ‘Muslim collaborators’ conducted a round-up, abducting 37 persons. Many victims were government servants (village headmen, teachers).**
- **26 June 1990, Ampara: STF moved from Pottuvil to Komari, reportedly taking 200 male IDPs in Pottuvil to march in front as human shields. Victims released in Thirukkovil.**
- **20 July 1990, Batticaloa: villagers rounded up into Sittandy temple by SFs. 8 people blindfolded, tied together and killed. 80 people abducted.**
- **2 August 1990, Ampara: 150 men taken from Pottuvil IDP camp. 30 later released, remaining 120 disappeared. SLPF and STF both denied involvement, but STF blamed SLPF. Local community leader claimed in days following abduction, smoke and smells came from SLPF station, suggesting detainees were killed and burned.**
- **12 August 1990, Batticaloa: SFs rounded up Nilavanai villagers, opened fire. 60 killed.**
- **5 September 1990, Batticaloa: around 158 or 159 people, mostly men aged 26 to 40, as well as some children, disappeared from IDP camp at Eastern University in Vantharumoolai. Disappearance occurred after grenade exploded while SLA was searching area. Victims were either subsequently killed, or held captive for questioning. SLA/SFs or SLPF blamed. On 17 October 1990, MoD acknowledged that 31 of the disappeared persons had been detained. 1993 Annual Report of the Human Rights Task Force named 4 SFs officers as responsible.**
- **9 September 1990, Batticaloa: 160 to 184 people from villages of Sathurukondan, Kokkuvil, Panichiyadi and Pillaiyaradi taken into custody in Sathurukondan SLA camp. Majority of victims were reportedly elderly people and children; approximately 68 children detained. On arrival at SLA camp, men separated from women and children, lined up, shot and burned, while the 68 children were killed. A victim’s relative claimed that surviving detainees were transferred elsewhere later that night. MoD claimed it had investigated incident, there was no evidence that anyone was taken into custody, and that 40 to 60 villagers missing from Sathurukondan were living as IDPs in Batticaloa town. An SFs Chief Marshal claimed only 30 villagers detained, and they were subsequently released. Human remains later found at camp.**
- **12 to 18 September 1990, Ampara: series of abductions from IDP camp in Holy Cross Church, Sorikalmunai.**
- **12 September: 7 male IDPs abducted. SLA blamed.**

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487 The remaining 3 were blamed on the EPRLF, the ‘Black Cobras’ or were unattributed.
489 UTHR ‘Special Report No 3’, above n 10.
490 UTHR ‘Briefing No 1’, above n 10.
491 UTHR ‘Special Report No 3’, above n 10.
492 Ibid.
493 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
495 NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
16 September: 28 male IDPs abducted. SLA, Muslim Home Guards blamed.

17 September: IDP women harassed and beaten, 12 women abducted. Muslim Home Guards and SFs blamed. Some women returned the next morning. On the same day, 3 boys who had previously been detained were returned to Church by STF. Boys were all injured with fractures.498

29 September 1990, Ampara: Tamil people around Thirukkovil rounded up in 4 tractors and taken to Kanjikudichcharu, allegedly by STF. On arrival, some marched in front of STF as shields from mines, while others were held by STF as shields on exposed side. STF reportedly marched men to an LTTE camp, which they looted. Unclear whether hostages were released.499

Small-scale round-ups, killings and disappearances

There were dozens of cases reported where individuals or small groups were abducted. Some were killed or presumed dead, but in many cases their whereabouts remained unknown at the time of reporting. Nearly all cases were blamed on SFs or the SLPF. According to Amnesty International, most victims were likely killed in SFs/SLPF custody.500 Most incidents were reported by Amnesty International and UTHR. If no accuser is mentioned in incident descriptions below, it can be assumed that these sources apportioned blame.

The majority of incidents in 1990 occurred in Ampara. Some were smaller-scale versions of the SFs round-ups detailed above, targeting IDPs and civilians with no reported affiliation. For example:

- July 1990, Ampara: 8 IDP women living in Veeramunai Temple disappeared. Unidentified Muslim attackers blamed.501
- 11 July 1990, Ampara: 13 women disappeared. SLA suspected.502
- Early August 1990, Ampara: 8 people abducted, majority presumed killed. One victim tortured and left at Kanjikudichcharu Hospital, where he died. Muslim Home Guards blamed.503
- 26 September 1990, Ampara: 5 men abducted from Vinayagapuram Tamil Vidyalayam IDP camp. 1 of the men beaten with an axe handle and released. His brother later found dead on seashore at Manalkadu, Thambiluvil. STF blamed.504

Like mass round-ups, some of these smaller round-ups targeted educated persons, civil servants and other prominent community members. For example:

- June to October 1990, Ampara: a doctor and his 9 yo. son disappeared.505
- 11 July 1990, Ampara: Roman Catholic priest killed. Muslim Home Guards targeting Tamil leaders suspected.506
- 31 July 1990, Ampara: principal of Methodist Mission School abducted from his brother’s house in Pottuvil. SLPF blamed.507
- August 1990, Ampara: 4 government servants abducted. 3 believed to have been killed. STF suspected.508
- 15 August 1990, Batticaloa: an American Priest disappeared while travelling from Valaichchenai to Batticaloa. A boy who was travelling with him also disappeared. Last seen in Chenkaladi by an ICRC worker. SLA suspected.509
- 22 September 1990: man and his son killed and burnt when attempting to leave Sorikalmunai after a round-up. SLA blamed. Man had acted as village spokesman with IPKF and SLA.510
- 12 April 1992, Trincomalee: a teacher, her father, mother and 2 yo. son killed in their home. 2 children injured. Teacher had complained about SLA harassment a few days prior to killing at local SLPF station, and the soldiers responsible were punished. Killing appeared to be reprimal for complaint. Local SLA commander claimed that soldiers responsible were arrested.511

A few victims were released following abduction with signs of torture:

- 23 June 1990, Trincomalee: man, his son and 3 other people abducted from their home in Anbuvalipuram. Man released. His son, who was suspected of LTTE membership, was tortured at SLA camp in Plaintain Point. 5 March 2002, Corporal Sarath was
charged for abducting son.512

- 20 September 1990, Ampara: labourer arrested during round-up. Released on 5 October 1990 with signs of severe torture. STF blamed.513

From 1991 to 1993, after SFs had advanced through Ampara, the majority of incidents were in Batticaloa. A series of anti-LTTE killings in April 1991, soon after SFs entered Batticaloa town, were attributed to the ‘Black Cobras’:

- 24 April 1991, Batticaloa: brother of an LTTE area leader abducted. On 27 April 1991, body found in sack at Sinna Oppuwadi. A poster near his body said the ‘Black Cobras’ had killed him ‘as punishment for helpers, relations and family members of Tigers’.514
- 26 to 28 April 1991, Batticaloa: 7 headless bodies found, reports suggested that likely related to Black Cobra killings.515

Smaller-scale round-ups continued, for example:

- Late January - early February 1992, Batticaloa: 17 men aged 14 to 30 years old disappeared, and 3 killed. Some may have been LTTE members. SLA blamed.516
- 30 April 1992, Batticaloa: 40 Tamil men and boys from Rugam village arrested during SLA round-up. 17 disappeared, 20 released later that day. Bodies of 3 others found with gunshot wounds.517
- 24 September 1992, Batticaloa: 13 people arrested and detained during SLA cordon-and-search operation. They were reportedly assaulted, then 8 released on the same day, 2 sent to Batticaloa prison, 3 disappeared.518
- 24 October 1992, Batticaloa: 6 to 10 people allegedly taken to Piliyadivaddai SLA camp and killed. SLA reportedly took bodies to Kaluwanikudy hospital. SLPF subsequently took bodies from the hospital and burned them.519
- 17 February 1993, Batticaloa: 16 farmers disappeared. SLA blamed.520

One of the round-ups was reported as a reprisal for an LTTE attack:

- 30 March 1991, Batticaloa: LTTE allegedly killed 1 SLPF officer at Iruthayapuram. 11 young men detained, killed and dumped on roadside as a reprisal. 60 officers from Iruthayapuram SLPF station subsequently transferred to Ampara.521

Individual civilians with no reported personal or professional affiliation to the conflict were also frequently targeted:

- 28 August 1991, Trincomalee: 3 men disappeared. SLA blamed.522
- 29 August 1992, Batticaloa: fisherman disappeared. SLA blamed.523
- 25 June 1993 Batticaloa: man disappeared. SLA blamed.524
- 31 May 1993, Batticaloa: 3 men disappeared. SLA blamed.525

While most reported LTTE attacks on Muslims were village raids, there were several incidents in this period where the LTTE reportedly abducted and killed groups of Muslim farmers and fishermen. These include:

- 30 July 1990, Ampara: 14 farmers from Muslim village of Akkaraipattu abducted, tortured and killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.526
- 8 August 1991, Ampara/Batticaloa: 8 Muslim farmers abducted from Sammanthurai, tortured. 6 killed and 2 injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.527
- 20 March 1993, Ampara: 18 Muslim fishermen abducted. SLPF blamed LTTE.528

513 UTHR ‘Special Report No 3’, above n 10.
515 Ibid.
525 Ibid.
526 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1990, above n 16.
Village raids and other group attacks

Many of the attacks in this category were reported as LTTE raids on Muslim villages or Muslim worshippers in 1990 and 1991. Almost all of these incidents were reported by the MoD. There were also a number of reported SFs attacks on Tamil villages concentrated in mid-1990, most of which were reported solely by NESoHR.

Some attacks included intimidation tactics, for example placards warning Muslims not to cooperate with the GoSL. The raids on Muslims were interspersed with similar raids on Sinhalese villages.

Village raids reportedly occurred frequently, sometimes daily, throughout 1990. For example:

- 22 June 1990, Ampara: 62 Muslims killed, bodies thrown into wells, and mosque and houses burned and looted in raid on Nintavur. Attackers left placards warning Muslims not to work for GoSL. SFs suspected LTTE, which allegedly accused villagers of being GoSL informants.
- 23 July 1990, Ampara/Batticaloa: 8 people, believed to be Muslims, killed and hung in Veeracholai. GoSL suspected LTTE.
- 24 July 1990, Polonnaruwa/Ampara: 8 Sinhalese civilians killed in raid on Damana village, Aralaganwila. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 3 August 1990, Batticaloa: between 100 and 140 Muslims killed and 70 injured when attackers fired into crowd of Muslim men praying at Hussainiya and Meera Jumma mosques in Kattankudy. Multiple reports, including GoSL, blamed LTTE.
- 11 August 1990, Batticaloa: several Muslim villages in Eravur attacked. Villages were Saddam Hussein, Punnakuda, Surattayankuda, Michnagar and Meerakemi/Saddam Hussein, Ponnaikadu and Klawaichannai. 116 to 173 killed, 20 injured. Attackers also tortured and looted victims. Attacks may have taken place in mosques. Attacks may have been reprisal for killing of 33 Tamil villagers by Muslims earlier on same day. GoSL, TELO and others blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied responsibility.
- 29 July 1990. Other than those listed here, there were several prominent, large-scale raids on Muslim villages at the beginning of August 1990:
  - 3 August 1990, Batticaloa: between 100 and 140 Muslims killed and 70 injured when attackers fired into crowd of Muslim men praying at Hussainiya and Meera Jumma mosques in Kattankudy. Multiple reports, including GoSL, blamed LTTE.
  - 11 August 1990, Batticaloa: several Muslim villages in Eravur attacked. Villages were Saddam Hussein, Punnakuda, Surattayankuda, Michnagar and Meerakemi/Saddam Hussein, Ponnaikadu and Klawaichannai. 116 to 173 killed, 20 injured. Attackers also tortured and looted victims. Attacks may have taken place in mosques. Attacks may have been reprisal for killing of 33 Tamil villagers by Muslims earlier on same day. GoSL, TELO and others blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied responsibility.

Following these August attacks, the GoSL decided to recruit a group of Muslim Home Guards. However, the raids continued to be reported on a frequent basis throughout the final months of 1990. For example:

- 21 September 1990, Ampara: 15 Muslim civilians killed, 11 injured in raid on Puddukudirippu village. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 30 September or 1 October 1990, Ampara: 9 Sinhalese villagers killed, 3 injured in raid on Peruwalatalawa (alternative spellings) village. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 2 October 1990, Ampara/Anuradhapura: 4, 5 or 7 people in Wahalkada village killed, 5 or 6 injured. Houses burned. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 11 October 1990, Ampara: 9 Muslims killed in raid on Arugambay village. GoSL blamed LTTE.

In 1991 and 1992, raids on Muslim and Sinhalese villages continued, but were slightly less frequent. For example:


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529 The remaining attacks included 4 LTTE raids on Sinhalese villages and 5 attacks on Tamil civilians by security forces.
533 Ibid.
538 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1990, above n 16.
541 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1990, above n 16.
• 2 March 1991, Batticaloa: 4 Muslims killed in raid on Kaludaveli village. GoSL blamed LTTE. 543

• 19 May 1991, Ampara: 6 Muslim and Sinhalese farmers killed, 1 injured in Errakamam. GoSL blamed LTTE. 544

In one case reported by UTHR and Crisis Group, a raid on Muslims was followed by reprisal attacks on Tamil civilians:

• On or around 11 August 1990, Batticaloa: following a massacre of Muslims in Eravur on the same day (see above), SFs and Muslim ‘mobs’ killed an unknown number of civilians and burned houses in neighbouring Tamil areas. 545

In several cases, raids on Muslims were reported as reprisals for general attacks on Tamil civilians. For example:

• 27 March 1992, Ampara: 2 Muslim fishermen killed, 1 injured. Local officials blamed LTTE, which allegedly engaged in attack in reprisal for killings of Tamil civilians in past month. 546

The new Muslim Home Guards were mostly involved in smaller-scale round-ups and targeted attacks on Tamil civilians. However, they were reportedly responsible for one publicly reported mass attack on Tamil civilians (which was not reported as a reprisal):

• 12 August 1990, Ampara: temple in Veeramunai IDP camp attacked. There were allegedly 6,000 to 7,000 people inside. 21 people killed and 40 injured. According to eyewitnesses and newspaper report from ‘The Sun’ cited by Amnesty International, Muslim Home Guards were allegedly responsible for attack, STF/SLPF were allegedly complicit. 547

The remaining incidents in this section were large-scale attacks on Tamil civilians, reportedly perpetrated by SFs in reprisal for LTTE bombings. These began in mid-1991 and occurred more frequently in 1992, roughly following a pattern of increased bombings from the end of 1991 throughout 1992 (described in ‘Bombings’ sub-section below). These include:

• 12 or 13 June 1991, Batticaloa: 65 to 220 Tamil civilians shot and beaten to death in Kokkadichcholai, Mahiladithivu and Munaikadu. Women raped. Houses burned and looted. Attack allegedly reprisal for death of some SLA soldiers in explosion at Kokkadichcholai, for which LTTE was blamed. A Commission of Inquiry found that the incident was a ‘deliberate retaliatory action’ by SFs. 1 officer and 19 soldiers charged with murder and brought before military tribunal. All soldiers acquitted, but officer convicted. 548

• 12 June 1992, Batticaloa: 17 villagers from Muthalaikuda killed, allegedly by SLA as reprisal for death of 2 soldiers in landmine explosion at Kokkadichcholai. Villagers taken to site of explosion, shot, dumped in crater and burned. 549

• 8 or 9 August 1992, Batticaloa: in Mailamthanai (various spellings), 35 to more than 50 villagers killed. SLA personnel blamed, charged for murder of 35 people, subsequently acquitted. 550

**Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs**

Most of the bomb attacks in this period occurred in 1992, with a few in 1991. Around half of the total bombings and nearly all of the IEDs in public places targeted Tamil civilians. In one reported case, an alleged reprisal targeted Tamils. For example:

• 24 March 1991, Ampara: 1 or 2 bombs exploded at fish market in Akkaraiappeli, killing 8 people or 9 Muslims and injuring 32 or 50. Multiple sources, including GoSL and unnamed ‘residents’, blamed LTTE. 551

• 2 September 1992, Batticaloa: bomb concealed in van exploded prematurely in Muslim neighbourhood in Kattankudy, killing 6 or 8 and injuring 20. Several shops damaged. SFs claimed intended target was SLPF station, blamed LTTE. 552

• 1 September 1992, Ampara: bicycle bomb exploded at market place in Sainthamaruthu. 22 mostly Muslim civilians killed, 67 others injured. GoSL and other sources blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied responsibility. 553

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543 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1991, above n 527.
• 28 October 1992, Batticaloa: bomb exploded in television shop owned by Muslim, killing 1 and injuring 1. GoSL blamed LTTE.554

• 31 October 1992, Batticaloa: 5 Tamils injured when bomb hidden in tin exploded in Valachchenai. SLFP blamed Muslim residents for attack, which was allegedly reprisal for 28 October 1992 bomb attack.555

Following another 1992 Batticaloa bomb attack that killed five Muslims, Muslims across the East reportedly closed shops and hung white flags.556

The remaining bombings were general attacks on civilians, and were not reported as targeting a particular demographic. For example:

• 26 January 1992, Ampara: land mine exploded under bus between Arantalawa and Borapola, killing between 10 and 20 people (mostly civilians) and 1 or 2 SLAF. 17 civilians and 7 or 9 SLAF injured. LTTE blamed.557

• 10 April 1992, Ampara: bomb exploded on civilian bus at Ampara bus station. 25 civilians killed and 30 to 40 injured. Vehicles, buildings and parts of bazaar damaged. LTTE blamed.558

• 30 August 1992, Trincomalee: bomb detonated on bus, killing 7 to 9 and injuring between 16 and 40. LTTE blamed.559

• 10 September 1992, Trincomalee: bomb destroyed ferry carrying 30 to 35 people at Koddiyar Bay/Kiliveddi Point. 7 or 10 civilians killed. 2 civilians and 1 SLA soldier injured. LTTE blamed.560

Attacks on vehicles and boats

Vehicle attacks occurred fairly regularly throughout 1990 to 1992. Just over half of the incidents were alleged LTTE attacks on Muslims. In several cases, the LTTE reportedly ambushed a vehicle and deliberately separated out Muslim passengers. Some cases resulted in tens of casualties. Examples include:

• 14 July 1990, Ampara: attackers stopped 3 buses near Kalmunai and killed 35 to 150 Muslim passengers. LTTE blamed.561

• July 1990, Batticaloa: 60 to 75 Muslim passengers on bus in Kattankudy abducted and killed. LTTE blamed.562

• 20 May 1991, Ampara: 9 Muslim civilians in trailer killed, 2 injured in Malwatta. GoSL blamed LTTE.563

• 15 July 1992, Batticaloa: bus stopped in Kirankulam, passengers dragged out, 18 or 19 Muslims killed and 5 or 7 injured. LTTE blamed.564

• 21 July 1992, Batticaloa: attackers boarded train/threw grenades and fired indiscriminately at train. Muslim passengers separated from Tamils and shot. PLOTE stated more than 40 passengers killed, but other sources reported 6, 7 or 10 killed and 4 or 5 injured. LTTE blamed.565

There were also several attacks on Tamil civilians – one was blamed on Muslim Home Guards, one on the LTTE and another two were unattributed. These include:

• 20 February 1991, Batticaloa: convoy of Tamil civilians attacked outside Eravur. 6 killed, others injured, bus burned. Muslim Home Guards or Muslim ‘mobs’ allegedly responsible for attack, which may have been reprisal for killing of 2 Muslims at Saddam Hussein village on 19 February 1991. SFs escort protecting convoy turned back at Home Guard checkpoint south of Eravur, leaving convoy unprotected. According to Amnesty International, SFs failed to intervene in attack, even though there was an SLA camp nearby. However, MoD claimed SFs soldiers saved some passengers.566

References:


• 18 March 1992, Batticaloa: grenade thrown into bus at Kaluwanchikudy, killing 3 passengers and injuring 15, most of whom were Tamil.  

• 15 June 1992, Batticaloa: gunmen ambushed bus passing through Kirankulam and abducted 15 Tamil passengers.  

**Chemical weapons**

There was one recorded case regarding the use of chemical weapons during this period. It was reported by only one source, which cited a statement made by the GoSL:

• 11 to 20 June 1990, Batticaloa: Kiran SLA camp allegedly attacked with chemical weapons during siege, making 20 soldiers ill. Victims taken to Polonnaruwa Hospital after siege ended. GoSL blamed LTTE. 

10 June 1990 – 18 April 1995

Northern Province

In this section:
• Shelling, landmines and suicide attacks
• Attacks on boats
• Village raids and other group attacks
• Killings and abductions leading to torture or disappearance
• Human shields

The main incident category in the North was frequent SF shelling, which reportedly incurred high civilian casualties. Many civilians who had obtained LTTE permits fled the regions affected by GoSL bombing. There were several incidents in the CMAP database where civilians fleeing across the Jaffna lagoon were hit by this bombing.

There were also two, notable trends of forced displacement and restricted movement, although there were no individual incidents recorded in the database. In October 1990, the LTTE expelled tens of thousands (reportedly up to 85,000) Muslims from the North.570 By September 1994, a UN Special Rapporteur found that all Muslims had been displaced from Jaffna, Mannar and Kilinochchi.571 In 1991, the LTTE began to restrict the movement of Tamil civilians, implementing a pass system that required Tamils to obtain permits before leaving the Vanni.572 Members or supporters of rival Tamil groups and suspected government informants were denied permits.573

Shelling, landmines and suicide attacks

Over 30 days of bombing (not all were consecutive) were recorded in this period, nearly half of which occurred in 1990. Multiple locations were often bombed on the same day. Specially protected objects (hospitals, Hindu temples and churches) were frequently hit. Reports suggest that, in several cases, these sites may have been directly targeted.

The SLAF was blamed in all cases. However, they often claimed that they were bombing LTTE positions and were unaware of civilian casualties, or denied that civilian casualties occurred. In one incident listed below, the SLAF said civilian casualties may have occurred because the LTTE built weapons factories in civilian areas.

There were almost daily bombings in Jaffna throughout August 1990, all of which were reported by UTHR. For example:
• 5 August 1990, Jaffna: 6 people killed, 13 injured by rocket-propelled bombs that hit IDP camp at St Anthony’s Church, Passaiyor. SLAF blamed.574
• 7 August 1990, Jaffna: 2 bombs hit Manipay Hospital and shops, killing 3 people and damaging Eye Clinic, front of the Hospital and shops. SLAF blamed.575
• 8 August 1990, Jaffna: aerial attack hit St Patrick’s College IDP camp, killing 3 and injuring 26. University of Jaffna also hit. SLAF blamed.576
• 9 August 1990, Jaffna: Jaffna Railway Station and surrounding area bombed. 9 people killed. Train carriages, irrigation research centre and house damaged.577 On same day, Chunnakam power plant hit twice, 2 diesel storage tanks set on fire, cutting off electricity supply to Jaffna. SLAF blamed.578

572 P IAC, ‘Island of Impunity?’, above n 43.
575 Ibid.
576 Ibid.
577 Ibid.
578 Ibid.
• 10 August 1990, Jaffna: 5 houses damaged by bombs that hit IDP camp in Chundikuli Girls College.\textsuperscript{579} Rockets injured 1 person and damaged Pillaiyar Temple at Pungudutivu and a water bowser.\textsuperscript{580} St Anthony’s College and St Joseph Church in Kayts partially damaged by bombs. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{581}

• 11 August 1990, Jaffna: Manipay Hospital hit for second time in 1 week.\textsuperscript{582} Houses and property damaged in shelling and bombing of Jaffna town. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{583}

• 13 August 1990, Jaffna: rice mill in Nelliady damaged by shelling. SLAF blamed.

• 13 August 1990, Jaffna: 4 people killed, 7 injured by aerial and rocket attack on 50 IDPs leaving for India from Vasanthapuram, Colombothurai. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{584}

In a contentious incident in May 1991, a Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) vehicle was hit by shelling:

• 3 May 1991, Mannar: a reportedly well-marked MSF vehicle in Mannar was allegedly fired at and bombed by SFs helicopter, injuring 1 doctor, 2 nurses and 1 driver. Attack continued for about 2 hours despite MSF worker waving white flags. SLAF and SLA personnel claimed they could not see MSF markings, and that an LTTE vehicle travelling behind the MSF vehicle initially shot at SLAF helicopter. MSF denied this. A GoSL Commission of Inquiry concluded the shooting was accidental, but the ICJ disagreed with this verdict.\textsuperscript{585}

Frequent shelling of the Northern Province continued throughout 1992, 1993 and 1994. Examples include:

• 31 May 1992, Jaffna: Sri Durga Devi Temple hit by aerial attack, including barrel bomb. 6 died, 125 injured. There were reportedly visible flags identifying building as religious.\textsuperscript{586}

• 18 May 1992, Mullaitivu: Vattapalai (various spellings) Hindu Temple hit by artillery. 15 or 23 civilians at temple killed, 30 to 60 injured. SLA blamed, but claimed that only 9 LTTE members killed.\textsuperscript{587}

• 18 September 1993, Mullaitivu: group of people including IDPs gathered in community hall in Matalan bombed by SLAF. 13 civilians killed, more than 40 injured.\textsuperscript{588}

• 13 November 1993, Jaffna: St James’ /Kurunagar Church hit, killing 9 or 10 civilians, injuring 25 to 50. Church damaged. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{589}

• 5 December 1993, Jaffna: Gurungar bombed, 26 civilians killed, 70 injured. SLA claimed they bombed suspected LTTE Sea Tigers base.\textsuperscript{590}

• 30 December 1993, Jaffna: Chavakachcheri bombed. 4 or 5 people killed, 50 or 51 injured. Buildings, including health centre, Chavakachcheri market, Drieberg College and church also damaged. SLAF blamed, but claimed were unaware of attack. SFs spokesperson said that SFs had bombed LTTE rally.\textsuperscript{591}

• 15 February 1994, Jaffna: 8 civilians killed, 9 injured in 2 aerial attacks. No LTTE members killed. SLAF blamed, confirmed airstrike in the area.\textsuperscript{592}

There was only one landmine, one suicide attack and one truck bomb reported in this period. In 1990, a landmine exploded when IDPs were attempting to escape fighting on the Mannar-Puttalam border. The LTTE was blamed.\textsuperscript{593} In 1993, an explosives-packed boat, reportedly manned by an LTTE suicide squad, ran into an SLN vessel off the coast of Point Pedro.\textsuperscript{594} In 1995, a truck being loaded with bombs exploded prematurely, killing LTTE members and civilians.\textsuperscript{595}

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\textsuperscript{579} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{580} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{581} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{582} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{583} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{584} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{585} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{586} ‘Five Sailors Killed in Sri Lankan Tamil Suicide Attack’, Reuters, 5 May 1991; ICJ, ‘Authority without Accountability’, above n 212.
\textsuperscript{589} NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
\textsuperscript{590} AI, ‘Sri Lanka: Summary of Human Rights Concerns’ (Report, 1 February 1994); ‘Sri Lankan civilians killed in raids, official says’, Reuters, 30 November 1994; NESoHR, ‘Lest We Forget’, above n 100.
\textsuperscript{593} ‘Eight killed in northern Sri Lanka air raids’, Reuters, 17 February 1994.
\textsuperscript{594} ‘Refugees Use Cattle as Shields against Landmines’, Reuters, 23 July 1990.
\textsuperscript{595} ‘Tamil Suicide Squad Rams Naval Vessel, 12 Soldiers Killed’, Associated Press, 29 August 1993.
\textsuperscript{596} ‘Deaths Reported As Sri Lankan Rebel Truck Blows Up’, Reuters, 24 November 1995.
Attacks on boats

There were two notable trends in attacks on boats.

The first reported trend included attacks on civilians attempting to cross the Jaffna lagoon, reportedly by the SLN or SLAF. In one case, the SFs did not comment on the attack in question, but claimed that boats on the lagoon were generally used by the LTTE. In another, the SFs stated that boats had been banned from the lagoon, and that they would fire on any unauthorised craft. Crossing the lagoon was reportedly the only way to leave the Jaffna peninsula from the south. All except one attack occurred in 1993. Examples include:

- 2 January 1993, Jaffna: 14 civilians killed, 50 presumed dead or 30 to 60 people killed when boats crossing Jaffna lagoon attacked. LTTE, EPRLF and residents blamed SLN.
- 29 July 1993, Jaffna: boat carrying civilians in Jaffna lagoon attacked, despite passengers allegedly shouting that they were civilian. 8 passengers killed, 6 injured, 6 missing. Boat destroyed. SLN blamed.
- 6 September 1993, Jaffna: 50 to 60 boats crossing Jaffna lagoon strafed. At least 2 people killed, 3 boats sunk. Witnesses blamed SLAF.

The second trend includes reported LTTE attacks on fishing boats in Mannar, which occurred between 1994 and 1995. For example:

- 11 January 1994, Mannar: 4 fishermen killed, 6 injured in attack on fishing trawlers at Kadirimalai Point. Local officials suspected LTTE.
- 16 or 18 March 1994, Mannar: fishing boats attacked off Mannar coast. Between 6 and 17 fishermen killed, 3 injured, 5 or 6 missing. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- April 1995, Mannar: more than 40 Sinhalese fishermen killed at Kallaru. LTTE blamed.

There was also one notable SLN attack on fishermen in Kilinochchi:

- 18 February 1994, Kilinochchi: SLN boats opened fire on fishermen in the sea near Chundikulam. Eyewitnesses reported seeing bodies falling into sea. 10 killed.

Village raids and other group attacks

There were several village raids in this period, all reportedly perpetrated by the LTTE. Most occurred in 1990 and 1992. Two of the examples below were only reported by the MoD and GoSL. The third relied on the MoD as a root source:

- 13 August 1990, Vavuniya: 9 Muslims, 1 Sinhalese killed and 3 injured in Avaranthalawa. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 23 October 1990, Vavuniya: 10 Sinhalese villagers and 2 civilian guards killed in Kadecholai. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 21 May 1992, Vavuniya: 6 Tamils, 1 Muslim killed in Kalamaddu. GoSL suspected LTTE.

The other notable incident was a large-scale attack on a church:

- On/around 26 August 1990, Jaffna: 14 Christian civilians, 40 to 70 Hindu civilians reportedly killed inside St. Peter’s Church, Mandaitivu. SLA blamed.

Three attacks in this period involved mass looting – two when the SLA allegedly entered villages in the North in August 1990, and one when the LTTE allegedly raided an ICRC office in 1993.
Killings and abductions leading to torture or disappearance

There are only a handful of publicly reported incidents in this section. However, Amnesty International reported on the high rate of public executions and torture in custody in the North, which suggests that the following entries represent only a fraction of actual incidents.  

Two individuals with prominent roles in factional groups were killed:


- August 1993, Jaffna: former deputy leader of LTTE, Gopalaswamy Mahendrarajah, was arrested, allegedly by the LTTE. Mahendrarajah had reportedly leaked LTTE military information to Indian Government. According to Amnesty International, Mahendrarajah and 120 followers were allegedly due to be executed on 16 January 1994. According to subsequent reports, Mahendrarajah was tortured for 4 months before being killed.

The remaining incidents in this section were alleged LTTE abductions, a reprisal killing and two cases of Tamil-Muslim violence. For example:

- 15 September 1990, Mannar: 4 IDPs driving to Thirukkovil allegedly arrested by Muslim Home Guards, handed to SLPF. When inquiries made about whereabouts, official claimed that 2 were LTTE members.

- Mid-November 1990, Jaffna: 28 Muslim traders from Jaffna abducted. 3 released, 1 killed in custody, 24 remained in custody as of June 1991. LTTE blamed.

- 1993, Vavuniya: boy formerly in LTTE was arrested, tortured, detained until 1998, allegedly by SLPF. Arrested again on unspecified date following release, tortured and moved to Counter-Subversive Unit (CSU) in Trincomalee. Released on unspecified date.

Human shields

There were three allegations of civilians being used as human shields in this period. UTHR and Reuters reported cases where the LTTE was blamed, but did not respond to allegations. UTHR reported one case where SFs were blamed, but did not respond to the allegation.

- 22 to 24 August 1990, Jaffna: during Operation Major, SLA allegedly used a number of male civilians – ranging from 15 to 35 to almost 500 – as human shields. Victims were arrested from different camps, some were chained, assaulted and knifed.

- 24 to 26 August 1990, Jaffna: LTTE members in van were chased by SLA helicopter. LTTE allegedly ran inside Chatti Mosque or Church. SLA helicopter allegedly opened fire at the Mosque, where about 1500 IDPs from Kayts Island were sheltering.

- 31 May 1993, Vavuniya: according to PLOTE, LTTE allegedly used civilians as human shields when attacking PLOTE post. 9 or 10 civilians were killed and 22 injured.

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613 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 10’, above n 201.
616 Ibid.
617 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 19’, above n 421.
618 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 2’, above n 609.
619 Ibid.
There were two main reported incident categories in the Western Province: 1) killings and disappearances, which often targeted political figures, and; 2) IEDs and suicide bombings.

Several of the targeted killings also involved suicide bombs, but have been categorised under ‘Killings’. Most of the incidents occurred in Colombo.

The most prominent incident was the killing of President Ranasinghe Premadasa by a suicide bomber in 1993, which followed the assassination of opposition leader Lalith Athulathmudali one week earlier. These attacks led to widespread political unrest, prompting the GoSL to impose a national curfew.621

There were reportedly over 1,000 cases of election-related violence prior to the 1994 presidential elections.622 However, there is only one such incident recorded in the CMAP database, in which UNP presidential candidate Gamini Dissanayake, several MPs and up to 50 others were killed by a suspected suicide bomber during an election rally.623

Killings and abductions leading to torture, disappearance or death

Over half of the killings and abductions reported in this period targeted prominent political figures, including President Premadasa and Deputy Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne. Some of these incidents could also be classified under ‘Suicide attacks and other IEDs’, but were included here because the bombing appeared to target a specific individual. Most incidents occurred in 1993 and 1994, closer to the 1994 elections. These include:

- 2 or 3 March 1991, Colombo: a bomb in a parked car exploded, killing Deputy Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne as he was driving to work. 18 or 26 other civilians were also killed, including the Minister’s bodyguard, driver and civilian bystanders. 73 people were injured and a number of vehicles were damaged. GoSL blamed LTTE.624
- 1 May 1993, Colombo: a suicide bomber rode a bicycle into President Ranasinghe Premadasa at a May Day rally/election meeting in Colombo, killing the President and 10 to 17 others. 58 or 60 people were injured. LTTE blamed, but denied responsibility. The bomber was later identified as a Tamil from Jaffna.626

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621 ‘President’s slaying sends Sri Lanka into more political chaos’, Associated Press, 1 May 1993.
- 8 February 1994, Colombo: Bhadrapala Wickrematunga, former Sri Lankan ambassador to Sweden and brother-in-law of former president Ranasinghe Premadasa, killed in his home.628
- 12 February 1994, Colombo: Uma Prakash, leader of PLOTE-PLO, which split from the PLOTE (according to UTHR), killed. Alavangu Dasan, who worked for the PLOTE military wing leader, blamed for killing. According to UTHR, sources suggest that GoSL authorised the killing.629
- 4 April 1994, Kalutara: Gunmen killed SLFP campaigner Chandra de Silva near Beruwala.630
- 4 October 1990, Gampaha: labourer abducted by men in civilian clothes. One abductor was allegedly SLPF officer from Kochchikade SLPF station, who told victim’s relatives that victim was transferred to Colombo.631
- 16 November 1992: Suicide bomber on motorcycle detonated explosives attached to the motorcycle while driving alongside a car carrying SLN Vice-Admiral Clancy Fernando and 3 aides in Colombo. The car was driving through a High Security Zone near the Taj Samudra Hotel. The suicide bomber, Fernando and the 3 aides were all killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.632
- 31 December 1994, Colombo: Vice-President of Democratic People’s Liberation Front, Karavai Kandasamy, killed at house in Dehiwala. Kandasamy’s daughter injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.633
- 21 June 1991, Colombo: suicide car exploded at SLA Joint Operations Command, around 60 people killed, 20 or 23 were civilians. Main building, barracks, houses and cars damaged. Ceiling of classroom in nearby girls’ school collapsed, injuring ten 5 yo. girls. GoSL blamed LTTE.634
- 23 October 1994, Colombo: Gamini Dissanayake, UNP presidential candidate, and between 30 and 51 other people killed, 20 injured by bomb during election rally. Bomb exploded after Mr Dissanayake finished speech. Others killed included UNP general secretary, Gamini Wijesekara, 2 former cabinet Ministers and a Member of Parliament (MP), and/or former minister Weerasinghe Mallimarachchi and another key party figure, G. M. Premachandra. SLFP suspected LTTE suicide bomber, but LTTE denied involvement.635

Suicide attacks and IEDs

There were three suicide bombs in this period, all of which targeted high-profile people, locations or gatherings (the SLA Joint Operations Command, the SLN Vice-Admiral and a UNP rally):

- 21 June 1991, Colombo: suicide car exploded at SLA Joint Operations Command, around 60 people killed. 20 or 23 were civilians. Main building, barracks, houses and cars damaged. Ceiling of classroom in nearby girls’ school collapsed, injuring ten 5 yo. girls. GoSL blamed LTTE.636
- 16 November 1992: Suicide bomber on motorcycle detonated explosives attached to the motorcycle while driving alongside a car carrying SLN Vice-Admiral Clancy Fernando and 3 aides in Colombo. The car was driving through a High Security Zone near the Taj Samudra Hotel. The suicide bomber, Fernando and the 3 aides were all killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.637
- 23 October 1994, Colombo: Gamini Dissanayake, UNP presidential candidate, and between 30 and 51 other people killed, 20 injured by bomb during election rally. Bomb exploded after Mr Dissanayake finished speech. Others killed included UNP general secretary, Gamini Wijesekara, 2 former cabinet Ministers and a Member of Parliament (MP), and/or former minister Weerasinghe Mallimarachchi and another key party figure, G. M. Premachandra. SLFP suspected LTTE suicide bomber, but LTTE denied involvement.638
This last attack was connected to the 1994 presidential vote. In April 1994, several months prior to elections, there was also a series of concurrent IED attacks on hotels, a railway and a zoo. GoSL sources reported no specific connection between the attacks and the elections, but speculated that the bombs were intended to incite panic or provoke a government reaction against Tamils.\(^{639}\) The attacks include:

- **8 April 1994, Colombo:** bomb exploded prematurely at Mount Lavinia on railway track, killing bomber and injuring 1 man. SLPF suspected LTTE.\(^{640}\)
- **8 April 1994, Colombo:** bomb exploded in Hotel Sapphire toilet, injuring Tamil couple. LTTE suspected.\(^{641}\) Explosion happened at same time as 2 other hotel toilet bombings, on same day as railroad bombing. SLPF suspected LTTE. Sources suggested that bombs may have been intended to disrupt tourism, incite panic or provoke GoSL crackdown on Tamils.\(^{642}\)
- **8 April 1994, Colombo:** bomb exploded in Marriott Hotel male toilet. Property damage but no casualties. SLPF suspected LTTE.\(^{643}\)
- **9 April 1994, Colombo:** bomb exploded outside Dehiwala Zoo. No casualties. SLPF suspected LTTE.\(^{644}\)

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\(^{639}\) ‘One killed, three injured in Sri Lankan blasts’, Reuters, 9 April 1994.


\(^{641}\) Ibid.

\(^{642}\) Ibid.

\(^{643}\) Ibid.

\(^{644}\) Ibid.
10 June 1990 – 18 April 1995

North Central Province

In this section:

- Village raids and other group attacks
- Abductions and killings
- Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs

The majority of incidents in the North Central Province were raids on villages and other attacks by armed groups. Several of these were incidents of Muslim-Tamil violence, including a series of attacks reportedly intended to drive Muslims from LTTE territory. There were also a small number of disappearances, targeted killings and bombings in this province.

Village raids and other group attacks

Half of the publicly reported raids targeted Sinhalese villages. Most occurred in 1990, and were reported by the MoD. For example:

- 26 July 1990, Anuradhapura: 19 killed, 3 injured in Thammannawa, a Sinhalese village. 30 houses burned. GoSL blamed LTTE.
- 8 August 1990, Anuradhapura: 25 Sinhalese and 1 SFs soldier killed, 7 injured in attack on private coach at Meegasewewa. GoSL blamed LTTE.

Other attacks suggest a high level of Muslim-Tamil violence – five reported LTTE raids targeted Muslim communities, and two raids by Muslim Home Guards or ‘militants’ targeted Tamils. These include:

- 29 April 1992, Polonnaruwa: 54 killed in Muslim village Alanchipothana. Multiple sources, including GoSL and witnesses, blamed LTTE.
- 29 April 1992, Polonnaruwa: 54 to 97 Tamil villagers from Muthugal and Karapola killed, allegedly as reprisal for attack on Muslim civilians on same day. Most sources, including UN and witnesses, blamed Muslim Home Guards, SLPF and/or SFs.
- 9 August 1992, Polonnaruwa: 21 Tamil civilians or 25 Sinhalese civilians killed during raid on Mailanthenna. 10 or 12 injured. SLPF and ‘Tamil sources’ blamed Muslim ‘militants’, while GoSL blamed LTTE. Attack was either result of tense relations between Muslim and Tamil communities, or reprisal against Tamils for alleged LTTE attack on senior SLA officers.

A mass raid on three or four Muslim villages in Polonnaruwa was reportedly intended to force Muslims to leave LTTE-controlled territory:

- 15 October 1992, Polonnaruwa: villages of Palliyagodella, Akbarpura, Ahmedpura and Pamburawa or Madirigiriya, Palliyagodalla and Ahamedpura were attacked. Between 146 and 202 civilians killed and between 83 and 120 injured. Houses burned and looted. When attack began, villagers were told to shelter in mosque. Many killed and injured while fleeing to mosque. Villages guarded by 26 SLPF officers, 10 SFs soldiers and 10 Home Guards at time of attack. 8 SLA soldiers and 11 or 12 SLPF killed. GoSL and some witnesses blamed LTTE for attack, which was reportedly intended to force Muslims to leave LTTE-controlled areas. However, LTTE denied involvement and blamed GoSL. Some attackers were reportedly child soldiers. Muslim victims reportedly buried in mass grave.
Abductions and killings

In two cases in Anuradhapura in 1990, seven to 12 Muslim men were abducted and killed. In one case, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) said that the SFs questioned the victims in the week prior to their disappearance;\(^\text{652}\) in the other, the GoSL blamed the LTTE.\(^\text{653}\) The only other targeted attacks were the abduction of two Sri Lankan workers who were putting up power cables,\(^\text{654}\) and the killing of the sons of an All Lanka Peasants’ Congress member.\(^\text{655}\) Both were blamed on the LTTE.

Landmines, vehicle bombs and other IEDs

Aside from a landmine and a car bomb attack in 1990, which both resulted in low-level civilian casualties, the only bombings were two incidents in 1994 in Anuradhapura. In one case, a bomb exploded on a bus used by off-duty soldiers and SLFP officers. Ten to 15 SLFP and SFs were killed, and 25 to 51 were injured. The GoSL blamed the LTTE.\(^\text{656}\) In the second case, a parcel bomb exploded on a passenger train at Anuradhapura station, killing one or two people and injuring 11 or 15. The GoSL suspected the LTTE.\(^\text{657}\)

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652 Rebels Storm Mosque Killing 10 Worshipers’, Associated Press, 29 July 1990
10 June 1990 – 18 April 1995

Other Provinces

There were less than ten attacks recorded in each of the North Western, Central, Southern and Uva Provinces, and none in Sabaragamuwa.

The main attack types in these provinces were:

- abductions leading to torture and/or disappearance, all blamed on the SLPF (in the Central, Southern and Uva Provinces); 658
- several raids on Sinhalese villages in Uva, blamed on the LTTE. 659 One village was also raided by the JVP in the South; 660
- several attacks on fishermen in the North Western Province, blamed on the LTTE; 661 and
- two bombings at UNP meetings, which were unattributed. 662

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19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002

Period Overview

The 8 January 1995 ceasefire declared by newly elected President Kumaratunga ended with the breakdown of peace talks between the GoSL and the LTTE in April 1995.663 Explosives were planted by the LTTE on two SLN gunboats in Trincomalee harbour on 19 April, ending the truce and signifying the start of this period.664 A series of GoSL military operations against the LTTE in the North began with the launch of Operation Leap Forward in July 1995, and culminated in the GoSL takeover of Jaffna city on 5 December 1995, with control of Jaffna returned to the GoSL for the first time in five years.665 Intense fighting saw hundreds of civilian deaths, the majority blamed on SFs shelling and aerial attacks. In April 1996, the LTTE was forced to withdraw from the peninsula, retreating to the Vanni with over 300,000 civilians it allegedly intimidated into leaving with them.666

Over the next few years, as the GoSL tried to connect its forces in Jaffna with those penetrating into the Vanni, the LTTE seized key victories:667 a strategic SLAF base in Mullaitivu was overrun in July 1996, Kilinochchi town was under LTTE control by September 1998 and Elephant Pass, the gateway to the Jaffna peninsula, was stormed in April 2000, resulting in the capture and killing of large numbers of SF soldiers.668 By mid-2000, a stalemate had set in in the North as both sides suffered heavy casualties and loss of equipment.

There was a brief ceasefire from December 2000 to 24 April 2001, after which the LTTE launched a ground offensive in conjunction with extensive suicide bombing in the West.669 Meanwhile, the SFs engaged in a series of attacks in LTTE territory, carried out by Deep Penetration Units (DPU) under the control of the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI). A number of high-ranking LTTE officials were covertly assassinated.670

In 2001, Ranil Wickremesinghe was elected as Prime Minister on a pro-peace platform, after the GoSL ‘war for peace’ strategy had become unsustainable in the face of a struggling economy, military desertion and widespread war weariness.671 The LTTE was reportedly willing to politically engage in order to consolidate its position and gain political recognition.672 On 2 February 2002, after six years of almost constant active conflict, the LTTE and GoSL signed a Memorandum of Understanding and an interim ceasefire agreement (CFA).673

Throughout this period, the LTTE had continued to mount armed attacks in urban areas on the Jaffna peninsula and beyond, targeting SFs and civilians alike. There were a series of significant attacks from 1996 to 1999, including on the Central Bank in Colombo, the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy and an assassination attempt on President Chandrika Kumaratunga at a pre-election rally in Colombo.674

GoSL crackdowns in response to LTTE suicide and bombing attacks saw increased vulnerability for civilians passing through SFs checkpoints, and those subject to cordon-and-search operations.675 Tamil civilians across the country, who were suspected of LTTE involvement, were consistently reported as being subject to arbitrary arrest and detention, mistreatment, torture, killing or disappearance in SFs custody. Tamils were distinctly overrepresented in detention, often being held without trial for prolonged periods of time.676 Throughout the period, UNHCR reported a high rate of people killed extra-judicially by SFs, or disappeared after being taken into SFs custody.677

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667 Weiss, above n 6.
673 Hashim, above n 10.
676 1997 Background Paper on Refugees, above n 665.
677 2004 Background Paper on Refugees, above n 665.
There are also reports showing how the LTTE aggressively targeted ex-members, SFs informants and Tamil civilians who opposed their activities. The forced recruitment of children also appears to have remained a consistent feature of the conflict, though reporting on specific incidents was mostly limited to the time periods in which certain NGOs conducted specific research on the topic.678

Assassinations of politically-affiliated individuals proliferated from 1995 to 2002, particularly around election times. Dozens of MPs, election candidates and standing mayors were injured or killed across the country. In election years, the Centre for Monitoring Election Violence sometimes reported well over 1000 incidents of violence.679 Attacks were often attributed to opposing political parties.
19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002

Eastern Province

In this section:

- Aerial attacks, shelling and civilians killed in crossfire
- Killings
- Arrest or abduction leading to torture, sexual and gender-based violence, disappearance or death
- Attacks on vehicles, grenades, landmines and other IEDs
- Child abduction and recruitment

The main trends in the Eastern Province for this period were the killing, disappearance or torture of persons in SFs custody following arrest at SFs checkpoints or during cordon-and-search operations; targeted killings of political figures, SLPF officers and people considered to be LTTE traitors; mass killings or abductions of Sinhalese and Muslim villagers; and incidents of child abduction linked to LTTE recruitment in the latter half of the period.

The East was a key area of LTTE operation during this period. As the GoSL gained and then sought to consolidate its control of Jaffna in late 1995 and 1996, the LTTE launched major military attacks in the East, taking advantage of the lower presence of SF troops. In response, the SFs engaged in retaliatory attacks that often resulted in civilian deaths.680

Aerial attacks, shelling and civilians killed in crossfire

As the GoSL gained and then sought to consolidate its control of Jaffna in late 1995 and 1996, the LTTE launched major attacks in the East, taking advantage of the lower presence of troops. SFs shelling in response to such attacks often resulted in civilian deaths.681 Some reports alleged that attacks were random,682 or actually targeted at civilians, but this was often disputed. Incidents of aerial attacks, shelling and crossfire prior to 1998 that killed civilians and were reported in a variety of publications include:

- 6 or 7 May 1995, Trincomalee: 4 to 5 Muslim civilians shot dead. SLA claimed civilians killed in crossfire during LTTE attack on nearby SLA post in Pulmoddai. Other sources claimed that SLA fired directly at civilians.683
- 19 July 1995, Batticaloa: 3 civilians killed, 9 injured when caught in crossfire during fighting between SLA troops and LTTE fighters at Kinnayadi. SFs blamed.684
- November 1995, Batticaloa: 4 children playing in Siruthayankallu injured by helicopter shell.685
- 24 February 1996, Ampara: 5 civilians killed with 2 LTTE fighters when hit by mortar bomb at Thikkodai, during battle between SLPF commandos and LTTE.686
- 23 March 1996, Batticaloa: 5 civilians including 2 children killed in shelling of Mavadyvembu, Vantharumoolai. SLA blamed. Apparent retaliation for earlier LTTE attack.687
- 11 May 1996, Batticaloa: 11 civilians killed, 16 injured when village of Kaluwankerny in Batticaloa shelled from Sittandy following battle in Morakotanchenai. SLA blamed but claimed had been firing at withdrawing LTTE force.688
- 17 December 1996, Batticaloa: 4 Tamil civilians killed in bombing raid as they sheltered in school near Kakkaddichcholai. LTTE blamed SLA. Civilians had allegedly been notified by GoSL to take refuge in public buildings.689

681 Ibid.
688 Ibid.
21 April 1997, Batticaloa: 2 to 3 civilians killed, several injured, either by SFs-LTTE crossfire or when SLA opened fire on civilians decorating Velaichchenai in honour of deceased LTTE supporter after LTTE member shot SLPF officer who attempted to stop decorating.690

24 August 1997, Batticaloa: 1 to 4 civilians killed, dozens injured when SFs headquarters in Kallady Veloor colony shelled. LTTE blamed.691

SFs were accused of using human shields on one occasion:

5 December 1995, Batticaloa: 6 to 30 civilians killed, 3 injured during fighting between LTTE and STF at STF camp near Kalmunai. LTTE van carrying explosives attacked. In ensuing fighting, STF allegedly used public buses with civilians on board as human shields.692

There were no incidents of civilian deaths during aerial attacks, shelling or crossfire logged in the database between the end of 1997 and 2001. It is possible that this is explained by decreased general reporting on the Eastern Province. At least one NGO that reported on human rights developments in the East was subject to GoSL censorship and consequently shut down its operations in May 1998.693 There were two incidents reported in 2001:

20 November 2001, Batticaloa: 4 Tamil civilians killed when SLPF reportedly fired upon houses in Eravur, Batticaloa, as they were ‘anticipating an attack by the LTTE’. SLPF confirmed officers fired after seeing ‘suspicious’ car. Car belonged to civilian lawyer visiting friend.694

1 December 2001, Trincomalee: 2 civilians killed by shell in playground in Sampur. SLA blamed.695

Killings

Many reportedly unaffiliated people were killed during the period. In each of 1995, 1996 and 1997, there were a handful of killings reported. From 1998 to 2000, the rate dropped. The majority of deaths reported occurred during shootings.

On multiple occasions, reports did not state reasons for the killing of civilians by suspected LTTE or SFs personnel, for example:

6 June 1995, Batticaloa: Sinhalese labourer shot dead when returning home after work at SLA detachment. SLA suspected LTTE.696

2 July 1995, Batticaloa: 10 people killed, 1 injured when fired on by attackers at Kanathanai or Poondukalchenai, near Kiran. 33 yo. taken into custody and reported missing, LTTE blamed SFs.697

10 June 1996, Batticaloa: 3 people shot dead in Nasivantivu. SLAF blamed.698

March 1998, Batticaloa: 6 yo. girl reportedly ordered to run and then shot in back by SFs personnel in Kiran.699

8 April 1998, Batticaloa: civilian shot dead at Kadiravelli village. SFs blamed LTTE.700

Civilians were killed after being stopped at SFs checkpoints or stopped by SFs personnel on the street. For example:

August 1996, Ampara: 2 Tamil boys killed by STF on street in Kalmunai. Officers claimed boys were on way to assassinate visiting Muslim ministers.701

15 September 1996, Ampara: 2 students stopped on road in Kalmunai by STF. Later, bodies appeared in Kalmunai Hospital mortuary. STF suspected of having turned students into suicide bombers.702

10 January 1999, Batticaloa: civilian killed when SLPF reportedly fired upon people at Eravur security checkpoint.703

Civilians were also targeted in the following retaliatory killings by SFs:

- 27 May 1995, Trincomalee: 3 civilians killed by Muslim Home Guards in market place in Palainagar, Muttur, in apparent reprisal attack for alleged killing of SLA informant by LTTE.704
- 9 or 10 February 1997, Batticaloa: 5 Muslim civilians shot dead, 3 injured or 3 abducted, killed in Oddamavadi in alleged reprisal for killing of Tamil civilians on 9 February 1997.705

Fishermen were also targeted multiple times, for example:

- 22 November 2000, Trincomalee: 4 fishermen, including 15 yo. boy, killed and 2 civilians injured in Gopalapurum. SLN suspected. Villagers reportedly not allowed to recover victims’ bodies until they confirmed with SLN that victims were LTTE members.706
- Between January and March 2001, Trincomalee: 4 civilian fishermen shot dead in Nilaveli. SLN blamed. Protest that followed led to disappearance of 2 other civilians.707

In 2001, an Assembly of God local church group member was reportedly beaten and killed by the LTTE in Panichankerny, Trincomalee after refusing to stop holding meetings in the church.708 Although this is the only incident of its kind recorded in the database for this period, according to UTHR, 35 Christian families were displaced from Panichankerny by LTTE violence in June 2001.709

**Mass killings or abductions of villagers**

From 1995 to 1999, SFs accused the LTTE of several mass abductions and massacres of Sinhalese and Muslim civilians from villages in Ampara and Trincomalee. The SFs also accused the LTTE of a number of smaller group abductions (eight to 16 people) in villages in Ampara in the latter part of 1995, and one in Trincomalee in 1998.710 The following attacks involved 30 or more victims:

- 25 to 26 May 1995, Trincomalee: 42 to 43 people killed, 4 to 15 injured in attack on Kallarawa Sinhalese village. LTTE blamed.711
- 2 July 1997, Trincomalee: large group of Muslim and Sinhalese fishermen (approximately 30) from Irakkakandi abducted from homes, reportedly held at LTTE camp in Thiraya jungle. By 21 November 1997, all prisoners released to ICRC. However, MoD alleged 34 civilians in ‘Erakkandy’ Muslim village tortured to death, suspected LTTE. According to MoD, this was allegedly reprisal attack for surrendering of 5 LTTE members to SLA.712
- 18 September 1999, Ampara: 46 to 57 villagers hacked or shot to death. 5 to 20 people injured, 10 houses burned. May have been reprisal for killing of 21 Tamils in PTK earlier in month. LTTE suspected.713

On one occasion, SFs were accused of attacking Tamil civilians en masse in a village in Trincomalee:

- 11 or 12 February 1996, Trincomalee: 24 to 30 Tamil civilians killed, dozens injured and one person gang-raped in attack on Kumarakaparam village. SFs blamed, but SLPF denied responsibility. Later GoSL acknowledged involvement of SFs and condemned attack.714
Attacks on politicians, political candidates and political offices

Politicians, political candidates, and their supporters and associates were the target of a number of attacks at political rallies, in their homes or in public. MPs were attacked on many occasions. 2000 and 2001 saw a spike in political violence in the East, with half of the total number of reported incidents occurring in those two years. On several occasions, civilians were injured and killed in the attacks. Notable victims included:

- 27 October 1995, Batticaloa: TEO-associated Deputy Mayor of Batticaloa, Thomas Anthony/Anton, shot dead. SLPF suspected LTTE.715
- 5 July 1997, Trincomalee: TULF MP Arunasalam Thangathurai killed leaving school. Attacker threw grenade and shot victims. 4 to 6 others killed, including Thangathurai’s bodyguard and school principal. 15 people injured. LTTE blamed. SLPF arrested 5 suspects.716
- 20 July 1997, Trincomalee: UNP MP Mohammed Moharooof and 5 others, including 1 child, killed when car shot at near Uppuveli. SLPF blamed LTTE, arrested 25 Tamil men.717
- 23 May 2000, Trincomalee: Regional politician M. K. Gunawardena targeted by suicide bomber at home in Kantalai. Several people injured.718
- 8 June 2000: Former TEO chairman K. Navaratnarajah shot while on motorcycle. Later died from injuries. GoSL suspected LTTE.719
- 10 September 2000, Ampara: Cheliyan Perimpanayakam, People’s Alliance (PA) candidate and former mayor in Batticaloa, and a PA supporter, both killed by unidentified gunmen at Manoharanpillai’s home in Kalmunai. Victims had been addressing meeting in support of PA. Local PA leader suspected Muslim Jihad. MoD blamed LTTE.720
- 2 October 2000, Trincomalee: SLMC candidate Mohamed Baithullah killed alongside 19 to 24 other people in suicide bombing at SLMC rally in Muttur. 20 or 54 people injured.721
- 7 or 8 November 2000, Batticaloa: TULF deputy Nimal Soundaranayagam killed by 4 unidentified gunmen while riding motorcycle in Batticaloa. Victim had received largest preference vote in Batticaloa. Senior TULF leader suspected LTTE.722
- 12 November 2000, Ampara: PA candidate for Ampara M.M. Anjan reportedly abducted together with a supporter in Kalmunai. LTTE suspected.723
- 17 November 2001, Batticaloa: Thambirajah Jayakumar, candidate for UNP, shot dead while returning home in motorcade after addressing campaign meetings. Gunman on motorcycle stopped vehicle and opened fire. SLPF and SFs officials blamed LTTE.724

A number of people reportedly connected to the EPRLF or the PLOTE were also targeted in killings and abductions, mostly from late 2001 to early 2002. The LTTE was generally suspected of perpetrating the attacks.

Attacks on LTTE ‘traitors’: ex-members, critics and SFs informants

There were several reported killings targeting former LTTE members, critics of the LTTE, suspected Tamil ‘traitors’, suspected SFs informants or people who had assisted or had ‘friendly’ relationships with the SFs. People were executed before public gatherings or while tied to lampposts or trees;725 killed by grenades thrown into homes;726 bodies were left in public with notes of accusation;727 and on one occasion two victims were reportedly compelled to kill themselves by detonating explosive devices.728 These incidents...
were concentrated in Batticaloa in 1996 and 1997. Examples include:

- 10 May 1996, Batticaloa: radiologist at Batticaloa Hospital suspected of conducting relationship with SLA officer, abducted by LTTE from Vantharumoolai, held for 45 days before being shot dead on May 10. Body left in public with written accusation of treason.730
- 3 August 1997, Batticaloa: Hindu priest shot dead in Batticaloa temple in front of congregation. Victim reportedly accused by LTTE of collaborating with SFs. LTTE suspected.731
- September or October 2001, Batticaloa: 5 Tamil civilians executed for alleged involvement in assassination campaign of high-ranking LTTE officials. 2 of victims compelled to kill themselves by detonating explosive devices.732

Attacks on SLPF and reprisals

SLPF personnel were a highly targeted demographic during this period. Several dozen attacks that killed or injured SLPF personnel were reported during the period, occurring fairly consistently throughout. The vast majority of these attacks were suspected to have been perpetrated by the LTTE.

Individual SLPF officers, SLPF posts and SLPF vehicles were targeted with gunfire, poison gas, bombs, suicide bombers, grenades and land mines. For example:

- 7 July 1995, Batticaloa: 1 SLPF officer killed, 12 injured in attack on van carrying wounded SLPF officers to hospital. SFs suspected LTTE.733
- 19 July 1995, Ampara: reported poison gas attack on SLPF STF post at Thikodai, killing 1 officer and injuring 4. SLPF blamed LTTE.734
- 17 December 1996, Ampara: SLPF Senior Superintendent, who was regional head of STF commandos, killed when jeep was rammed by motorcyclist strapped with explosives in Karaitivu. Driver seriously injured.735
- 26 January 1998, Batticaloa: 2 SLPF officers shot dead by gunman in Kalmunai in Ampara. LTTE suspected.736
- 1 November 2001, Trincomalee: 11 SLPF constables killed, 9 injured in 40 to 50 person LTTE attack on Muttur SLPF post, MoD reported. 4 civilians also injured.737

There were often civilian casualties. The following sample shows attacks that killed four or more civilians:

- 12 May 1997, Trincomalee: 5 to 8 civilians and 11 to 16 SLPF officers killed in small arms and grenade attack on Morawewa SLPF station. Voice of the Tigers radio acknowledged LTTE involvement.738
- 11 July 1997, Trincomalee: 2 SLPF officers and 6 civilians killed and several injured in attack on SLPF checkpoint and consequent gunfire battle with SFs in Thoppur. Local officials and SFs blamed LTTE.739
- 9 December 1997, Batticaloa: 4 to 5 civilians killed and 40 to 50 injured when SLPF officers were reportedly targeted in grenade attack in Batticaloa fish market. Local officials and SFs blamed LTTE.740
- 20 January 2000, Trincomalee: 4 civilians and SLPF constable killed, 58 relatives of graduating recruits injured when mortar bombs fired at SLPF parade in Morawewa. GoSL blamed LTTE.741

Three incidents were followed by violent reprisal attacks against Tamil or Muslim civilians:

- 7 to 8 May 1995, Ampara: 19 STF personnel killed when travelling home from Kanjikudichcharu to Kanjirankuda for Vesak celebrations.742 Following day, STF personnel abducted 20 civilians from Sinnathottam and Vinayagapuram. Civilians taken to beach and tied up as if to be executed. Senior STF officers immediately drove to area to intervene, upon hearing about unauthorised operation. Civilians subsequently released.743
- 22 or 23 September 1997, Ampara: Home Guard/SLPF officer shot dead in Central Camp or Kalmunai in Ampara. LTTE suspected. Same day, ‘dozens’ of SLPF personnel stormed 4th Colony, assaulted villagers and fired shots. 2 SLPF officers allegedly...
shot dead by STF officers trying to stop the attack. 4 to 6 Tamil civilians killed, 26 to 45 houses set on fire. GoSL inquiry conducted. 744

- 13 July 2001, Ampara: 2 Muslim students shot dead by SLFP in Kalmunai, possibly in retaliation for the LTTE killing of an SLFP constable the same day. 745

**Arrest or abduction leading to torture, sexual and gender-based violence, disappearance or death**

There were a number of incidents reported where Tamil civilians were arbitrarily arrested, detained, mistreated and tortured by SFs or militant groups operating in the East during the period. These incidents typically occurred in the context of ‘sweeping’ cordon-and-search operations or detention at SFs checkpoints. Such operations would typically intensify in response to LTTE bombing attacks in other parts of the country. 746 There are also a small number of cases involving alleged LTTE perpetrators.

**Killing in custody**

The East did not see the mass SFs round-up operations that occurred in the North in 1996 and 1997 (described in ‘Northern’ sub-section below), but the rate of reported deaths in custody was higher.

Killings occurred during cordon-and-search operations or SFs round-ups, where civilians were arrested in groups and typically killed or disappeared. Bodies were often later discovered buried, 747 or left on the side of the road. 748 Sometimes, the killings reportedly targeted Tamil civilians in retaliation for the actions of the LTTE. Often, SFs would later accuse the victims of being LTTE members. Examples of the types of incidents that occurred are:

- 2 May 1995, Batticaloa: 3 men shot dead during SLFP cordon-and-search operations in Eravur. One victim dragged from under bed and shot outside house. SLFP blamed. 749
- 28 May 1995, Batticaloa: fisherman from Kinnayadi arrested by SLA, had home searched. Victim shot and killed on way to SLA camp. SLA claimed victim was LTTE member and had attacked them with a grenade. 750
- 31 October 1996, Trincomalee: number of prisoners in SLA custody shot dead on beach following escape of some LTTE prisoners from military police detention centre on Customs Road. Those killed allegedly not those who had escaped the night before. 751
- 1 February 1998, Trincomalee: 8 Tamil men arrested in round-up in Thampalakamam. Later tortured and shot dead in custody. Bodies left on side of road. Families forced to sign statements that victims were LTTE members. Suspected retaliation for Temple of Tooth bombing. Dozens of SFs members subsequently arrested. 752

Some people also died following torture in custody. These are included in the section below.

**Torture and sexual and gender-based violence**

Reported incidents of torture or rape in custody during this period were concentrated from 2000 to 2002. Due to the heavily stigmatised nature of rape, it is highly probable that SGBV was significantly underreported. The vast majority of reported victims were female; however, this is also likely a symptom of underreporting by male victims of rape.

In most cases of rape and torture, SFs members were blamed (usually the SLA or the SLFP). In some cases, victims received compensation in subsequent court cases. 753 The Razeek Group, the TELO and the LTTE were each implicated in one incident of
torture.\textsuperscript{754} Examples of rape and torture cases include:

- 8 June 1997, Batticaloa: person tortured, allegedly by members of Razeek Group and CSU at Patpodi SLA camp.\textsuperscript{755}
- 3 December 1999, Batticaloa: civil servant and PA party organiser arrested, allegedly by TELO members, and tortured in TELO camp in Vavunathivu. Subsequently received compensation.\textsuperscript{756}
- 3 October 2001, Batticaloa: 11 Tamil civilians escaped from LTTE camp to Kinnavayadi SLA base. Had been abducted by LTTE for forced labour on farms, tortured.\textsuperscript{757}

On the following occasions, a person being detained by SFs was raped:

- 7 March 1996, Batticaloa: woman raped at Thiyavedduwan checkpoint, husband beaten with rifle butts. SFs blamed. Perpetrators taken into custody by military police.\textsuperscript{758}
- February 1997, Batticaloa: 15 yo. tortured and raped at Patpodi SLA camp. SFs blamed. Victim received compensation in subsequent court case.\textsuperscript{759}
- 10 September 1999, Batticaloa: woman taken from home to Kumburumoolai SLA camp and drugged, raped, tortured and subsequently abandoned in jungle. SFs blamed. After victim complained to ICRC, SLA members allegedly returned to her home in January 2000 to assault victim’s mother and attempt to abduct victim again.\textsuperscript{760}
- 2 October 2000, Trincomalee: 7 farmers abducted and killed at Poomaraththadichchenai, Muttur. One was raped and body mutilated. Home Guards blamed.\textsuperscript{761}

On the following occasions, the person being detained died following reported torture:

- 13 October 1998, Ampara: 18 yo. male arrested and tortured in Ampara. Died in custody. SLPF claimed victim died during confrontation with LTTE. However, SLPF blamed for death.\textsuperscript{762}
- 4 June 2000, Trincomalee: 5 young men arrested in Trincomalee and tortured at Kantalai SLPF station. Man shot dead in custody after reportedly throwing hand grenade at SLPF officers. 4 remaining detainees may have been released in August 2000. Victims had been arrested on suspicion of LTTE involvement.\textsuperscript{763}
- 13 November 2000, Trincomalee: Mahalingam Thamiran and Shannuganarajah Sornahasas abducted in Gopalapuram and subsequently tortured and killed. SLN blamed. Villagers returning home from funerals threatened by SLN with future attacks.\textsuperscript{764}

In addition to SGBV committed against civilians held in custody, SFs were implicated in incidents of sexual assault committed in victims’ homes. It is unclear whether these incidents were arbitrary, or whether they were targeted attacks occurring, for example, in the course of a cordon-and-search operation:

- August 1995, Trincomalee: Woman raped at home in front of sons. ‘SLA informants’ blamed. May have been retaliation for reporting of previous rape at Plaaintain Point SLA post in 1993. Subsequent court case ended when LTTE allegedly killed one of accused and victim did not show up to court, reportedly in fear for her life.\textsuperscript{765}
- 31 December 1996, Batticaloa: person raped by 3 STF personnel in Mandur.\textsuperscript{766}
- 17 March 1997, Batticaloa: 2 people raped repeatedly at home in Mylambaveli Colony. 4 SLA soldiers suspected.\textsuperscript{767}
• 17 May 1997: woman raped and killed by grenade in home after complaining that SLPF officers had stolen timber. SLPF officers suspected.
• 15 or 16 October 1997, Ampara: woman raped and killed. SLPF blamed, Home Guards suspected.
• 10 August 2000, Batticaloa: 3 women raped in their houses in Vembu. SLA soldiers on duty at checkpoint suspected.
• Between 2000 and 2002, Batticaloa: 3 women raped. STF personnel attached to STF camp in Kaluthawalai blamed.

Disappearance and detention

A significant proportion of the disappearances in the database reportedly occurred after an arrest was made, either at a SFs checkpoint or in the victim's home, or after the victim was 'abducted' by SFs personnel. In many of the reported cases, when relatives enquired after the whereabouts of the arrested person, officials either denied ever having arrested the person or claimed they had been transferred to another SFs camp. When relatives enquired at the second camp, there would be no record of the person having been there.

There were several reported disappearances in both 1995 and 2002, with only a handful in each of the intervening years. Most of the recorded cases were sourced from Amnesty International and UTHR reports and were not corroborated by other sources. The following is a sample of the types of incidents that occurred:

• 2 May 1995, Trincomalee: 2 people taken from homes in Karidippuvel, Trincomalee by group of men believed to be from SLAF camp at China Bay.
• 2 May 1995, Batticaloa: 4 people arrested at ferry crossing at Thurayadi. On 8 May, 3 of the 4 people found near Paper Mill SLA camp at Valaichchenai. 1 person not found.
• 4 June 1995, Trincomalee: person went missing after being reportedly arrested by SFs in green jeep on Vihara Road.
• 14 April 1996, Ampara: 2 teenage boys disappeared from Thirukkovil STF Camp after being stopped and detained at Thirukkovil STF checkpoint. Relatives informed that men transferred to Akkaraiapattu STF Camp, which was denied by authorities there.
• 3 January 2000, Batticaloa: person disappeared after being reportedly arrested by SLA near Hindu temple at Valaichchenai.
• 11 August 2000, Trincomalee: person disappeared after being reportedly arrested by SLN in Trincomalee. SLN denied having made arrest and suggested victim was SLN informant abducted by LTTE. Eyewitnesses saw victim being brought to hospital in Trincomalee in SLN jeep 2 weeks after arrest.

There were also a number of disappearances attributed to the LTTE or PLOTE. These were:

• Between April 1995 and September 1996, Batticaloa: male disappeared in Eravur on way to obtain travel pass. TELO reportedly arrested him then handed him to PLOTE. May have been killed in detention and buried at PLOTE camp in Chenkalady.
• 10 September 1995, Batticaloa: male disappeared while visiting Oddamavadi. LTTE blamed.
• 4 November 1997, Trincomalee: fisherman disappeared in Trincomalee seas. Mother claimed son was abducted by LTTE.
• 9 January 2002, Batticaloa: EPRRLF member taken from home in Araympathy. LTTE blamed.

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773 Ibid.
774 Ibid.
781 Ibid.
782 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 17’ above n 716.
• 21 February 2002, Batticaloa: male EPRLF member abducted from Ramna Street, Valaichchenai. LTTE suspected.784
• 2002, Trincomalee: 1 civilian killed, 4 abducted from Kalyanipura. LTTE blamed.785

Attacks on vehicles, grenades, landmines and other IEDs

Attacks on transport and telecommunications

 Civilians were injured or killed in several attacks that were reported to have taken place on public transport (buses and ferries) during the period. In other attacks, reports were not clear about whether vehicles were public or SFs/GoSL transport. These attacks did not appear to target specific individuals (for those that did, see ‘Attacks targeting individuals’ sub-section above). On at least two occasions, civilians may have been killed in LTTE attacks that misidentified their targets as SFs vehicles.786 The LTTE was suspected of perpetrating all the attacks on transport in the East in this period, with the exception of the first in the list below. There were a number of attacks that occasioned civilian injuries and fatalities. However, only a handful caused more than three civilian deaths.

In one such incident, SFs were accused of using human shields:

• 4 January 1996, Batticaloa: SLPF commandos reportedly forced 100 civilians to remain on board public vehicles that SLPF commandeered to reinforce camp under siege by LTTE. UTHR reported approximately 30 civilians killed as SLPF officers engaged LTTE in combat from the vehicles.787

Other incidents in which three or more civilians were killed were:

• 12 September 1996, Ampara: civilian bus attacked with gunfire and/or grenades at Aranthawala. 11 people killed and 27 injured. LTTE suspected.788
• 9 March 1998, Batticaloa: 4 civilians and 1 SLPF officer killed and dozens injured in Eravur when bomb hidden in trailer carrying rice exploded as SLA and SLF convoy passed by. SLF suspected LTTE.789
• 6 December 2000, Batticaloa: 3 to 4 people killed and several more injured when landmine exploded under bus. SFs blamed LTTE.790

On a further three occasions, an ambulance, an ICRC vehicle and a SFs truck transporting wounded soldiers to a hospital were attacked:

• 15 December 1997, Trincomalee: ambulance driver and another person killed when ambulance that had been requested by SLA was shot at near Kuchchaveli camp. LTTE and SLA suspected each other.791
• 6 September 2001, Trincomalee: Muttur ICRC office in Trincomalee attacked with at least 3 grenades. At least one vehicle damaged. No one harmed.792
• 10 November 2001, Trincomalee: 1 SFs officer, 3 soldiers and 2 children killed in attack on SFs truck transporting wounded soldiers to hospital in Muttur. GoSL blamed LTTE.793

Cargo ships were attacked in May and September 1997; the second attack killed five civilian labourers and injured 22 people.794 In addition to attacks on merchant ships, on 24 September 2000, six fishermen were killed and six wounded when the SLN reportedly opened fire at a group of boats in Trincomalee.795

Bombings in public places

In addition to bombings targeting individuals (see ‘Attacks targeting individuals’ sub-section above), there were other explosions in the period, with at least three bombings each in 1995, 1997 and 2000, mostly in Ampara and Batticaloa districts. Examples of the

types of incidents include:

- 13 June 1995, Batticaloa: 5 civilians killed when landmine exploded in Chenkalady. SLA accused LTTE, claiming that mine meant for military patrol.796
- 8 August 1995, Batticaloa: parcel bomb in Batticaloa market killed 4, injured 9 to 15. SLF suspected LTTE.797
- 5 November 1995, Ampara: 2 civilians killed, 37 injured when bomb strapped to motorcycle exploded in Ampara town. SFs accused LTTE.798
- 10 February 1997, Batticaloa: 2 Muslim civilians killed, 11 injured in mortar bomb attack on Oddamavadi village. LTTE and GoSL blamed each other.799
- 9 December 1997, Batticaloa: 4 or 5 civilians killed, 40 to 50 injured when SLF officers allegedly targeted in grenade attack on Batticaloa fish market. SLPF and MoD blamed LTTE.800
- 12 April 2000, Trincomalee: 6 to 8 civilians killed, 50 to 70 injured in explosion at Tamil New Year’s Eve concert at Mc Heyzer Stadium. Some sources suspected SFs.801

SFs were the apparent targets of three of the four reported suicide attacks in the period:

- 19 April 1995, Trincomalee: 12 SLN sailors killed, 22 injured in LTTE suicide attack on 2 SLN gunboats in SLN Trincomalee base. LTTE claimed responsibility.802
- 8 January 1996, Batticaloa: 7 people injured, including 1 SLPF constable, when suicide bomber attacked market. LTTE suspected.803
- 9 December 1997, Batticaloa: LTTE Black Tiger wearing suicide jacket allegedly prematurely detonated, killing taxi driver instead of reported intended SLF target.804
- 2 March 2000, Trincomalee: LTTE suicide bomber attempted to detonate in front of SFs Brigade Commander’s vehicle on Inner Harbour Road. Bodyguard was killed, 2 others injured.805

Child abduction and recruitment

According to Child Soldiers International (CSI), reports, the use of child soldiers by the LTTE occurred continuously throughout the conflict.806 A wave of forced conscription of children in Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts started in August 2001 reportedly in response to heavy losses of troops and increasing civilian resistance to the LTTE in the North.807 Some reports indicate that leaflets were distributed that demanded each family give one child to the LTTE.808 These obligations seemed to apply whether or not there was a child over the age of 18 in a given family. For example, in February 2002, 18 families in Unnichchai, Batticaloa District were asked to surrender a child, though most families did not have a child over the age of 13.809 Families who refused may have been beaten or declared traitors.810 It is therefore difficult to know whether any incident of the ‘voluntary’ giving over of a child was genuinely voluntary. UTHR estimated that over 5000 children were taken by the LTTE in the East in the first few months of 2002.811

Abduction and possible conscription of children

There are reports of the forcible abduction of children. Sometimes, groups of children were taken away in front of families or eyewitnesses. Sometimes, children simply went missing. The ‘conscription’ or ‘recruitment’ of children were often referred to interchangeably in reports with the ‘abduction’ of children by the LTTE. It is often difficult to ascertain whether families simply assumed that a child missing had been taken by the LTTE for use in combat, or whether there was other evidence. Child abductions have therefore been included in sections on child soldiers in this report.

808 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 14’, above n. 701.
809 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 13’, above n 695.
UTHR reports that tractors of LTTE cadres would arrive in villages and ask parents to hand over their children. When they refused, they were beaten and their children forced into a vehicle and taken away.812 Families that refused may also have had their property seized by the LTTE in response.813 As international scrutiny intensified, this pattern shifted to the discreet abduction of individual or pairs of children off roads.814 The following are representative of a range of situations in which children were taken, almost all of which were reported by UTHR:

- 15 September 2001, Ampara: 10 yo. boy forcibly taken from home in Vinayagapuram. Sister took poison to try stop abduction.815
- 2 October 2001, Batticaloa: 16 yo. boy from Pandariveli, Kokkaddichcholai ‘caught on the road’ after members of LTTE addressed meeting at school.816
- 8 October 2001, Batticaloa: 13 yo. girl from Muddalaikudah handed over by family to LTTE at their office in Kokkaddichcholai after they demanded child from family.817
- 10 October 2001, Batticaloa: 67 children (31 boys and 36 girls) taken from Kothiyavalai, Kannankudah in round-up.818
- 28 January 2002, Batticaloa: a number of children ‘conscripted’ including a 16 yo. from Veppavedduvan, Pankudaveli.819
- 11 February 2002, Batticaloa: 15 yo. girl last seen returning from class in Tannamunai, reportedly recruited.820
- 2002, Batticaloa: 15 students aged 15 abducted on way to evening class in Batticaloa after parents ignored letter from LTTE demanding children be handed over.821

There were also reports of LTTE propaganda programs in schools, temples and IDP camps that resulted in the mass recruitment of children or ‘voluntary’ giving over of children by their families. It is often unclear whether any given incident of recruitment occurred forcibly or voluntarily. Teachers were reportedly harassed or attacked if they tried to oppose the proceedings.822 The following is a sample of incidents of recruitment following propaganda meetings:

- 12 August 2001, Batticaloa: 43 male children given by parents to LTTE in temple in Arasaditivu after benediction conferring a ‘commission of heroic endeavour’.824
- November 2001, Trincomalee: 15 yo. boy from Dehiwatte taken after propaganda meeting in Trincomalee.825
- January 2002, Trincomalee: 12 yo. boy from Ehambaram Street removed from school after LTTE ‘propaganda blitz’ in January.826
- 2002, Trincomalee: 3 15 yo. boys recruited from Kalaimahal School, Anbuvalipuram.827

**Escape or release of child soldiers**

There are reports of children who escaped or were released from detention in LTTE camps, or reports from adult escapees who saw children in the camps, for example:

- 19 October 2001, Batticaloa: 14 yo. boy abducted and taken with several other children to Periyavedduvan in Veppavedduvan for training. Escaped on May 18 2002, and was reportedly beaten when re-discovered by LTTE at his home on May 20 2002. Escaped a second time on 4 June 2002. Father was taken hostage as a result.828
- 12 February 2002, Batticaloa: 15 yo. girl from Vataichchenai, tortured in Suwarmalai training camp by the camp’s leaders Theenthamil and Neelamuhi. Returned home on 12 October 2002.829
- February 2002, Trincomalee: 5 people including at least one 16 yo. boy escaped from LTTE training camp at Eechchantivu. 2 escapees killed by crocodiles whilst crossing waterway. LTTE later threatened families of escapees.830
- 2002, Batticaloa: 17 yo. girl recaptured at uncle’s funeral and reportedly tortured after escaping LTTE.831

813 Ibid.
816 Ibid.
817 Ibid.
826 Ibid.
Violations in the Northern Province for this period were concentrated in Jaffna District where, between July 1995 and May 1996, SFs undertook four large military operations to regain control of the peninsula.\textsuperscript{832} Intense conflict between 1995 and 2000 ended in stalemate, and a ceasefire was declared by the LTTE in December 2000. It ended on 24 April 2001 with the launch of an LTTE offensive in the Vanni jungle, followed up by a major attack on an airport near Colombo.\textsuperscript{833} After six years of active conflict, the LTTE and GoSL signed a Memorandum of Understanding and a ceasefire agreement – intended to be permanent – on 22 February 2002.\textsuperscript{834}

Significant trends in this period were the death of civilians during aerial attacks, shelling and crossfire during the battle for Jaffna; the death, disappearance or torture of suspected LTTE members at SFs checkpoints, or following SFs search operations or village round-ups; the killings of ex-LTTE members, LTTE critics and SFs informants in Jaffna District after the GoSL seized control; SGBV in SFs custody; attacks on politicians, particularly in Jaffna in the middle of the period; and the recruitment of children into the LTTE in the latter part of the period.

**Aerial attacks, shelling and civilians killed in crossfire**

The first of the SFs major offensives, in July 1995, saw one notable incident involving civilian casualties. 65 to 155 people were killed and 250 injured in a reported SLAF aerial attack on the Church of St Peter and Paul in Navaly on 9 to 10 July 1995. At the time of the attack, the Church was providing refuge to IDPs, who had reportedly sought shelter there after seeing SFs leaflets warning people to seek shelter in churches or temples during attacks.\textsuperscript{835}

The SFs subsequently undertook to seize Jaffna city in October 1995. By November, an LTTE statement issued by its London office stated that 200,000 civilians had fled Valikamam and were IDPs on the mainland.\textsuperscript{836}

Both sides were reported to target civilian property: in October 1995 the LTTE reportedly evacuated the civilian population of Valikamam and subsequently looted abandoned homes, buildings and hospitals.\textsuperscript{837} The LTTE also reportedly booby-trapped houses of civilians in Jaffna whilst forcing residents to evacuate at the end of 1995.\textsuperscript{838} In November 1995 the SLA reportedly destroyed Tamil properties in northern Jaffna suburbs.\textsuperscript{839}


\textsuperscript{834} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{838} See: UTHR, ‘Special Report No 10’, above n 201.

\textsuperscript{839} ‘Sri Lanka Rebels Say Army Razing Civilian Homes’, Reuters, 14 November 1995.
By 5 December, Jaffna town was under full GoSL control for the first time in 12 years. There were a large number of incidents of civilian deaths and injuries during aerial attacks or firefights as the fight for control over the Jaffna peninsula escalated until May 1996. Displaced civilians were the primary category of victim, as IDPs and IDP camps were reportedly hit by SFs aerial attacks on several occasions.

The following reported aerial attacks resulted in the highest reported casualties:

- 22 September 1995, Jaffna: 20 to 42 people killed, 42 to 200 injured when Tamil school in Nagarkovil hit during a suspected SLAF operation against LTTE.
- 18 October 1995, Jaffna: 20 to 40 civilians killed and several injured when aerial attacks hit 4 Tamil villages (Navakiri, Eevinai, Nivalari and Achelu). SLAF blamed. SFs denied targeting civilians.
- 29 or 31 October 1995, Jaffna: shelling and aerial attacks killed 42 to 46 people at 4 IDP camps outside Jaffna city during fighting between SLA and LTTE for control of Neeverly. SLA suspected.
- 16 or 17 March 1996, Mannar: airstrike hit IDP camp in Mannar, killing 16 civilians, injuring 64. SLAF blamed. LTTE accused SFs of using napalm in attack. SFs denied hitting civilian targets, and use of napalm.
- 16 to 17 May 1996, Jaffna: 20 Tamil civilians killed during airstrikes in Maruthankerni, Pooneynery and on boat in lagoon in Vadamarachchi. SLA blamed, denied civilian deaths.

There was one reported incident of the use of chemical weapons in late November 1995, when the SLA accused the LTTE of using unidentified gas to attack troops in Ariyalai and Colombothurah, killing four soldiers.

Approximately 300,000 civilians that had been forcibly displaced by the LTTE in Valikamam started to return from Thenmaradchi and Vadamarachchi in April and May 1996, as SFs captured strategically vital towns on the peninsula. In late April, the LTTE claimed that GoSL helicopter gunships had opened fire on Tamils fleeing fighting in Thenmaradchi, and killed 15 to 30 civilians as well as injured hundreds. The LTTE accused the SLA of using Tamil civilians trapped by the fighting as human shields in order to advance on Thenmaradchi. The SLA denied shelling the town and said civilians were refusing to join LTTE fleeing the military push. In August and September, several civilians were wounded in gun battles between SFs and the LTTE in Vavuniya town and Muhamalai, Thenmaradchi.

Intense conflict between the LTTE, SFs and Tamil militant groups continued through 2000, with the launch of several successive GoSL and LTTE military operations. SFs Operation Jaya Sikuru, launched in May 1997 to try and seize control of the main road between Vavuniya and Kilinochchi, was described at the time as the largest operation launched by the SFs in the conflict’s history. Air strikes or gunfights on both sides that killed civilians occurred regularly from mid-1997 to mid-2000. One incident below involved a situation where civilians were fired on and some went missing. There were multiple accusations where the use of...
human shields was reported. Often, incidents were reported by one side of the conflict and could not be independently verified as journalists were prevented from travelling to the region.\textsuperscript{855} Examples include:

- 10 to 11 June 1997, Vavuniya: 5 civilians killed, 30 injured in raid on SLA 55-brigade headquarters at Thandikulam. 60 killed the following day. GoSL blamed LTTE. LTTE accused SFs of shellling civilian areas, killing 16 yo. Tamil girl and 50 cows. Both sides denied allegations.\textsuperscript{856}
- 15 August 1997, Mullaitivu: 9 to 15 killed, 15 to 20 injured in Kfir jet attack on area around Church of Our Lady of Velankanni in Vavunikulam. LTTE blamed SLAF. SLAF claimed to have targeted LTTE.\textsuperscript{857}
- 16 February 1998, Jaffna: during fighting between SFs and the LTTE in Mirusuvil, LTTE allegedly took cover behind 75 to 100 schoolchildren.\textsuperscript{858}
- 10 June 1998, Mullaitivu: 20 civilians killed, 50 injured in Kfir plane attack on Suthanthirapuram. Aerial attack followed by artillery barrage. Houses destroyed. LTTE blamed GoSL.\textsuperscript{859}
- 27 July 1999: LTTE accused of opening fire on hundreds of civilians trying to cross front line of fighting. 3 went missing. SFs also accused LTTE of refusing to allow essential food and medical supplies to get through to LTTE held areas.\textsuperscript{860}
- 29 June 1999, Mannar: 4 civilians killed, 15 injured when shelling hit IDPs in Vidathal Thivu church.\textsuperscript{861}
- 15 or 16 September 1999, Mullaitivu: 21 to 22 Tamil civilians killed, 33 to 40 injured in SLAF bombing of PTK. Houses and shops destroyed. GoSL blamed, denied civilians were targeted. Later ordered investigation after acknowledging attack may have hit civilians.\textsuperscript{862}
- 18 November 1999, Vavuniya: 3 civilians killed, 2 injured in artillery attack. LTTE blamed.\textsuperscript{863}
- 20 or 21 November 1999, Mannar: artillery fire hit church in Madhu. 35 to 44 killed, 9 to 61 injured. SFs and LTTE blamed each other. LTTE accused SLA of using human shields. Statement by bishops alleged SLA were in the church when shells were fired.\textsuperscript{864}
- 19 or 20 May 2000, Jaffna: Home for elderly shelved in Kaithady. 15 killed, 24 to 32 injured. Injured could not receive medical treatment due to shortage of supplies as a result of embargo on areas. LTTE suspected.\textsuperscript{865}

There were no reports logged in the CMAP database of civilian deaths or injuries during combat in the North after May 2000 up until the signing of the ceasefire agreement and Memorandum of Understanding on 22 February 2002. The December 2000 – April 2001 ceasefire explains this to an extent.

**Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups**

There were a significant number of killings where the victim had no reported political affiliation. The majority of these occurred in 1996 and 1997 and were blamed on the LTTE. Most incidents involved people being shot and killed, and there was usually no reported reason for the killing. For example:

- 11 December 1996: Mutilated bodies of 3 schoolgirls in burlap sacks washed up on beach in Mullaitivu. TULF MP later claimed victims were from same school as Krishanthi Kumawaswamy (see: ‘Sexual and gender-based violence’ sub-section below).\textsuperscript{866}


\textsuperscript{856} ‘Sri Lanka Tigers Deny Pounding Civilian Targets’, Agence France-Presse, 11 June 1997.


\textsuperscript{860} ‘Tamil Tigers Open Fire on Civilians as Safe Zone Talks Fail’, Agence France-Presse, 28 July 1999.


\textsuperscript{863} ‘Food Crisis After Fall of Madhu’, Sunday Times, 21 November 1999.


\textsuperscript{866} ‘Bodies of School Girls Wash up in Northeast Sri Lanka’, Agence France-Presse, 12 December 1996.
22 October 1997, Jaffna: 18 yo. male shot dead in home in Imayanan by 8 suspected LTTE members.  


22 December 2001, Mannar: Civilian killed in Mannar town. LTTE blamed.  

There were a handful of reported incidents of civilians being shot dead by SFs while breaking curfew in Jaffna, which were reported on by UTHR. In half of these instances, the accusation of breaking curfew was disputed: 

- 11 January 1997, Jaffna: 2 men shot dead in Karainagar. SLN blamed but claimed the men had broken curfew and did not heed call to stop. Another report stated the men were taken from their houses and shot.
- 17 June 1999, Jaffna: 3 people aged 22 to 26 shot dead by SLA. SFs claimed victims were LTTE carrying weapons. Local sources said victims were killed for breaking curfew.
- 6 December 1997, Jaffna: teacher shot dead on his own property in Kaithady after curfew. SFs were suspected. Victims' family refused when allegedly pressured to sign statement that victim was LTTE.

There were also reprisal attacks against civilians. On the following occasions, groups of SFs reportedly attacked nearby civilians following an LTTE attack on their personnel:

- 10 February 1997, Jaffna: group of SLA with prisoner in custody were attacked by a mine on Kodikaam Road near Puttur. 2 SLA killed. After, soldiers allegedly brutally assaulted civilians in the area. Prisoner later died, either due to mine blast or assault.
- May 1997, Jaffna: mine explosion killed 4 SLA soldiers and 1 civilian between Chunnakam and Mallakam. LTTE blamed. 1 civilian killed and 60 civilians assaulted by soldiers in reprisal attacks. SLA apologised for the assault, claimed victim killed was LTTE member who attacked interrogator.
- 30 May 1998, Jaffna: 2 SLA soldiers shot dead at Graveyard junction sentry point in Gurunagar. 5 civilians injured in reprisal attacks by SLA.

**Attacks on politicians, political candidates and political offices**

Killings in this period were concentrated in 1998 and 1999, with the majority occurring in Jaffna. A number of elected representatives were targeted with small arms fire or IEDs, including two consecutive Mayors of Jaffna killed in 1998. All of these incidents are included below. Some attacks on politicians in the period did not result in deaths, for example the December 1998 mortar attack on Energy and Deputy Defence Minister Anuruddha Ratwatte that killed SFs members. These are not included in the list below. There were also several attacks targeting EPDP or PLOTE members, but they have not been included here, as reporting did not specify whether the victims had a combat role in these groups.

- 2 or 3 October 1997, Jaffna: SLFP politician S. P. Dharmalingam shot 5 times at residence in Ariyalai or Colombogam.
- 17 May 1998, Jaffna: Mayor of Jaffna/TULF party member Sarojini Yogeswaran shot dead by gunman in her home near Jaffna. ‘The Sangiliyan Force’, believed to be LTTE-connected, claimed and later denied responsibility.
- 11 September 1998, Jaffna: Mayor of Jaffna and leader of TULF party Ponnuthurai Sivapalan killed with 11 or 12 others in bomb blast in Jaffna city hall. 2 SLPF assistant superintendents, 4 local government officials and 3 other SFs members killed. 12 to 20 injured.
• 26 December 1998, Jaffna: TULF Secretary for Jaffna, Ponnathurai Mathimugarajah/Mathimukaraja shot dead in Nallur. TULF and SLPF suspected LTTE.881

• 13 May 1999, Jaffna: Valikamam North Divisional Council member M. Poobalasingham shot dead in Urumpirai. LTTE suspected.882

• 31 May 1999, Jaffna: Tamil politician Rajkumar shot dead along with brother-in-law. Rajkumar was an elected member of the Nallur village council.883

• 16 July 1999, Jaffna: EPDP secretary P. Karunaratnam shot dead at vegetable market. SLPF suspected LTTE gunmen on bicycles.884

• 10 December 1999: Tamil PLOTE leader for Mannar Marias Anton killed. MoD blamed LTTE.885

• 14 January 2000, Jaffna: PLOTE local council leader Vadivel Vijeyaratnam shot dead with bodyguard in Point Pedro near council office. PLOTE suspected LTTE.886

• 28 November 2001, Jaffna: Member of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) killed, 14 injured including 4 TNA election candidates in clashes between TNA and EPDP on Kayts Islet.887

There were also reports of a number of attacks on political offices in Jaffna and Vavuniya over the period. The following are those attacks that resulted in deaths:

• 23 January 1998, Jaffna: 9 EPDP members killed and 4 injured in attack on EPDP offices. 2 of those killed were candidates in upcoming elections. LTTE blamed, but denied responsibility.888

• 6 May 1999, Vavuniya: bomb exploded outside PLOTE office, killing 1 and injuring 6. SLPF blamed LTTE.889

• 2 September 1999, Vavuniya: PLOTE deputy chief and military leader N. Manikkadasan and 2 others killed when time bomb exploded in PLOTE office. 1 or 2 others injured. SLPF blamed LTTE.890

• 21 February 2002, Vavuniya: SLPF report unidentified gunmen killed 5 people in Democratic People’s Liberation Front office. 3 activists and 2 civilians killed, 1 injured.891

Attacks on LTTE ‘traitors’: ex-members, critics and SFs informants

Most of the killings suspected to have been perpetrated by the LTTE in this period targeted specific individuals: political targets, as well as former LTTE members, critics of the LTTE, suspected Tamil ‘traitors’, SFs informants or people who assisted or had ‘friendly’ relationships with the SFs, and SLPF members. In addition, several people were killed for unidentified reasons by suspected LTTE gunmen in or outside their homes.892 Almost all of the reported incidents of traitors, ex-members, critics and SFs informants being killed fell between 1995 and 1997. The majority occurred on the Jaffna Peninsula after SFs seized control of Jaffna town in December 1996. Sometimes, victims were abducted before being killed. Bodies were often found with hands bound, tied to lamp posts or with a note explaining the charges against the victim. On one occasion in February 1997, the severed head of an SLA soldier was found in Kulappiddy Junction.893 January 1997 saw the highest number of attacks. The following sample shows the types of reported reasons for which people were targeted:

• July 1996, Jaffna: man shot dead outside home in Thenmaradchi. Victim was former SLPF member accused of informing SLA about suspected LTTE affiliations.894

• 19 July 1996, Jaffna: woman shot dead on Chemmani Road in Nallur. Body left with note accusing her of treachery for refusing to leave Jaffna with LTTE in October 1995. Victim reportedly had ‘good relations’ with the SLA.895
• 14 October 1996, Jaffna: civilian tied to lamppost in Thirunelvely and shot dead. Body left with note accusing victim of being a traitor. GoSL suspected killing was intended to prevent Tamil civilians giving evidence against Central Bank bombing case. 896

• 6 February 1997, Jaffna: person killed in Manipay, allegedly for informing SLA about LTTE camp and planned attack. Charges listed in notice left beside victim’s body. 897

• May 1997, Jaffna: Woman shot dead in Imayaman Kovilady, Vadamarachchi. Victim had allegedly been ‘warned’ prior to killing for being engaged to SLA member. 898

• 29 June 1997, Jaffna: male ex LTTE member shot dead at home. Body left with notice of charges: 1) Aided SLA 2) Betrayed LTTE and 3) Traitor to Tamils. 899

• 28 August 1997, Jaffna: woman shot dead in her compound. Later, a notice appeared in Manthuvil, accusing victim of betraying LTTE hiding places to SLA and stating ‘Be warned that the same will happen to you, if you do such things’. LTTE blamed. 900

• 13 October 1997, Jaffna: man shot dead at Jayahkadai Junction, Meesalai. Body found with hands tied. Victim was previously driver for LTTE and had been ‘on friendly terms’ with SLA. 901

Attacks on SLPF personnel

A handful of SLPF officers were killed in shooting, 902 mortar 903 and mine attacks 904 in Jaffna and Vavuniya districts. The LTTE was blamed for the majority of these attacks.

Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance or death

Killing in custody

There were a number of reported deaths in custody, at SFs checkpoints or during search operations. The majority of these incidents fell in the period of intense conflict in the North between 1995 and 2000, where the victim had been accused of being a member of the LTTE. Many of the deaths were followed by SFs statements to the effect that the victim had been trying to escape custody or had attacked the SFs present. For example:

• 18 December 1996, Jaffna: male found shot dead after being taken in a round-up and detained at Chavakachcheri. SLA claimed victim was shot while escaping. 905

• 18 January 1997, Jaffna: male with a psychiatric condition shot dead by SLA officer at Mulli junction sentry point in Vadamarachchi East. SLA claimed victim was LTTE, aggressive and had grenade. 906

• November 1998, Jaffna: 2 Tamil civilians killed after being arrested by SFs at checkpoint and taken to Vadarawattai SLA camp. MoD stated perpetrators had disobeyed orders. 907

In other incidents of deaths in custody, no reason was proffered, for example:

• 9 March 1996, Vavuniya: male arrested by CSU and taken to Vavuniya on suspicion of opening bank account for LTTE. Supreme Court ordered release on 8 July, but victim went missing. On July 9, CID identified 2 burnt bodies in Galgamuwa alongside partially burnt chequebook belonging to victim. UTHR alleged CSU had been extorting money from victim. 908

• 30 September 1996, Jaffna: woman detained at Kondavil checkpoint. Body found 12 October 1996. 909

• 25 August 1997, Kilinochchi: Reverend Arulpalan of Shalom Nagar congregation at Konavil and 2 labourers arrested in Kilinochchi town. Bodies found on 9 September 1997 with stab wounds, gunshot wounds and hacked apart. Church suspected SFs. MoD suspected LTTE. 910

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897 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 9’, above n 870.
900 Ibid.
901 Ibid.
903 ‘Sri Lankan Tigers Kill Four Constables in Mortar Attacks’, Agence France-Presse, 5 October 1997.
906 Ibid.
908 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 19’, above n 421.
On the following occasions, SFs reported that grenades were discovered on the person of someone shot dead in Jaffna, which was usually disputed by family or other witnesses. It was unclear whether the victims were in custody at the time:

- 28 February 1997, Jaffna: 2 labourers returning home shot dead near Sinnappu school in Sangathanai. Families advised that men were killed because they carried grenades. Families visited scene, found only bags of coconut sprouts.911
- 17 January 1998, Jaffna: man from Perumal Kovilady shot dead in Jaffna town while fetching coconut for child/while armed with crow bar for stealing building materials. SLA allegedly had tip-off that LTTE infiltrators were in area, killed man. Stated that they recovered 2 grenades and knife from victim.912
- 22 January 1998, Jaffna: man shot dead by SLA in Kaithady West while going to water vegetable plot/while caught in LTTE-SFs crossfire. Body sent to hospital. NGO source alleged SLA had dressed man in trousers and shoes and placed grenade in his hand.913

**Torture**

According to reports, a large number of people were arrested and then taken to SFs or PLOTE camps or stations and tortured in custody. The vast majority were suspected of LTTE connections. Most occurred in the latter half of the period (1999 to 2002). Examples of the types of incidents that occurred are:

- September 1996, Mullaittivu: man detained in house by uniformed SLA personnel for 15 hours. Beaten and subsequently taken to Puttalam SLA camp and tortured before being taken to SLPF station in Colombo and interrogated.914
- 2 January 1997, Jaffna: 35 men and women taken into custody during round-up in Manipay. Victims detained and tortured continuously in Thavady SLA camp for at least one week. Accused of LTTE collaboration. Later released to ICRC and hospitals.915
- 24 January 1999, Vavuniya: labourer abducted and tortured in custody in Vairapuliyanukalum and then Kovilkulam PLOTE camps. PLOTE members blamed.916
- 7 February 1999, Vavuniya: person abducted from Vavuniya and tortured at Kovilkulam PLOTE camp on suspicion of being LTTE member along with another person.917
- 20 June 2000, Vavuniya: person abducted and tortured for 42 days at 211 Brigade SLA camp in Vavuniya and then by CSU. CID investigated the incident.918
- 2 July 2001, Jaffna: student Thivyan Krisnasamy (former secretary of Jaffna University Students Union and student activist) arrested in Inuvil and tortured on accusation of being LTTE member.919

There were also reports of people tortured after being arrested while passing through SFs checkpoints, for example a 21 yo. man from Meesalai who was tortured and left in a septic tank.920 In some cases, victims were reportedly released from custody upon bribing the SFs.921

In several incidents of reported torture, the victim died in custody or in hospital shortly afterwards. These were:

- May to July 1996, Jaffna: boy taken from Irupulai, held for 48 hours and tortured. Died 48 hours later. SLA blamed.923
- 20 July 1998, Jaffna: fisherman arrested and beaten in front of eyewitness before being taken to Point Pedro SLA camp. The next day, family identified body with signs of torture and gunshot wounds. SLA reported victim killed while escaping. Family given body on condition that funeral was held on same day.924

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911 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 9’, above n 870.
913 Ibid.
914 ‘PTA detainees – Ignored under “Yahapalanaya?”’, Groundviews (online), 5 September 2015.
917 Ibid.
921 For example, see: ‘Court Orders Sri Lankan Released After Years in Border Jail’, Associated Press, 19 March 2006.
922 UTHR, ‘Special Report no 7’, above n 835.
923 Ibid.
924 AI, ‘Torture in Custody’, above n 754.

Deaths related to rape in custody, including the well-known case of the rape and murder of Krishanthi Kumaraswamy and her family members in September 1996, are detailed below.

Disappearance

Following LTTE attacks on SFs targets, there was an observable pattern of increased disappearances. Shortly after the 19 July 1996 LTTE attack on the Mullaitivu SLA camp that killed more than 1,300 SLA soldiers, SFs began undertaking round-up operations of suspected LTTE members in villages. The database records that a disappearance was reported approximately once a week for the year following mid-July 1996, the majority of which occurred in Jaffna. A sharp decline from July 1997 is then followed by a sequence of reported disappearances in August 2000. However, due to underreporting, patterns of incidents logged in the database are not necessarily reflective of the actual rates of disappearances. For example, Amnesty International reported that over 500 people disappeared from Jaffna in 1996, though the database has far fewer cases given the minimum level of detail required for an entry.926 The incidents in the database are mostly from Amnesty International and UTHR reports.

In mass round-ups, villagers were forced to line up and be identified by an informant, after which dozens of people would be arrested and disappeared.927 Examples of disappearances following round-ups from mid-1996 to June 1997 include:

• 19 July 1996, Jaffna: day after attack on Mullaitivu SLA camp, SLA forced villagers in Navatkuli, Thenmararadchi to gather at local school before masked informants. 85 people brought to Navatkuli SLA camp, 39 subsequently disappeared. Relatives told that victims had been transferred to another SLA camp.928
• 27 August 1996, Jaffna: hundreds of civilians forced to queue in front of informants in St James Church in Jaffna town. 10 blindfolded, put in army truck and taken towards Gurunagar army camp, and subsequently disappeared.929
• 4 April 1997, Jaffna: 20 young people arrested in Tholpuram in front of eyewitnesses. Taken to Mavady junction camp on Vaddukottai-Chankanai Road. 5 subsequently disappeared. The rest reported being tortured. SFs denied the arrests.930
• 27 June 1997, Jaffna: labourer arrested by SLA during round-up in Manthuvil and disappeared. Relatives made inquiries, to no avail.931

Throughout the period, a significant number of people were reported to have disappeared following arrests at roadblocks or SFs checkpoints, in their homes, at their businesses and in public places such as markets. In the vast majority of cases, relatives inquired after the missing person at local SLA camps and human rights organisations.932 In some cases, there were reports of the missing person being tortured. These types of incidents were concentrated in 1996 and 1997, but as mass village round-ups petered out in mid-1997, individual disappearances continued through to 2001. Some examples of the types of incidents are:

• 23 July 1996, Jaffna: person taken by SFs soldiers in jeep in Jaffna city and disappeared. Eyewitnesses said victim confessed to being LTTE member after being beaten.933
• 16 September 1996, Jaffna: 7 men returned home from Vanni after being displaced questioned and beaten by SLA. 1 subsequently disappeared.934
• 10 December 1996, Jaffna: man asked to report to Kaithady SLA camp. Subsequently disappeared. Wife told he escaped custody, but he did not return home, nor did the SLA go to his home to look for him.935
• 3 December 1998, Mannar: young man beaten against lamppost, then taken away and disappeared after search operation in Nalavanpadu. According to testimony at later inquest, victim was either LTTE member with a suicide kit, or civilian with invalid residence pass.936
• 10 August 2000, Vavuniya: person detained at Kovilkulam Aaladi SLA Checkpoint in front of eyewitnesses and subsequently disappeared.937

927 ibid.
928 ibid.
929 ibid.
932 ibid.
934 ibid.
There were a number of disappearances in the middle of the period in Vavuniya District, in which armed groups were implicated:

- 23 April 2001, Vavuniya: person disappeared after being questioned by military intelligence officers at military post in Vavuniya town centre.938

There were a number of disappearances among the Tamil population in the Vavuniya District. These disappearances were attributed to armed groups and military personnel. The victims were reportedly detained and tortured before being taken away. In one instance, a Tamil man was taken from his home in Rambaikulam by six armed men in camouflage uniforms with faces covered in an Isuzu truck. The PLOTE was blamed.942

**Mass graves**

Two mass graves were discovered in the North during the period that were linked to reports of disappearances in Jaffna.

The Chemmanni mass grave was discovered in 1999. According to SFs, the bodies of between 120 and 140 people killed by SFs personnel in 1996 were buried in a mass grave in Chemmanni. The victims were reportedly Tamil youths who the defendants had killed on the orders of their superiors. In the ensuing investigations in 1999, 15 skeletons were found near Chemmani village. Two of them were identified as those of young men who had disappeared in 1996. The investigation petered out in the early 2000s, without any criminal convictions.945

The Mirusuvil mass grave was discovered in December 2000. Approximately seven Tamil IDPs, including a child, were killed on 19 December 2000 in Mirusuvil, Jaffna District, when they returned to inspect their property in the village. They were found buried in a mass grave on 25 December with stab wounds in their necks. Four Sinhalese SLA soldiers were indicted for the killings.946

**Sexual and gender-based violence**

Several instances of SGBV in custody were reported over the period, the majority of which were sourced from OHCHR and UTHR reports. Victims were raped or subjected to sexual violence in their homes, after being stopped at SFs checkpoints and whilst in SFs custody on suspicion of LTTE membership. In all reported incidents, SFs personnel were accused. It is notable that many of the reported victims were minors. As mentioned earlier, due to the significant underreporting of SGBV, the following can only be said to reflect the pattern of reporting, as opposed to the pattern of occurrence:

- July 1995, Jaffna: 15 yo. female arrested in Kankesanthurai and held naked, interrogated and tortured. SLN blamed.947
- 29 April 1996, Jaffna: woman raped in home by troops moving east towards Kachchait from Navatkuli. Victim's husband chased and stabbed to death. SFs blamed.948
- July 1996, Jaffna: 3 soldiers in civilian clothing raped young girl and violently assaulted her brother outside home in Manthuvil. Soldiers warned family they would be killed if they reported incident.949

940 Ibid.
941 Ibid.
944 See the Krishanthi Kumaraswamy case in ‘SGBV’ sub-section below.
948 UTHR, ‘Special Report no 7’, above n 835.
949 Ibid.


11 July 1997: 17 yo. Tamil schoolgirl severely beaten and raped on her way to school in Araly South. Admitted to Jaffna teaching hospital with severe injuries. 2 Sinhalese SLA blamed. Alleged perpetrator arrested.

17 March 1998, Jaffna: disabled woman blindfolded and raped at knifepoint near Meesalai SLA checkpoint. Victim later tried to immolate herself. SFs blamed, but denied accusations.

1 April 1998, Jaffna: student raped and tortured in SLA custody in Uduvil.

15 April 1998, Jaffna: 17 yo. raped in Ariyalai and later admitted to hospital at Kopay. SLPF constable blamed.

6 October 1998, Jaffna: 12 yo. detained and raped on her way home from school in Sangathaanai, Chavakachcheri. SFs personnel blamed.

28 December 1999, Jaffna: 70 yo. raped at Neervely. 2 SFs soldiers blamed.

29 September 1999, Jaffna: woman gang raped in coconut plantation near her home at Vaalaihottam, Varany. SFs blamed.


6 October 1998, Jaffna: 12 yo. detained and raped on her way home from school in Sangathaanai, Chavakachcheri. SFs and SLA blamed.

15 April 1998, Jaffna: 17 yo. raped in Ariyalai and later admitted to hospital at Kopay. SLPF constable blamed.

4 or 7 August 1996: man and daughter stabbed to death in Kalvayal, Thenmaradchi in Jaffna. Woman also gang-raped. SFs and Sinhalese SLA blamed.

June or July 2001, Jaffna: Tamil woman dragged out of home in Meesalai and raped. 2 SFs soldiers arrested.

17 May 1996, Jaffna: 2 men who operated betel leaf shop in Manthuvil hacked to death and wives violently raped by 5 armed men ‘wearing uniforms of unspecified kind’. SLA suspected.


4 or 7 August 1996: man and daughter stabbed to death in Kalvayal, Thenmaradchi in Jaffna. Woman also gang-raped. SFs and LTTE suspected each other.

7 September 1996, Jaffna: Tamil schoolgirl Krishanthi Kumaraswamy (various spellings) abducted at SLA checkpoint in Kaithady, raped and killed. Mother, Rasammah Kumarasamy, 16 yo. brother Pranaban Kumarasamy and family friend Kirupakaran Sithamparam (various spellings) killed at same checkpoint while enquiring after victim. President Kumaratunga informed of case and ordered investigation. 6 SFs personnel convicted of the rape and murder in 1998.

In the following incidents of rape, the victim died during or shortly after the incident. It is notable that very few incidents were followed by criminal trials. In the well-known case of the rape and murder of Krishanthi Kumaraswamy and her family members in September 1996, an investigation only occurred after an intervention by President Kumaratunga.

1 May 1996, Jaffna: married couple found brutally murdered in Kachchai, with sexual assault suspected.

17 May 1996, Jaffna: 2 men who operated betel leaf shop in Manthuvil hacked to death and wives violently raped by 5 armed men ‘wearing uniforms of unspecified kind’. SLA suspected.


4 or 7 August 1996: man and daughter stabbed to death in Kalvayal, Thenmaradchi in Jaffna. Woman also gang-raped. SFs and LTTE suspected each other.

7 September 1996, Jaffna: Tamil schoolgirl Krishanthi Kumaraswamy (various spellings) abducted at SLA checkpoint in Kaithady, raped and killed. Mother, Rasammah Kumarasamy, 16 yo. brother Pranaban Kumarasamy and family friend Kirupakaran Sithamparam (various spellings) killed at same checkpoint while enquiring after victim. President Kumaratunga informed of case and ordered investigation. 6 SFs personnel convicted of the rape and murder in 1998.
- 30 September 1996, Jaffna: woman arrested on Kondavil-Urumpirai Road, dragged into house, raped and killed.967
- 12 July 1999, Mannar: Ida Carmelita (various spellings) raped and killed by SLA soldiers in her home in Pallimunai. Soldiers reportedly forced Kesavan Rajah to bring them to victim’s house. Victim was allegedly former LTTE member. SLA officers, Dayantha Upul Gurusinghe and Raja Somaratne, accused and tried. Trial unfinished as witnesses left country due to alleged SFs intimidation.968
- 28 December 1999, Jaffna: Tamil woman abducted from home, raped and killed by 4 SLN personnel in Punkudutivu. SLN denied responsibility.969
- 17 February 2000, Vavuniya: woman reportedly raped and killed in custody in SLA detachment at Sanasa transit camp. Victim had been summoned to camp for an inquiry. SLA handed over body to Vavuniya hospital several hours later, claiming victim had swallowed cyanide. There was an inquiry into death and suspected rape.970

**Attacks on vehicles, grenades, landmines, suicide bombings and other IEDs**

**Attacks on vehicles**

On a number of occasions, concentrated in the early months of 1997, civilians were killed or injured when vehicles hit landmines. In the majority of cases, SFs personnel were killed as well as civilians, and it was unclear whether or not the target of the attacks were SFs vehicles. These attacks did not appear to target specific individuals (see ‘Attacks targeting individuals’ sub-section above). Examples include:

- 23 September 1996, Jaffna: 2 civilians, 1 soldier killed when KKS-Point Pedro bus bringing returning IDPs from KKS harbour caught in landmine blast near Palali.971
- 2 January 1997, Jaffna: 3 civilians, 6 SLA soldiers killed when landmine detonated under tractor in Thirunelvely.972
- 25 February 1997, Vavuniya: 1 killed, 6 injured in landmine explosion and gunfire attack on vehicles in Mamaduwa. SFs suspected LTTE.973
- 3 June 1997, Jaffna: bus escorting SFs hit by mine in Ilavalai. 2 civilians, 3 to 5 SFs personnel killed, 5 civilians injured, including Roman Catholic nun and teacher. SFs suspected LTTE, church leaders suspected SFs.974
- 31 May 1999, Mullaitivu: van hit by landmine and gunfire near Ehatugaswewa village, according to GoSL. 11 civilians killed, 7 injured. MoD blamed LTTE.975
- 16 July 1999, Vavuniya: senior PLOTE official killed and bodyguard injured when motorcycle hit landmine. SLPF suspected LTTE.976
- 30 May 2000, Vavuniya: landmine hit truck carrying SLPF. 5 killed, 20 injured. SLPF suspected LTTE.977
- 16 February 2002, Jaffna: 1 civilian killed, 2 injured in Ariyalai when tractor caught in pressure mine explosion.978

There were three suicide attacks on vehicles reported in the period:

- 4 July 1996, Jaffna: 16 to 36 people killed, 50 to 60 injured when suicide bomber detonated in front of motorcade for Housing Minister Nimal Siripala de Silva. LTTE suspected.979
- 4 August 1999, Vavuniya: suicide bomber on bicycle/bomb-laden bicycle blew up SLA truck. 1 civilian, 12 to 13 SLPF commandos killed. SLPF and SLA blamed LTTE.980

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16 August 2000, Vavuniya: suicide bomber threw self before SLA vehicle opposite Vavuniya Municipal Council office. 1 killed (9 yo.), 2 to 5 injured, including SFs. LTTE suspected.981

SFs were accused of firing on civilians in boats in Jaffna in 1997 and 1998:

- 4 October 1997, Jaffna: 13 Tamil civilians reportedly drowned after attack on vessel in Palaitivu. LTTE blamed SLN. SFs denied accusations, said 3 LTTE boats were attacked on October 4 near Palaitivu, killing at least 10 LTTE.982
- 24 January 1998, Jaffna: 2 killed, 7 injured when boat from Poonyrenb bound for Gurunagar Jetty carrying civilians returning from the Vanni drifted east to Thanankilappu. SLA had reportedly ‘placed Thanankilappu off limits’.983

There were a number of attacks on larger ships. On one occasion, 4 June 1995, an ICRC ship (‘Sea Dancer’) carrying medical supplies was hit by a suspected LTTE mine near Kankesanthurai in Jaffna. One crew-member was missing and presumed dead, and three others were injured.984 Merchant and passenger ships were attacked once or twice a year from 1996 to 2001, most often on suspicion of carrying weapons for either side of the conflict. Crew-members were sometimes killed in the attacks, and often subsequently detained. For example:

- 14 August 1998, Mullaitivu: MV Prince/Princess Kash seized and 21 crewmembers detained. Ship reportedly bombed by SLAF either before or after on suspicion of carrying prohibited goods for LTTE. GoSL claimed LTTE had attacked SFs and SLAF warned crew-members to evacuate before bombing. 17 Indian nationals released unharmed on August 18, 2 Sri Lankan crewmen detained.986
- 30 October 2001, Jaffna: suicide attack on M.T. Silk Price ship carrying fuel and people to Jaffna. 7 killed, including 4 LTTE and 3 sailors. LTTE claimed responsibility.987

On one occasion on 29 September 1998, a Lionair civilian aircraft was either hijacked or shot down after taking off from Palali, Jaffna Peninsula. 54 or 55 people were on board, and 29 bodies were later recovered from the ocean. The airline had reportedly failed to obey LTTE orders to cease operations. The LTTE had also accused several airlines of transporting SFs disguised as civilians. The LTTE was blamed for the incident.988

Grenade and other IED attacks

There were a number of grenade and bomb attacks in public places. The LTTE was accused in UTHR reports of using civilian cover to launch grenade attacks. For example, at Kallady Junction there were three successive days in mid-May 1996 where LTTE accused in UTHR reports of using civilian cover to launch grenade attacks. For example, at Kallady Junction there were three successive days in mid-May 1996 where LTTE blamed. Crew captured, released separately in July 1997, 1998 and 2002.985

- 12 July 1995, Mullaitivu: Truck detonated in Kokkavil killing 130 civilians, 30 LTTE cadres. SFs suspected LTTE, but LTTE denied allegations.989
- 9 November 1996, Jaffna: 2 grenades thrown into a shop in New Market, Jaffna town, killed 1 or 2 people and injured another 7 to 12. LTTE blamed.990

983 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 10’, above n 201.
989 UTHR, ‘Special Report no 7’, above n 835.
Child abduction and recruitment

Reports of individual incidents of the use of children in armed combat were concentrated in 2002 and sourced mainly from Amnesty International ‘urgent actions’. Prior to 2002, UTHR, Sri Lankan newspapers and international newswire reports sporadically mention the forced abduction of children by the LTTE or the capture of child combatants by SFs in Jaffna. However, NGOs such as CSI provide a broader picture of trends in the use of children in armed conflict. Recruiters allegedly operated in schools and orphanages, persuading children to volunteer for recruitment.999 There was a reported uptick in propaganda and recruitment campaigns for children over 14 in May 2000, following the LTTE victory at Elephant Pass.996 Most of the individual incidents logged in the database are reports of children who disappeared from villages in the Vavuniya District in 2001 and 2002 and were assumed to have been recruited by the LTTE or the EPLRF. For example:

- 15 March 2001, Vavuniya: 8 yo. male left home in Ganeshapuram village. Told parents he was going to play with friends. Subsequently disappeared and assumed that forcibly recruited.997
- 2 January 2002, Vavuniya: 4 males aged 13 to 16 went to EPRFL camp. Last seen walking through jungle toward LTTE controlled areas.998
- 16 February 2002, Vavuniya: 16 yo. male did not return from work at communication centre in Vavuniya town. Assumed forcibly recruited into LTTE.999

Once recruited, children would be trained for four months in the jungle.1000 The capture or killing of LTTE child soldiers during combat was reported from October 1999:

- October 1999, Mullaitivu: 49 children were among 140 LTTE killed in a battle at Ampakamam.1001
- 10 September 2000, Kilinochchi: 14 yo. abducted by LTTE from Vattakachchi market, reportedly enrolled at Charles Anthony Brigade. Captured by SLA in January 2001 during a battle.1003
- 22 December 2000, Jaffna: GoSL reported 31 LTTE child soldiers killed in offensive launched by SFs at Navatkuli.1004
- December 2000, Jaffna: bodies of 14 female child soldiers recovered by SFs after confrontation with LTTE.1005
- 21 January 2001, Jaffna: 14 yo. injured LTTE allegedly captured by SFs after bombing at Sorampattu.1006

A group of LTTE child soldiers who surrendered to SFs in October 1998 reportedly claimed that 75 percent of the LTTE fighting force were children.1007 Children between the age of 16 and 18 could be charged under the PTA for their alleged activities with the LTTE.1008 According to one study, around the year 1998 there were more teenage than adult LTTE fighters in GoSL custody, as child soldiers were less likely to take a cyanide capsule upon surrender.1009
The dominant pattern of reported incidents for this period was the arrest and subsequent torture, rape, killing or disappearance of suspected LTTE members by SFs. Journalists, politicians and politically affiliated persons were the main targets. There was also a steady campaign of suicide attacks and explosions, and attacks on infrastructure in Colombo that killed hundreds over the course of the period. Each attack was blamed on the LTTE.

**Arrest or abduction leading to torture, disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence or death**

A large number of people were taken into SFs custody and tortured, raped, killed or disappeared. In the majority of cases, the victims had been suspected of LTTE involvement. Victims were often reportedly held without charges, threatened and forced to sign statements confessing to LTTE involvement.

The reports of torture were spread out across the time period. The following is a sample of some of the types of incidents:

- **1 February 1997, Colombo:** male arrested in Trincomalee by SLPF. Reportedly tortured, interrogated about girl accused of being LTTE member. Refused to sign statement to that effect, held in Crime Detection Bureau cells in Colombo for 1 month. Released on 5 December 1998.\(^\text{1010}\)

- **10 July 1997, Colombo:** 15 yo. Tamil woman arrested by 12 SLPF officers, taken to Wellawatte SLPF station and beaten, threatened with rape, forced to sign statement about LTTE involvement. Transferred to Crime Detection Bureau, beaten and threatened. Later released.\(^\text{1011}\)

- **22 August 1998, Gampaha:** 30 yo. arrested, taken to Peliyagoda SLPF station and tortured for 4 hours. Released in January 1999, still without charges.\(^\text{1012}\)

- **February 2000, Colombo:** male from Valvettithurai, Jaffna taken into custody at Kotahena SLPF station by suspected CID officers in civilian clothes. Beaten, attempted to force confession of LTTE involvement. Released after 4 days.\(^\text{1013}\)

- **19 March 2000, Colombo:** plain clothed SLPF forced young woman to strip at gunpoint in broad daylight, believing her to be suicide bomber. Bomb not found, woman taken to Slave Island/Union Place station, identified as Sinhalese woman with no connection to LTTE.\(^\text{1014}\)

SGBV was reported along with torture on the following occasions:

- **June 2000, Gampaha:** Tamil woman detained at Negombo SLPF station on suspected terrorism charges. Tortured and raped, forced to sign document confessing to terrorist acts. Court case followed.\(^\text{1015}\)

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\(^{1011}\) Ibid.

\(^{1012}\) Al, ‘Torture in Custody’, above n 754.

\(^{1013}\) Report of Theo van Boven, UN Doc E/CN.4/2003/68/Add.1


• 20 April 2001, Colombo: 19 yo. and 14 yo. Tamil women taken into custody by SLN during LTTE operation on open seas, sexually assaulted and subsequently held without charge or trial at Welikade women’s prison.1016

• 23 June 2001, Colombo: Tamil woman taken from home and raped at checkpoint on way to Maradana SLPF station. Court case followed.1017

There were a handful of individual reported deaths in SFs custody in Colombo and Gampaha, in which torture or summary execution was suspected.1018 In one significant incident in 1995, 21 to 25 Tamil men were reportedly tortured and strangled to death in STF/SLPF custody in Colombo on suspicion of LTTE membership. Their bodies were dumped in and around Bolgoda Lake in May to August. 18 people were arrested in connection to the incident, but criminal proceedings were eventually abandoned after key witnesses and prosecutors repeatedly failed to attend hearings.1019 There were also a handful of reported arbitrary detentions and disappearances in Colombo from 1995 to 1999, following arrests for unknown reasons. 1020

**Attacks on journalists**

Journalists (and particularly those critical of the GoSL or SFs) were threatened, detained without charges and physically hurt on a number of occasions from 1996 to 2001. Some notable incidents were:

• 9 to 12 November 1996, Colombo: 4 Danish journalists detained by SLPF at Mount Lavinia hotel. SLPF reportedly accused journalists of trying to publish material against GoSL.1021

• 31 December 1996, Colombo: journalist Ishini Wickremasinghe Perera arrested by SLPF under anti-terrorism laws for ‘erroneously reporting’ LTTE overran SLPF camp. Released on bail. SLPF Chief Wickremasinghe Rajaguru accused her of creating ethnic and religious unrest.1022

• 12 February 1998, Colombo: 5 gunmen in civilian clothing attacked home of journalist Iqbal Athas. Victim threatened at gunpoint, attackers then fled. SFs suspected.1023

• 2 January 2001, Colombo: Tamil journalist A.N.S. Thiruchelvam released after being detained without charges for 3 months by TID.1024

**Attacks on politicians, candidates, activists and protestors**

Politicians and their bodyguards, political candidates, activists, protestors and an election monitor were targeted in shootings, suicide bombings, explosions and assaults. Prominent politicians were targeted, such as President Kumaratunga in the December 1999 suicide bombing at an election rally, and Defence Minister Ratwatte and Prime Minister Wickremnamayake. There were two attacks on EPDP leader Douglas Devananda. Sometimes, civilian bystanders were killed or injured in the attacks. The following lists include some of the attacks on prominent politicians:

• 20 September 1996, Gampaha: motorcade of UNP MP Anura Bandaranaike attacked by gunmen in Negombo. 3 to 4 UNP members killed, 6 bystanders injured. Pro-GoSL supporters blamed.1025

• 30 June 1998, Kalutara: Douglas Devananda stabbed while visiting prison in Kalutara. LTTE suspected.1026

• 29 July 1999, Colombo: TULF MP Neelan Thiruchelvam killed in suicide bombing, 5 injured including SLPF. Victim had allegedly been threatened by LTTE.1027
• 2 November 1999, Colombo: EPDP MP and editor of Thinamurasu newspaper Atputharajah Nadarajah killed with driver in Wellawatte. Victim had reportedly begun to criticise EPDP and advocate for LTTE. GoSL, EPDP or LTTE suspected.

• 18 December 1999, Colombo: female suicide bomber detonated near President Chandrika Kumaratunga as she was leaving election rally. 11 to 26 people killed, 50 to 110 injured. Kumaratunga lost sight in one eye. LTTE blamed. 15 suspects taken into custody.

• 18 December 1999, Gampaha: explosion at UNP rally in Ja-Ela killed 11 to 12, injured 40 to 70. President Kumaratunga’s brother, Anura Bandaranaike, reportedly left rally just before attack. Some sources blamed LTTE.

• 5 January 2000, Colombo: Tamil politician, leader of All Ceylon Tamil Congress and human rights lawyer Kumar Ponnambalam shot dead by unidentified gunmen while driving in Wellawatte. May have been in retaliation for suicide bombing 2 hours earlier at Prime Minister’s office.

• 10 March 2000, Colombo: suicide bombing attack killed 21 people, injured 64 to 75. 8 Black Tigers blamed, either detonated selves or were shot by SLPF. Attack was reportedly failed assassination attempt on Defence Minister Ratwatte and several SFs chiefs. 12 civilians killed as perpetrators escaped, hit by landmines and RPGs.

• 7 June 2000, Colombo: deputy mayor in Dehiwala, Aruna De Silva, killed. LTTE blamed.

There were also a number of attacks on individual political party members and supporters, and on political activists. In December 2001, four people were injured when masked men fired indiscriminately at people including UNP supporters near a polling centre in Thihariya town in an attack apparently aimed at discouraging people from voting against the GoSL. On one occasion in December 2001, the car of a French national monitoring the 2001 elections was damaged and her interpreter assaulted in Gampaha, allegedly by PA supporters.

On one occasion, on 19 July 2001, two people were shot dead and 60 to 80 injured when SLFP used live ammunition, rubber bullets, tear gas, batons and knives during anti-GoSL protests in Colombo. Videos showed SLFP dragging elderly women from vehicles and tear-gassing homes. Three SLFP officers were subsequently arrested.

Vehicle bombs and other IEDs
There were several attacks using explosives on buildings in Colombo. These included:

• 7 August 1995, Colombo: explosion outside office of Chief Minister for Western Provincial Council killed 21 to 22, injured 40 to 50. SLFP blamed LTTE, suspected attack intended to target Rupavahini state-run radio and television network.

• 15 October 1997, Colombo: truck bomb and gunfire attack on Galadari hotel in Colombo, 18 to 20 civilians killed, over 100 injured. LTTE blamed but denied responsibility.
Explosions targeted public trains and buses several times. On one occasion in 1996 there were hundreds of casualties: two bombs on a train leaving Dehiwala Railway Station on 24 July 1996 killed 25 to 64 people and injured 100 to 400. LTTE fighter Saverimuttu Loganathan subsequently confessed responsibility. In other incidents, the LTTE was accused of tampering with railway tracks, and exploding bombs inside buses and trains.

**Suicide attacks**

Suicide bombings targeting SFs headquarters and public gathering places and buildings proliferated in this period. The following are suicide attacks for this period, excluding those on political figures already listed above:

- **11 November 1995**, Colombo: 2 suicide bombers detonated in Central Colombo, 1 in the SLA headquarters and the other at Slave Island railway station. In first attack, 3 SFs injured. In second, 10 to 19 killed, 51 to 65 people injured: SLA allegedly responded to attacks by opening fire at nearby Taj Samudra hotel. SFs blamed LTTE.
- **31 January 1996**, Colombo: Central Bank attacked by suicide bomber with lorry carrying 400kg of explosives, RPG and 2 gunmen. 80 to 91 killed, 300 to 1400 civilians injured. 12 buildings, 400 cars damaged. LTTE blamed.
- **6 February 1998**, Colombo: suicide bomber detonated at checkpoint near SLAF headquarters. 8 people including 5 SFs killed, 5 to 15 injured. SLPF suspected LTTE. Bomber identified by MoD as ‘Indiran’ from Batticaloa.
- **5 March 1998**, Colombo: suicide bomber detonated 100kg of explosives strapped to a bus near Maradana Railway station, killing 28 to 38 people and injuring 230 to 250. LTTE suspected.
- **16 March 1999**, Colombo: female suicide attacker killed 1 to 3 civilian bystanders, injured 5 to 15 others. Alleged target of attack, TID Chief Inspector Mohammed Nilabdeen, injured. Explosion damaged vehicles. SLPF blamed LTTE.
- **18 December 1999**, Gampaha: suicide bomb attack killed Major General Lucky Algama. LTTE blamed.
- **14 June 2000**, Gampaha: Male suicide bomber/attacker with parcel bomb on bicycle hit bus carrying wounded SLA soldiers in Wattala, 2 civilians killed, 7 injured. LTTE blamed.
- **15 September 2000**, Colombo: suicide bomb attack killed 6 people, injured 24 to 26. Health Minister Nimal Siripala de Silva had reportedly just driven past the hospital. SLPF blamed LTTE.
- **24 July 2001**, Colombo: suicide bombing attack on Katunayake SLAF base and Bandaranaike International Airport destroyed 13 to 14 aircraft, 12 to 18 killed and 2 injured including a Russian national and a TV journalist.

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19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002
North Central Province

In this section:
- Village raids
- Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups
- Attacks on vehicles
- Arrest or abduction leading to arbitrary confinement, torture, disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence or death
- Attacks on religious figures or establishments
- Electoral violence

This period in North Central Province mainly saw attacks on Sinhalese villages and the mistreatment of persons in custody. There were also several farmers killed, and attacks on political and religious targets.

Village raids
There were at least a dozen reported attacks on villages during the period, each blamed on the LTTE. Some were reported by newswires based on interviews with eyewitnesses and survivors, and others by the MoD. In one week alone in October 1995, there were 5 large-scale attacks on Sinhalese villages in Anuradhapura and Welikanda, in which over 100 people were reportedly tortured, hacked or shot dead. Each of these was blamed on the LTTE.1052 Nearly all of the victims were Sinhalese. In two of the attacks, eyewitnesses reported that the attackers were women.

Sporadic attacks on villages continued throughout 1996, becoming less frequent in the latter years of the period. Examples include:
- 22 January 1996, Anuradhapura: Nikawewa (alternative spellings) attacked with RPG. 7 people including 5 SFs killed. Houses burned. LTTE blamed.1053
- 29 August 1996, Polonnaruwa: gunmen stormed village of Kudapokuna with RPGs, automatic assault rifles. 20 SLPF and a number of civilians killed, several SLPF injured. GoSL officials alleged attack was LTTE retaliation for SLA offensive in Kilinochchi.1054
- 7 December 2000, Polonnaruwa: dawn raid on Kurulubedda village, Welikanda. 4 civilians tortured and killed, 1 injured. GoSL blamed LTTE.1055

Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups
The MoD stated (which was then reported by news outlets) that farmers were killed by the LTTE on the following occasions:
- 9 September 1996, Polonnaruwa: 4 farmers killed by mortar bombs fired into rice field in Aralaganwila. MoD blamed LTTE.1056
- 26 January 1997, Polonnaruwa: bomb attack in Welikanda killed 2 farmers, 1 SF.1057
- 7 April 2000, Polonnaruwa: local farmers and SLPF ambushed in Aralaganwila. 4 civilians fatally shot, 11 SLPF killed. MoD blamed LTTE.1058


1053 ‘Sri Lankan Tamil rebels raid village, 22 killed’, Reuters, 22 January 1996.

1054 ‘Troops kill two Tigers as villagers get tighter security’, Agence France-Presse, 30 August 1996.


1056 ‘Tigers kill four farmers in mortar attack’, Agence France-Presse, 10 September 1996.


17 October 2001, Polonnaruwa: 2 unarmed farmers killed as they ate breakfast in Welikanda area. MoD blamed LTTE.1060

There were multiple attacks on SLFP posts and personnel on duty, particularly in mid-to-late 1996. Often, the LTTE would reportedly seize weapons from the SLFP during the attacks. The following sample shows the types of attacks that occurred:

7 June 1996, Polonnaruwa: SLFP patrol near Boaththa ambushed. 9 SLFP and civilian home guards killed. LTTE suspected.1061

22 October 1996, Polonnaruwa: Palliyagodella SLFP post raided. 18 constables, 2 civilians killed. Female LTTE cadres reportedly seize weapons from the SLFP during the attacks. The following sample shows the types of attacks that occurred:

11 February 1997, Polonnaruwa: 16 SLFP killed, 10 injured in attack on Sungaveli SLFP post. Buildings torched, weapons and ammunition seized. GoSL blamed LTTE.1063

24 February 2001, Polonnaruwa: 2 SLFP constables shot dead, several injured in Welikanda. MoD blamed LTTE.1064

31 July 2001, Polonnaruwa: 5 Home Guards providing security to local farmers in Welikanda area killed. LTTE blamed.1065

Attacks on vehicles

Civilians were also killed and injured in a handful of landmine and shooting attacks on vans and buses in the Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura districts.1066 On one occasion, attackers reportedly opened fire on first responders to the scene.1067 The LTTE was blamed for each of the incidents.

Arrest or abduction leading to detention, torture, disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence or death

The LTTE reportedly released a number of people from arbitrary detention in March 2001, including four Sinhalese farmers taken from Padaviya, Anuradhapura, in December 1999.1068 On 3 March 2001, six civilian farmers were abducted from Weliyoya, Anuradhapura. Four were killed, one freed by the SLA and one taken captive.1069

There were also reports of torture and SGBV in SFs custody:

12 June 2000, Anuradhapura: male arrested in Palagala by SLPF. Died on June 20 reportedly due to torture. Court case followed.1070

7 January 2001, Polonnaruwa: male blindfolded in home and arrested by SLPF on suspicion of selling illicit alcohol in Polonnaruwa, subsequently tortured. Victim’s 2 brothers also taken into custody.1071

24 November 2001, Polonnaruwa: woman arrested by 4 SLFP from Methigiriya SLFP station. Raped and assaulted by 12 CID officers, forced to confess to being LTTE and perpetrator of attack on Minister Maithripala. Detained for 1 month.1072

1061 ‘Sri Lanka guerrillas kill nine in ambush’, Reuters, 7 June 1996.
1062 ‘TUPDATES with higher toll, details’, Agence France-Presse, 22 October 1996.
Attacks on religious figures or establishments

Three attacks targeted religious figures or buildings, including two attacks on Buddhist monks (in May 1995 and November 2001). On 19 February 2001, there was an attack on a Christian church in the province, in which 35 devotees were assaulted and furniture smashed. Church representatives had previously been threatened by a ‘hard-line nationalist group’ and warned to stop their activities. The perpetrators were unknown.

Electoral violence

There were also several instances of violence reportedly perpetrated by and between UNP and PA supporters and candidates, including a bomb at an election rally in Eppawala in November 1999 and a bomb following violence at a gasoline station in Anuradhapura town in December 2001. On one occasion, the LTTE was blamed for a suicide bomb at an election rally in Medawachchiya, Anuradhapura, on 5 October 2000 that killed nine to 12 civilians and injured dozens.


19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002

North Western Province

In this section:
- Attacks on politicians, candidates and political offices
- Vehicle attacks and other IEDs

Attacks on politicians, candidates and political offices

There were a number of attacks on political targets from 1996 to 1999 in the context of the PA-UNP political rivalry. Unidentified gunmen fired upon UNP and PA supporters in April 1996, and the UNP office in Chilaw was smashed by PA supporters and one person shot dead in January 1999. On two occasions in February 1997 and March 1998, PA MP D.M. Dassanayake, accompanied by a gang of armed men, reportedly attacked political opponents in Puttalam District.

Two specific individuals were targeted and killed in the period:
- 15/16 January 1999, Kurunegala: UNP member T. Siva shot dead in Kuliyapitiya when PA supporters reportedly attacked home of UNP candidate Gamini Dissanayake. 2 to 3 injured.

Vehicle attacks and other IEDs

There were two reported bus bombings in Polgahawela, Kurunegala in early 2000. 15 people were injured in the first on 30 January, and 15 to 22 injured in the second on 3 February. The second attack was the third bus bomb in the country that day. The LTTE was suspected for all the attacks.

There was also an explosion (possibly a grenade) in a crowded music concert in a stadium in Kurunegala on 1 April 2001. Six to 11 people were killed, and up to 200 injured. The SLFP suspected that the attack was connected to fighting between two rival village gangs.

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19 April 1995 – 1 February 2002

Central Province

In this section:
- Electoral violence
- Attacks on vehicles

Most of the incidents in this period were election-related or attacks on transport. Other isolated incidents included a grenade explosion near President Kumaratunga’s holiday home in 1997 and the rape and murder of a woman in Nawalapitiya town, Kandy.

A well-known incident occurred at the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy on 25 January 1998, where an explosives-packed truck killed 8 to 23 people and injured up to 25. The LTTE was blamed.

Electoral violence

The 2001 election was one of the most violent in Sri Lanka’s history. There were a number of notable incidents of election-related violence that occurred in Kandy, including a grenade attack during campaigning in Kandy in 1999, an explosion at a polling booth in Matale in 2001 and the killing of ten Muslim UNP and SLMC supporters on election day in 2001. In another incident of political violence, on 12 June 1998, Suppu Udayakumar, a Socialist Equality Party member, was arrested and tortured at Bogambara Prison in Kandy on suspicion of participation in a bombing of the Shannon tea factory.

Attacks on vehicles

There were a small number of attacks reported on transport in the period, including the derailing of a passenger train in August 1998, the bombing of a civilian bus in Kandy in 1999 and the damaging of a railway line in October 1999. The LTTE was suspected or blamed for each attack.

1087 ‘Blast near Sri Lankan President’s holiday home kills one’, Reuters, 3 March 1997.
1097 ‘Tigers returning to the hills’, The Sunday Times, 8 January 2006.
There were very few incidents in Sabaragamuwa recorded in the CMAP database for the period. Three involved politicians and their supporters being attacked or killed.  

1098 The most notable of these incidents was the crashing of a transport helicopter into a mountain in the Aranayake region, killing 14 people, including SLMC leader and ports minister M.H.M Ashraff.  

1099 It was suspected that the helicopter’s engine was sabotaged, but the perpetrator was unknown. There was one incident reported of a journalist being tortured.  

1100 There was also a report of the gang rape of a 13 yo. girl, allegedly by SFs in Kegalle.  

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There were a small number of reported incidents in Uva in the period. These included a reported LTTE attack in 1996 on Yala wildlife sanctuary in which six vehicles were stolen,1102 the torching of eight civilian vehicles in Siyambalanduwa in 1998,1103 and the killing of two UNP supporters at a campaign meeting in 1999.1104 In addition, the Bindunuwewa Prison Massacre took place on Bindunuwewa prison on 24 October, 2000. Sinhalese villagers attacked Tamil prisoners in a GoSL rehabilitation centre, killing 25 to 28 Tamil men between the ages of 14 and 23. Most of the victims were former child soldiers or were being held on suspicion of LTTE involvement. The victims were hacked, burned and shot to death, and Sri Lanka’s National Human Rights Commission accused the SLPF of not taking any effective action to stop the attack.1105

Village raids

There were at least three reported raids on Sinhalese villages in late 1995 in which villagers were reportedly killed and houses set on fire, each blamed on the LTTE.

Kotiyagala was attacked on 22 October and 19 villagers were hacked or shot to death.1106 On the same day, six villagers were killed and six injured in Siyambalanduwa.1107 On 2 November, five Sinhalese children were hacked to death in Kandahelegama hamlet, Monaragala.1108 Another incident was reported on 2 November in Siyambalanduwa, but it is likely the same incident as that of 22 October, as the MoD only reported one attack in the village in that year.1109

Attacks on public transport

There were four attacks on public transport, including a shooting at a bus depot,1110 two bus bombs that each killed one person and injured dozens,1111 and a bomb on an empty bus in Bibile.1112

1103 ‘Tigers mount long range attacks on Sri Lanka freedom day’, Agence France-Presse, 4 February 1998.
1104 ‘Two Sri Lanka opposition members killed at meeting’, Reuters, 10 December 1999.
1109 MoD, LTTE Atrocities – Year 1995, above n 710.

22 February 2002 – 20 July 2006

Period Overview

On 22 February 2002, after six years of almost constant active conflict, the LTTE and GoSL signed a ceasefire agreement (CFA).

The conditions of the 2002 CFA included dismantling GoSL checkpoints, reopening roads and railways, lifting some fishing bans and ceasing the intimidation, coercion and harassment of civilians. The CFA also acknowledged existing frontlines, which meant that while the GoSL controlled major towns, such as Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa, the LTTE held most of the interior regions of the North (the Vanni) and rural parts of the East.1113 The SLMM, operated by five Nordic countries, monitored CFA compliance.1114

Implementation of the CFA was followed by five rounds of negotiations, which were mediated by Norway. In the third round of talks, both the LTTE and GoSL signalled their willingness to consider a federal solution to the conflict, deviating from their prior insistence on a separate (LTTE) or centralised (GoSL) state.1115 Additionally, seemingly positive developments included the establishment of a subcommittee to coordinate international aid for reconstruction in the North-East, and the inclusion of human rights issues in negotiations.1116

By the end of 2002, however, talks were hampered by dissatisfaction and intransigence on both sides. The LTTE expressed frustration with the slow pace of reconstruction in the North-East, GoSL failure to dismantle SLA High Security Zones and ongoing restrictions on fishing and agriculture.1117 GoSL action was stymied by internal conflict between Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe, supported by his UNP party, and President Chandrika Kumaratunga, supported by her PA party and nationalist Sinhalese politicians. While Wickremesinghe maintained support for a federal solution to conflict, Kumaratunga was pressured to adopt a more hard-line stance by Sinhalese nationalists, who opposed GoSL concessions to the LTTE and foreign interference in Sri Lankan affairs.1118

Progress in talks was further stymied by frequent violations of the CFA.1119 During this period, the LTTE increasingly operated as a de facto state in areas under its control, levying taxes and establishing ministries, customs posts, a bank, and a police force. It was also permitted to travel freely and open political offices in GoSL-controlled areas. However, the group reportedly took advantage of this increased freedom to smuggle arms, recruit child soldiers, extort money and kill Tamil rivals.1120 Members and supporters of anti-LTTE Tamil parties, which were required to disarm by the CFA, were particularly vulnerable to attack.1121

While the LTTE fulfilled several state functions, the GoSL continued to fund public services and allowed NGOs to provide development aid in LTTE-controlled areas.1122 These trends further provoked nationalist politicians, who believed the LTTE was leveraging the CFA as an opportunity to consolidate territorial control and strengthen its military capacity.

Cooperation between the LTTE and the GoSL deteriorated until 1 April 2003, when the LTTE withdrew from talks, citing their exclusion from a donors’ conference in Washington.1123 Negotiations continued despite the cessation of direct talks, as the LTTE made demands for an interim administration in the North-East, which the UNP had advocated for at the beginning of the peace process. In mid-2003, the GoSL presented three different models for an interim administration, which were reportedly intended to restart talks. In October 2003, the LTTE responded by proposing an LTTE-run Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA) in the East and North.1124

The UNP expressed its willingness to discuss the ISGA, despite opposition to certain components of the proposal. However, the ISGA outraged some Sinhalese politicians and media outlets, who perceived it as a separatist declaration. In response, President


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1114 Ibid; HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
1115 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27; Goodhand et al, above n 27; Weiss, above n 7.
1117 Goodhand et al, above n 27.
1118 Hashim, above n 10.
1119 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’ above n 35; Weiss, above n 7.
1121 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
1122 Keenan, above n 30.
Kumaratunga declared that the UNP had undermined national security by making concessions to the LTTE. She then suspended parliament, took control over four vital ministries (including the MoD) and called for an election. On 8 April 2004, Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected Prime Minister, defeating the more moderate Wickremesinghe.

The election coincided with an internal LTTE crisis, when Colonel Karuna, Commander of the Eastern Province, defected along with 2,500-3,500 cadres. An LTTE offensive quickly drove Karuna into the jungle; however, he regained influence by cooperating with the GoSL and providing the SFs with valuable intelligence on the LTTE. Violence against civilians escalated in the East, as both sides reportedly engaged in forcible recruitment, extortion and attacks on members and perceived ‘supporters’ of the opposing group. The LTTE reportedly took the opportunity to aggressively suppress any dissent among the Tamil population.

Despite initial cooperation over relief efforts, GoSL-LTTE relations further declined following the December 2004 tsunami. The parties engaged in talks intended to establish a joint mechanism known as the Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS). However, due to opposition from the JVP, Muslim politicians and other political stakeholders, P-TOMS never eventuated. Much of this opposition stemmed from claims that the LTTE would leverage its influence over tsunami aid distribution to further consolidate power in the North-East. However, the collapse of P-TOMS exacerbated Tamil claims that the LTTE were being excluded from tsunami relief efforts, and from reconstruction in general.

Controversy over tsunami relief contributed to rising political violence throughout 2005. By mid-2005, Human Rights Watch estimated that the rate of political killings across the country was one per day. The most notable killing was the August 2005 assassination of Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar. Following this incident, the GoSL declared an extended state of emergency, expanding SLPF and SFs powers to search, arrest and detain and increasing SFs patrols in and around LTTE territory. These factors contributed to increased killings and disappearances throughout the rest of 2005 and 2006.

In November 2005, Rajapaksa and Wickremesinghe ran as opponents in the presidential elections. Rajapaksa adopted an uncompromising stance towards the LTTE, allying with the Sinhalese-nationalist Jatika Hela Urumaya (JHU), while Wickremesinghe persisted with his platform of continuing peace negotiations. The contest was close, but Rajapaksa ultimately won. Reports suggest that his victory may have been facilitated by the LTTE ordering Tamil voters to boycott the vote.

Once in power, President Rajapaksa prioritised military strategy over negotiations. His brother Gotabaya, who was appointed as Secretary to the MoD, overhauled the SFs and began a mass training and recruitment drive. Meanwhile, the LTTE placed restrictions on civilian movement in the Vanni, reportedly in order to maintain manpower reserves. They also increased attacks on SFs and rival Tamils.

By February 2006, the SLMM had recorded 4,000 ceasefire infractions since the implementation of the CFA, the majority of which were committed by the LTTE. On 20 April 2006, the LTTE withdrew from the emergency peace talks designed to preserve the CFA. At the end of July 2006, the Mavil Aru Water dispute, described in the following section, provoked a renewed outbreak of overt hostilities.
22 February 2002 – 20 July 2006

Eastern Province

Colonel Karuna’s defection from the LTTE in March 2004 (see ‘Period Overview’ section for full description) led to significant violence between the LTTE and the Karuna Group. The SFs, who reportedly fought with the Karuna Group against the LTTE, were also involved in several violent incidents.1144

A significant number of child recruitment incidents were reported in the East, mostly blamed on the LTTE, with some allegations against the Karuna Group. This period was also marked by attacks on civilians. Muslim people, political candidates and office holders, and generally any dissenters or perceived ‘supporters’ of opposing groups, were particularly vulnerable to attack.1145

Child abduction and recruitment

Public reporting on individual child soldier cases is limited. Most of the information in this section comes from UTHR and Human Rights Watch reports. UNICEF, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, and NGOs such as CSI either address the issue of child soldiers in Sri Lanka more generally, or provide overall numbers in certain time periods and regions without publicly discussing many individual cases. Therefore, the information below provides a sample based on limited specific cases that have been made public.

Child abductions, possible conscription

In this period, child conscription was widespread, as the LTTE reportedly took advantage of the ceasefire to expand recruitment into territory that was previously controlled by the GoSL.1146 At various stages, they would reportedly ask each family in a village to provide them with one child. Incidents in the database indicate that large-scale round-ups often occurred in schools or public places such as temples.

The majority of conscription incidents in the database occurred in 2002, and most occurred in Batticaloa. One example was:

- March 2002, Batticaloa: 11 yo. forcibly recruited from home at Pavakokichenai, where LTTE allegedly took one child per family.1147

Children were forcibly recruited almost weekly, sometimes daily, throughout the year. At times, up to 100 children were abducted in a single instance. The majority of these cases were reported by UTHR. For example:

- 3 March 2002, Batticaloa: 15 yo. forcibly recruited from Arayampathy.1148
- Around 6 March 2002, Batticaloa: about 100 children forcibly conscripted and sent to Veppavedduvan for special training.1149
- 12 March 2002, Batticaloa: 16 yo. forcibly conscripted at Morakotanchenai.1150

1144 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27; Hashim, above n 10.
1145 Goodhand, above n 27.
1147 Ibid.
1148 Ibid.
1149 Ibid.
1150 Ibid.
Or:

- 30 April 2002, Batticaloa: 46 children conscripted in Vantharumoolai, allegedly in a night operation targeting families that had “failed to deliver by the deadline given”.1151
- 8 May 2002, Batticaloa: four 17 yo. boys conscripted in Vantharumoolai.1152
- 10 May 2002, Batticaloa: 15 yo. conscripted from Kallady.1153
- 15 May 2002, Batticaloa: 17 yo. conscripted from Mandur.1154
- 18 May 2002, Batticaloa: 8 boys and 4 girls, all about 15 yo. conscripted at Karadianaru.1155

Or:

- 25 July 2002, Batticaloa: 44 boys and 23 girls, all aged 15 to 16 years, conscripted from Thanthamalai Murugan Temple festival in Kokkaddichcholai.1156
- 18 August 2002, Batticaloa: 18 children, mostly 15 years or younger, conscripted at Eravur Karumariamman Temple festival.1157
- 26 August 2002, Batticaloa: 35 children, generally aged 14 to 16 years, conscripted from an area including Eravur, Thalavai, Kaluwankerni and Orumalaichcholai-thivu.1158

This pattern was repeated on a smaller scale throughout the East from 2003 to 2006. UTHR and Human Rights Watch continued to report the majority of cases.

In 2006, there were a number of publicly reported conscription cases in Batticaloa that were allegedly perpetrated by the Karuna Group. According to Human Rights Watch, although the Karuna Group began recruiting children soon after their split from the LTTE, few incidents were reported until 2006. The Karuna Group denied involvement in child conscription and systematically blamed the LTTE. However, Human Rights Watch notes that parents of victims, eyewitnesses, local human rights activists and representatives of international aid agencies attested that the Karuna Group was responsible for a number of cases. Human Rights Watch also reported that SLA soldiers may have assisted the Karuna Group with conscription by identifying potential recruits during round-ups. However, it is possible that the soldiers were simply identifying suspected LTTE members.1159

Incidents reported of Karuna Group recruitment include:

- May 2006, Batticaloa: boy conscripted, allegedly by Karuna Group. Abductors reportedly told boy’s mother that as one of her other sons had been conscripted by LTTE, she had to give one to Karuna Group.1160
- June 2006, Batticaloa: throughout June 2006, 23 boys abducted, mainly from 2 villages. On the morning of the abduction, SLA members allegedly gathered 7 boys, checked their IDs and photographed them. Karuna Group abducted 4 of the 7 later that night.1161

Conscription-related killings and violence

There were several cases in the database where either a child or their parents were beaten, tortured or killed for resisting child conscription. There were some incidents (one involving multiple victims) where conscripted children were tortured, sexually assaulted or killed following conscription (in one case because they had previously escaped). Examples include:

- 12 February 2002, Batticaloa: 15 yo. conscripted and taken to Suwarmalai training camp, where she was tortured.1162
- 15 June 2002, Batticaloa: LTTE demanded a child from two neighbours. Parents refused and were beaten. Daughters taken, one escaped, the other sexually assaulted and killed.1163
- 19 December 2003, Batticaloa: general manager of Cooperative Society arrested, allegedly by LTTE Intelligence, and taken to main base in Tharavi. LTTE demanded a large sum of money and a son from him. He refused and was beaten and killed.1164

1151 Ibid.
1152 Ibid.
1155 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 15’, above n 784.
1156 Ibid.
1157 Ibid.
1158 Ibid.
1160 Ibid.
1161 Ibid.
• 20 May 2006, Batticaloa: 12 yo. from Mankerni shot dead, reportedly for refusing to join LTTE.1165

• 28 June 2006, Batticaloa: 6 children escaped from LTTE conscription, but were re-recruited after their parents were threatened. 6 victims were subsequently taken to Veppavedduvan training camp and tortured. 1 was killed.1166

**Child soldiers killed in combat**

UNICEF, the Island and the AFP reported that an unknown number of child soldiers were killed and injured in combat between the LTTE and the Karuna Group in 2004. However, no specific incidents were described.1167

**Release of child soldiers**

In 2002, the LTTE made a public pledge to end child recruitment and release all children to UNICEF.1168 In many cases, the LTTE claimed the children lied about their age to join the LTTE, and were only later ‘found’ to be underage.

Examples of release in the East include:

• 17 and 18 October 2003, Ampara: 13 or 20 children released to UNICEF by LTTE.1169

• 13 April 2004, Batticaloa: UNICEF facilitated release of nearly 150 or 300 former LTTE child soldiers in Vakarai. UNICEF also stated that between 750 and 2,000 other child soldiers from the East also voluntarily returned home.1170

• 17 April 2004, Trincomalee: 40 children aged between 12 and 17 years were released to UNICEF by LTTE. Those released included 31 girls and 9 boys. 454 children were released by LTTE across the North-East in April.1171

When the LTTE successfully completed an offensive against the Karuna Group in 2004, approximately 2,000 child soldiers who fought with the Karuna Group were reportedly demobilised. However, both the LTTE and the Karuna Group subsequently targeted released child soldiers, many of whom were still minors, for re-recruitment.1172

**Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups**

Many people were killed or disappeared in what appeared to be targeted attacks during this period. These incidents included attacks on members of opposing groups, political candidates, civilians who appeared to disagree with parties to the conflict, Muslim people and SLPF personnel. Tsunami relief facilities were also attacked.

A large number of people were targeted by unknown perpetrators and/or for unreported reasons. These have not been included in the sample incidents.

**Killings and abductions – factional**

The focus of this section is on victims who appeared to have political roles in various groups, were former members of groups, or were supporting a rival faction. That is, any case that appeared to relate to factional fighting, aside from those targeting people in combat roles. Generally, cases where it was unclear whether a current ‘member’ served a political or military role were not included, unless the victim disappeared. In some cases, people who were well-known or who held high-level positions were targeted, but many victims were lower-profile. There were also attacks on the political offices of the various groups. Most of these cases were reported by a variety of news sources, NGOs and the MoD.

Many of the documented killings reveal a common pattern of targeting victims on the street, either while riding motorcycles or while entering or leaving buildings. Often, the perpetrators were also traveling on motorcycles.

Unsurprisingly, there were over four times as many of these incidents recorded in the database during the period following the LTTE-Karuna split (March 2004 to 2006) than prior to the split (2002 to 2004).
In 2002, incidents included the killing of a former PLOTE militant, and the disappearance of an EPRLF member. The LTTE was blamed for both. Also, in 2002:

- 3 December 2002, Batticaloa: 3 senior EPDP members were abducted and disappeared. LTTE blamed.
- Between 10 and 24 September 2003, Ampara: LTTE allegedly abducted 4 people who were members of rival political parties: a
- 14 or 15 July 2004, Batticaloa: LTTE cadre reportedly killed fellow inmates Kanapathipillai Mahendran, also known as Satchi
- 27 October 2005, Trincomalee: activist from North-East Sinhalese Organisation who organised anti-LTTE demonstrations was
- 16 January 2006, Ampara: 2 youths shot dead by gunmen while on way to work. Both victims were said to be LTTE supporters.
- 2 June 2004, Batticaloa: attackers fired shots into air and killed 2 ex-Karuna fighters at annual religious ceremony at Kannankuda
- 11 April, 2005, Trincomalee: EPDP activist shot dead while riding bicycle home from Hindu temple. SLPF suspected LTTE.
- 8 July 2004, Batticaloa: 2 men publicly executed in Ilupadichenai. Their dead bodies were blindfolded and found by side of road.
- 13 August 2003, Batticaloa: two former Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) members abducted. LTTE blamed.
- Between 10 and 24 September 2003, Ampara: LTTE allegedly abducted 4 people who were members of rival political parties: a
- In 2004, the number of factional killings increased, mostly between the LTTE and the Karuna Group. These killings targeted rival
- In 2005, there was a dramatic increase in reported killings connected to inter-factional fighting. The list below only includes publicly
- 11 April, 2005, Trincomalee: EPDP activist shot dead while riding bicycle home from Hindu temple. SLFP suspected LTTE.
- 10 August 2005, Ampara: 2 LTTE political members shot dead at Thambiluvul on way to political office inside GoSL areas. LTTE blamed SLFP/SFs.
- 6 October 2005, Trincomalee: district leader of EPDP tasked with distribution of the newspaper, Thinamurasu, in Trincomalee, was shot dead on way to see his mother. SLFP blamed LTTE.
- 27 October 2005, Trincomalee: activist from North-East Sinhalese Organisation who organised anti-LTTE demonstrations was shot dead. SLFP blamed LTTE.
- 16 January 2006, Ampara: 2 youths shot dead by gunmen while on way to work. Both victims were said to be LTTE supporters.

1174 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 15’, above n 784.
1176 LTTE guns down former PLOTE member’, The Island, 23 May 2003.
1177 HRW, ‘Political Killings During the Ceasefire’ above n 1176; ‘The leader of Varathan group was shot and killed yesterday in Batticaloa’, Valampurri, 3 April 2003.
1180 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 17’ above n 716.
1187 ‘North and east, a tinder box’, The Sunday Leader, 14 August 2005.
• 11 April 2006, Batticaloa: 3 youths killed. Body of one was found in Veloor Colony, Kallady. Karuna Group blamed. Perpetrators allegedly caught the victims putting up ‘Vanni faction’ posters.\(^{1191}\)

• 30 May 2006, Batticaloa: former LTTE cadre shot dead, allegedly because he refused to rejoin the LTTE. GoSL blamed LTTE Vanni faction at Pethalai.\(^{1192}\)

**Attacks on political office-holders and candidates**

A number of local political candidates were attacked in this period. Those who were shot and injured, or injured in grenade attacks, are generally not included in the examples below.

• 12 July 2002, Batticaloa: EPRLF member and local council candidate was with wife visiting family in Karuvakerni, Valachchenai. The house was attacked. EPRLF member left to alert SLFP and other EPRLF members. On return, his pregnant wife had been beaten and left semi-conscious. According to UTHR, LTTE was suspected.\(^{1179}\)

• 15 June 2003, Batticaloa: 2 men on bicycles shot dead EPDP member on Thiruchchenthrur Road. Attackers also threw grenade at him. SLFP blamed LTTE. Victim was contesting upcoming local government election for Batticaloa Urban Council.\(^{1194}\)

• 27 or 28 or 29 February 2004, Batticaloa: United National Front (UNF) candidate shot and injured at home in Valachchenai or Aranyampathy. Victim threatened by unidentified gunmen who told him to drop out of election. Victim blamed LTTE.\(^{1195}\)

  • 1 March 2004, Batticaloa: UNF candidate shot dead at hospital while recovering from previous attempt on his life. Killing was allegedly election-related. Victim’s cousin blamed LTTE.\(^{1196}\)

  • 30 March 2004, Batticaloa: TNA candidate and his relative shot dead at home. GoSL suspected LTTE.\(^{1197}\) In April 2004, his body taken from grave and set on fire.\(^{1198}\)

  • 5 or 6 July 2004, Batticaloa or Ampara: Batticaloa LTTE Political Wing Leader Ramalingam Pathamaseelan, alias Senathiraja, shot while riding motorcycle. Later died in hospital. Pillion driver injured. Multiple sources, including UN, alleged that Karuna Group members with reported links to SLA military intelligence were temporarily released from prison to conduct killing.\(^{1199}\)

  • 7 or 8 February 2005, Eastern Province: van carrying E. Koushalyan (various spellings), political leader of Ampara-Batticaloa LTTE, attacked with gunfire. He and 3 to 5 colleagues were killed, including former TNA MP and member of NESoHR Chandra Nehr, 3 LTTE bodyguards and driver. 2 to 4 others injured, including 2 SLFP constables and 1 LTTE member. LTTE blamed paramilitary operatives working with SFs. SFs denied involvement and suspected Karuna Group.\(^{1200}\)

• 22 February 2005, Ampara: LTTE female Political Head for Batticaloa shot and injured near Akkaraipattu.\(^{1201}\)

• 24 or 25 December 2005, Batticaloa: TNA MP Joseph Pararajasingham shot dead after receiving communion at Batticaloa church. 8 others injured in cross-fire. LTTE blamed Sri Lankan Intelligence Service (SIS), Karuna Group and EPDP. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^{1202}\)

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1191 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.
1198 LTTE spared not even the dead, The Island, 5 April 2004.
Killings, disappearances and other targeted attacks – general

During the intense LTTE-Karuna power struggle following Karuna’s defection from the LTTE in 2004, there were a vast number of attacks against civilians with no reported political or professional affiliation to the conflict.\(^{1205}\) In particular, the LTTE reportedly took the opportunity of a Karuna challenge to their authority to aggressively suppress any dissent among the Tamil population.\(^{1206}\) They were particularly violent towards business-people and members of the middle class in Batticaloa and Ampara.\(^{1207}\) The Karuna Group engaged in similar tactics.

During this period, the SFs were also accused of targeting civilians for various reasons. The most notable incident blamed on the SFs was the ‘Trinco Five’ killings (discussed further below).

Below is a sample of reported cases in approximate chronological order (grouped by sub categories) where people were killed or attacked for the following main reasons: alleged dissent, extortion, intimidation, control, and working for the GoSL (including as Home Guards).

Aside from a handful of relevant cases prior to 2004, the majority of attacks occurred from 2004 onwards. Examples include:

- 24 May 2004, Batticaloa: Eastern University lecturer shot dead by 2 gunmen in his home. LTTE, Karuna and SIS all suspected by various sources.\(^{1208}\)
- 31 May 2004, Batticaloa: independent Tamil journalist shot dead while riding motorcycle to work. Victim worked for Virakesari Tamil newspaper and was affiliated with Inland Revenue Department. Some reported Karuna Group suspected, others reported SIS suspected.\(^{1209}\)
- 9 July 2004, Batticaloa: local GoSL official shot dead at home in village of Arayampathy. LTTE blamed.\(^{1210}\)
- 25 October 2004, Batticaloa: Swiss national killed by grenade thrown into his home. SLPF blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied involvement and condemned killing.\(^{1211}\)
- 21 November 2004, Trincomalee: torture victim due to give evidence against 7 SLPF officers in High Court was shot dead.\(^{1212}\)
- 8 April 2005, Ampara: male shot dead in bus, reportedly because he ignored LTTE directive to pay tax on arrack selling.\(^{1213}\)
- 15 April 2005, Ampara: GoSL Divisional Secretary of Thirukkovil shot dead. GoSL suspected LTTE.\(^{1214}\)
- 30 September 2005, Batticaloa: 2 Tamil construction workers shot dead. Both employed at Hindu temple in Valaichchenai. GoSL suspected LTTE.\(^{1215}\)

\(^{1203}\) Bus blast kills 12 in Sri Lanka, Norway plead for truce talks, Agence France-Presse, 12 April 2006.
\(^{1205}\) Goodhand, above n 27.
\(^{1206}\) HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
\(^{1207}\) Hashim, above n 10.
\(^{1211}\) Ibid.
\(^{1214}\) Ex-soldier shot dead’, The Island, 10 April 2005.
1 October 2005, Ampara: businessman from Kalmunai shot dead. SLPF said he refused to pay a ransom demanded by LTTE.1216

30 October 2005, Batticaloa: suspected LTTE informant shot dead.1217

In the lead-up to the 17 November 2005 presidential elections, the LTTE ordered Tamil voters to boycott the vote.1218 There were several reported attacks targeting people who defied these orders. For example:

16 November 2005, Batticaloa: Kalwunkerni post mistress Komathi Veerapathiran abducted and hacked to death after she refused to hand over undelivered poll cards. Asian Tribune blamed LTTE.1219

16 November 2005, Batticaloa: civilian who defied Prabhakaran's order not to vote killed. Asian Tribune blamed LTTE.1220

17 November 2005, Batticaloa: 2 people possibly killed and 3 injured in grenade attack on polling booth.1221

17 November 2005, Batticaloa: on eve of election, a second grenade fell on polling booth in Chenkaladi, injuring 7 people.1222

In 2006, patterns of targeted killings continued. The most notable was the 'Trinco Five' case and attacks in the immediate aftermath:

2 January 2006, Trincomalee: 7 (some reports say 9) students shot at Dutch Bay beach, at Dock Yard Rd, Trincomalee. 5 were killed and 2 (or 4) survived with injuries. SLA and MoD initially claimed that students died due to grenade exploding prematurely, intended to be used in attack on SLA. However, post mortem found they died from firearm injuries. A surviving victim, several witnesses and local NGOs identified STF members as responsible. The OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL) also stated there were reasonable grounds to believe SFs personnel killed the five students. 12 or 13 suspects from the SLPF and STF were detained and questioned over killings, but were reportedly released when it was found bullets used in killings did not match bullets from their firearms. This case has been subject of a number of subsequent inquiries and reports.1223

7 January 2006, Trincomalee: LTTE suicide boat rammed into SLN Fast Attack Craft (FAC) at Foul Point near Trincomalee harbor. 12 SLN personnel killed, including 2 officers. Attack was reported as direct retaliation for killing of the 5 students.1224

24 January 2006, Trincomalee: part-time photo journalist and employee at Port Authority in Trincomalee shot dead by unidentified gunmen on way to work. Victim had published photographs and news reports critical of SLA and Karuna Group in Tamil newspaper Sudar Oli. His photographs of the 5 students on 2 January 2006 contested original GoSL reports that they had been killed in grenade explosion. SLPF blamed LTTE.1225

From April 2006, there were a number of attacks on Sinhalese civilians and Home Guards, which were all blamed on the LTTE. For example:

23 April 2006, Trincomalee: 6 Sinhalese farmers, including 2 male school students working in rice fields, shot dead. GoSL and witness blamed LTTE.1226

24 April 2006, Trincomalee: Sinhalese home guard killed in Seruwila Scheme C. GoSL and witness blamed LTTE.1227

1216 LTTE stepping up its own agenda, The Sunday Times, 9 October 2005.
1218 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27; Weiss, above n 6; Hashim, above n 10.
• 25 April 2006, Trincomalee: hotel owner shot dead. SLPF reported he was supporting Sinhalese associations in Trincomalee.\footnote{1228}
• 30 April 2006, Ampara: 2 Sinhalese villagers shot dead and another injured at Nugelanda. GoSL blamed LTTE.\footnote{1229}

There were also a number of attacks on people entering GoSL territory, which were blamed on the SLA. In some cases, the victims were reportedly suspected of posing a threat but the victim or relatives often denied this. Examples include:

• 18 April 2006, Batticaloa: 5 men travelling along Vaatharavathai Road stopped at check-post opposite SLA camp at Aiyinar Kovil. Taken to camp after argument with soldiers. Bodies found on 19 April 2006, with gunshot wounds and signs of assault. Unidentified locals blamed SLA. SLA denied responsibility. SLPF claimed it was LTTE reprisal attack.\footnote{1230}
• 24 May 2006, Trincomalee: fish vendor shot dead when he entered SLA-controlled area from Pallikudiyiruppu. SLA blamed, but claimed that victim was LTTE and that they found a grenade on him. Others suggested he was innocent. He was with 14 yo. boy, who was also shot dead.\footnote{1231}
• 24 June 2006, Batticaloa: male who suffered psychiatric problems was cycling on main road when asked to stop by SFs soldiers. According to UTHR, he failed to stop, and a soldier shot him dead at close range.\footnote{1232}
• 2 July 2006, Batticaloa: male and companion stopped at SLA checkpoint at Oddumavadi Bridge while travelling. Both asked by SLA to register at nearby SLPF checkpoint, where they were detained for 1.5 hours. Shortly afterwards they were stopped by 2 men who claimed to be Karuna Group. Male was abducted and disappeared.\footnote{1233}

There were also cases in this period where people were abducted for ransom, but were not killed. Some were released after being threatened to perform various actions, such as closing their shops, opening their shops, or giving family members to the LTTE. These cases have not been included in the report because they do not meet the gravity threshold. Most were blamed on the LTTE.

From 2004 to November 2006, there were a number of incidents of abduction and disappearance. In many reports, no information was provided other than the name of the victim and the date and location of abduction. Some reported abductions that provided slightly more background information included:

• 5 February 2005, Batticaloa: graduate who owned a computer and cultivated paddy in his 10-acre plot of land was abducted. LTTE blamed.\footnote{1234}
• 26 May 2005, Ampara: 1 home guard and 2 civilians abducted while having a drink in ‘Colony 39’ settlement. SLPF blamed LTTE.\footnote{1235}
• 1 October 2005, Trincomalee: male truck driver for NGO in LTTE-controlled areas was abducted.\footnote{1236}

Like all other report sections on disappearances and abductions, this sample does not provide any indication of the number of incidents, but rather provides insight into types of victims and the manner in which disappearances were conducted.

**Attacks on police**

From May 2005 until May 2006, there were an increased number of attacks on SLPF personnel. Examples include the May 2005 killing of an SLPF intelligence officer;\footnote{1237} a July 2005 attack in Pottuvil that killed one SLPF member and one civilian;\footnote{1238} attacks on a patrol\footnote{1239} and a vehicle in September 2005 and April 2006 respectively (neither with any civilian casualties),\footnote{1240} and an ambush on a road block in May 2006, which killed one Home Guard.\footnote{1241}
**Attacks on tsunami relief facilities and guards**

After the 26 December 2004 tsunami, there were a number of attacks that targeted tsunami relief facilities and people guarding them. As mentioned earlier, LTTE-GoSL relations deteriorated around this time due to conflict surrounding the P-TOMS mechanism. Some examples of attacks on tsunami relief facilities and guards include:

- **29 December 2004, Trincomalee:** large stock of relief supplies meant for people affected by tsunami were seized while being transported through Trincomalee by TV station Sirasa. Employees of Sirasa were threatened. ‘Officials’ and source from TV station blamed LTTE.1242
- **6 April 2005, Ampara:** 1 SLPF shot dead while guarding warehouse of tsunami relief aid in Kalmunai.1243
- **24 April 2005, Batticaloa:** during temple service at Anaipanthy Pillayar Temple, gunmen drove past and shot at crowd. 4 injured. 1 victim was suspected to be targeted either because he received tsunami aid and failed to distribute it to LTTE, or because of local factional disputes. GoSL blamed LTTE.1244
- **13 July 2005, Trincomalee:** grenade thrown at tsunami relief camp security post in Muttur. 9 civilian tsunami survivors injured. SLPF blamed LTTE.1245
- **21 July 2005, Ampara:** grenade thrown at tsunami aid centre in Akkaraiapattu. SLPF personnel injured. SFs and STF suspected LTTE.1246
- **11 August 2005, Ampara:** Triple Gem Tsunami Relief Centre or Thisarana camp for displaced tsunami survivors in Kalmunai or Akkaraiapattu was attacked with grenades. Several people injured. SLPF blamed LTTE.1247
- **23 October 2005, Batticaloa:** gunman shot at SL soldier guarding tsunami relief centre. Stray bullets injured 2 children. MoD blamed LTTE.1248

**Attacks on Muslim people**

After the 2002 CFA, in which the Muslim community did not formally participate, there were a number of confrontations between Muslims and Tamils as the LTTE tried to consolidate power in the East.1249 These resulted in several attacks and killings targeting members of the Muslim community. In most cases, the LTTE or the Karuna Group were the alleged perpetrators, but SFs were suspected in some cases. There were also a number of cases of inter-communal rioting.

In late June 2002, there were several days of rioting in which nine Muslims and two Tamils were reportedly killed, over 100 injured and more than 100 shops destroyed.1250 GoSL officials reported that SFs units patrolled the streets of Batticaloa as communal violence spread from Trincomalee.1251 Some specific incidents include:

- **27 June 2002:** (or between 20 and 23 June), Batticaloa: 2 Muslim brothers who were cooks at wedding were abducted from wedding, and third person beaten. The 2 abducted were killed, buried and burned in shallow graves. LTTE blamed. Victims’ father and 6 or 10 Muslims and 100 SLA went to collect bodies. 300 LTTE cadres reportedly surrounded group and stopped them. Bodies were then burnt on tyres.1252
- **27 June 2002, Batticaloa:** some Muslims called a ‘hartal’. LTTE tried to force buses to run and Muslims to open shops. When this failed, they reportedly engaged in arson and attacks on Muslims. Calls over Jumma Mosque loudspeakers summoned Muslims to protect Mosque. When Muslim crowd gathered, LTTE reportedly threw grenades. 2 killed, 42 injured. 3 additional Muslims killed, others injured during subsequent clashes.1253

Attacks continued in early 2003, with an escalation in Trincomalee in April:

- **31 March 2003, Trincomalee:** married Muslim couple disappeared after leaving Muttur to sail to Kadatkaraichenai, an LTTE-controlled area. SLPF blamed LTTE.1254
TIDES OF VIOLENCE: MAPPING THE SRI LANKAN CONFLICT FROM 1983 TO 2009

- 17 April 2003, Trincomalee: group of Muslim protesters in Muttur attacked by gunmen. 3 killed, 5 injured. SLFP suspected LTTE. Muslims were protesting against LTTE over disappearance of 2 Muslim residents on 31 March 2003 (above).1255
- 17 April 2003, Trincomalee: crowd attacked Muslim village of Thoppur. Some injured, property burned, houses and shops looted.
- 18 April 2003, about 1,000 Tamils gathered from LTTE-controlled eastern side of Kattaiarichchanch Bridge, armed with swords and staves. Grenade was thrown at crowd, shots fired, killing 2.1256
- 20 April 2003, Trincomalee: crowd of 300, reportedly led by LTTE members, raided and burned agricultural settlements Jinnah Nagar and Arafat Nagar following throwing of petrol bomb. Many displaced.1257
- 21 April 2003, Trincomalee: Muslim man shot dead, head decapitated and taken away. Fishing boats, nets and other belongings of Muslim fishing community were seized, destroyed and set on fire. SLFP suspected LTTE.1258

In late 2003, violence against Muslims broke out again in Trincomalee and Ampara.

- 13 or 14 August 2003, Trincomalee: 2 Muslim men shot dead while riding motorcycles in Chelvanayakapuram or Muttur. SLFP blamed LTTE.1259
- 17 August 2003, Ampara: 2 Muslim farmers shot dead when on motorcycle to Nelluchenaiavattai, Sammanthurai. Bodies found on 18 August 2003. Villagers blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement.1260
- 25 October 2003, Trincomalee: employee of Ceylon Electricity Board’s Kinniya sub-office killed after fixing electricity supply to Kinniya. Colleague injured. EPDP news suspected LTTE.1261
- 28 November 2003, Trincomalee: 3 Muslim farmers hacked to death in Nadu Ootrur, Kinniya while guarding paddy fields. There was 1 survivor and/or 2 other civilians accompanying the victims were abducted. Witness and EPDP news suspected LTTE.1262

Attacks on Muslim people continued sporadically in 2004 and 2005. There were a significant number of attacks in late 2005 and early 2006, most of which were blamed on the LTTE. Below is a sample:

- 4 or 5 October 2005, Ampara: Muslim trader shot dead, companion injured or killed in Kalmunai. According to some reports, LTTE suspected.1263
- 18 November 2005, Ampara: 2 grenades thrown into mosque in Akkaraiapattu. Between 3 and 6 killed and between 15 and 30 injured. SLFP and OHCHR suspected LTTE, but LTTE denied involvement and blamed Karuna Group.1264
- 20 November 2005, Batticaloa: 2 Muslim civilians shot dead at home. One of them ran agency sending workers to Middle East. GoSL blamed LTTE.1265
- 3 December 2005, Trincomalee: 4 Muslim cattle grazers, who were in uncleared areas gathering firewood, were abducted. 3 bodies found on 4 December 2005 with signs of torture. Fourth man found injured.1266
- 3 December 2005, Trincomalee: 2 Tamil men allegedly assaulted Muslim man, seriously injuring him. He was hospitalised and possibly died. ‘Mob’ of Muslims then assaulted 2 Tamil men, who later died. 1 Tamil and 1 Muslim were injured. SLA sent troops to area.1267
- 10 February 2006, Ampara: Muslim farmer shot dead. SLFP blamed LTTE.1268

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1256 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 17’ above n 716.
1257 Ibid.
1258 ‘Muslims claim LTTE atrocities continue, threaten to take up arms’, The Island, 29 January 2004.
1267 ‘Tamils, Muslims Clash in Sri Lankan City Leaving At Least Two Dead; Troops Deployed’, Associated Press, 3 December 2005.
Public violence, IEDs and grenade attacks

Despite the CFA, there were still incidents of large-scale public violence that caused civilian casualties and mass displacement, including protests, IED attacks and grenade attacks. The following incidents do not include incidents of Tamil-Muslim protests and public violence, which are described above (see ‘Attacks on Muslim people’ sub-section).

Examples in 2002 include:

• 9 October 2002, Ampara: 7 or 8 killed and 14 or 15 injured when 500 to 1000 people approached Kanjirankudah STF camp south of Thirukkovil. Crowd reportedly threw stones, burned tyres, fired shots, broke camp fence and burned 2 SLPF stations, all possibly in response to alleged SLPF killing of 2 Tamil or LTTE men. Some demonstrators may have been LTTE or were dressed in similar clothes. STF reportedly used tear gas, rubber bullets and live bullets, and dragged bodies into camp following shooting. Committee of Inquiry, headed by Air Vice Marshall Harry Goonetilleke, found the STF officers fired in self-defence. However, some criticised this finding.1271

• 11 October 2002, Trincomalee: between 2 and 4 Tamil civilians killed and 20 or 34 injured in grenade explosion. Circumstances unclear, but some reports suggested explosion was connected to clash between Tamil and Sinhalese two days prior.1273

There were a small number of grenade attacks reported at the end of 2003:

• 23 November 2003, Trincomalee: small number of people killed in grenade explosion in Faisalnagar, Kinniya or Saifal town, China Bay.1274

• 24 November 2003, Trincomalee: hand grenade thrown at truck carrying vegetables from Dambulla to Chinabary or in Kochchakodithive in Kinniya SLPF area. Between 1 and 3 killed, 2 or 3 injured. Sources in UTHR blamed LTTE.1275

There was also notable unrest around LTTE Heroes Week celebrations in 2004. For example:

• 29 November 2004, Trincomalee: 1 killed, 3 injured after grenade hurled at bus. Attack occurred during LTTE hartal to protest disruption of Heroes Week commemorations. Bus had allegedly defied call to strike.1276

• 29 November 2004, Trincomalee: tour guide from Kandy abducted from Sampalthivu. 30 November 2017, found dead and van found burned. Van had allegedly been stopped by Tamils, 2 Tamils accompanying him in van were chased away. Occurred during LTTE hartal to protest against disruption of Heroes Week commemorations.1277

Towards the end of 2005, there was increasing unrest. For example, protests over a new SLPF checkpoint turned violent, as did protests in response to a new statue of Buddha in Trincomalee:

• 9 or 10 May 2005, Batticaloa: 1 killed, 3 injured, (including 1 or 2 SLPF, or 2 SLPF and 1 SLA) when demonstrators were fired on. Demonstrators had allegedly stoned SFs jeep/stoned SLA soldiers and SLPF in protest over new SLPF checkpoint. SLA or SLPF blamed for shooting. SLPF allegedly fired into air, and civilians were killed and injured when bullet reflected off object.1278

• 17 or 18 May 2005, Trincomalee: Hindu Tamils protested and went on strike in response to statue of Buddha that was erected near bus stand. Protests continued until at least 18 May 2005. 1 man killed, between 3 and 5 injured by grenade thrown into vegetable shop. Grenades thrown into other stores owned by Buddhists, with total of 9 explosions throughout Trincomalee.1279
24 December 2005, Trincomalee: lower courts ruled that Buddha statue (mentioned above) was illegally installed on Urban Council property. However, statue remained with significant security, which brought waves of protests against increased SFs presence. An attack on SFs personnel brought about reprisals on Tamil civilians. Sinhalese businessman killed.1280

In late 2005, there was an increase in the use of grenades and landmines, blamed on a number of different actors. For example:

- 1 September 2005, Batticaloa: 3 killed, 38 injured in grenade attack on funeral house. Cause of attack unclear – possibly religious clash, or conflict among auxiliaries of LTTE Vanni faction.1281
- 28 September 2005, Batticaloa: security guard killed when 2 grenades thrown at TRO office. SLPF blamed “unidentified attackers”.1282
- 6 October 2005, Batticaloa: 8 or 9 civilians injured by grenade thrown at SLA water-distribution machine at Vipulananda junction in Valaichchenai. SFs blamed LTTE.1283
- 11 November 2005, Batticaloa: landmine exploded at Kirimichchai, Vakarai. Two Muslim timber workers killed. 4 timber workers injured. Target was allegedly LTTE cadres travelling southwards.1284
- 19 January 2006, Trincomalee: mine attack injured 13 people, including 2 SLN, 1 SLPF. GoSL suspected LTTE.1285

As noted above, by early 2006, the political situation was rapidly deteriorating. On 20 April 2006, the LTTE withdrew from a series of peace talks. There was extensive public violence before and after this occurrence, for example:

- 11 April 2006, Trincomalee: landmine blew up bus of off-duty SLN personnel in convoy of 7 buses. 10 SLN officers and civilian bus driver killed. 4 civilians, including British aid worker and her family, injured when bus drove into their van. LTTE denied responsibility, blamed Tamil Resurgence Force.1286
- 10 or 12 June 2006, Trincomalee: between 4 and 17 civilians killed in bicycle bomb explosion at vegetable market. GoSL and SLA blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement.1287
- 10 or 12 or 14 June 2006, Trincomalee: Sinhalese ‘mobs’ rioted in response to market bomb attack, targeting Tamil shops and homes. Between 9 and 20 civilians killed, 40 or 50 injured. SFs and SLPF allegedly did not attempt to stop violence for 2 hours. 3000 to 20,000 people, mostly Tamils, displaced by violence.1288
- 12 April 2006: during riots, 4 women visited shop that came under attack. Women taken away in van, reportedly robbed and raped.1289
- 13 or 14 April 2006, Trincomalee: Sinhalese civilian stabbed to death while selling bread. Some reports blamed LTTE. Some alleged that killing triggered further attacks.1290
- 14 April 2006: approximately 50 Sinhalese people assaulted Tamils and set fire to over 100 Tamil houses. SLA allegedly assisted. Sinhalese ‘mobs’ also attacked, burnt down Nadeswarar Sivan temple. Woman dragged out of temple and hacked to death.1291

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In response to these and other retaliatory attacks (including killing of two people) in Trincomalee, over 2400 Tamils fled homes and sought refuge in schools in Palaiottru and Peeliaddy.1292 Continuing examples of attacks and retaliatory violence in April 2006 include:

- 15 to 20 April 2006, Trincomalee: following suicide bombing at SLA headquarters, Sinhalese ‘mobs’ went to Trincomalee town square. 20 killed, 48 injured, raped and thousands reportedly displaced. Tamil-owned shops set on fire.1293
- 21 April 2006, Trincomalee: mine exploded in Serunuwara village or Dehiwatte, killing local guard and injuring SLPF officer. Pair had been checking area for mines at the time. SFs blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement.1294
- 21 April 2006, Trincomalee: SLPF vehicle responding to mine explosion was hit by landmine explosion. Either 2 killed and 2 injured, or 4 injured.1295
- 21 to 23 April 2006, Trincomalee: Sinhalese locals responded with public violence towards Tamil villages. 1 person killed, injured, several houses burned.1296
- Late April 2006, Trincomalee: about 400 persons left homes near Muttur following LTTE attack on nearby Sinhalese village that was followed by SFs-backed reprisals against Tamils. Villagers from Bharathipuram, for instance, fled after about 35 Sinhalese civilians attacked village, killing 1 young man, sexually harassing women, looting and burning about 30 houses and shops. Eyewitnesses claimed SLA closed entrance to village and watched while attack occurred.1297

IED attacks continued from May to July 2006. For example:

- 1 May 2006, Trincomalee: bicycle bomb exploded, 3 or 4 members of passing family killed, 1 or 2 SLN sailor(s) passing by on patrol killed. Between 1 and 4 civilians injured, and a few SLN personnel. SFs blamed LTTE.1298
- 3 July 2006, Trincomalee: remote-controlled bomb inside 3-wheel taxi detonated. Some SFs members and 1 civilian killed. 11 or 14 injured, including passengers in nearby bus. 2 shops destroyed. SFs blamed LTTE.1299

There were also reported cases of attacks (with no fatalities) on international agency offices and the SLMM.

- 13 or 14 January 2006, Batticaloa: bomb/grenade exploded in parking area of SLMM office. 3 or 4 SLM vehicles damaged. MoD and SLPF blamed LTTE. SLMM concluded neither SFs nor LTTE responsible, claiming that both parties were supportive of their work.1300

- 21 May 2006, Trincomalee: grenade attacks on offices of 3 international NGOs in Muttur (Nonviolent Peaceforce, InterSOS, and ZOA IDP Care Netherlands). 1 Serbian staff member, Fabijan Perisic and 2 passing civilians injured. SFs blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement.1301

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Shelling

Conflict across the country intensified following an April 2006 attempted suicide attack on the SLA Commander General Fonseka in Colombo. Shelling between the SLA and LTTE continued in areas under LTTE control in the East, killing and injuring civilians. For example:

- 25 and 26 April 2006, Trincomalee: SFs shelled LTTE-held area in Sampur or Muttur. Between 4 and 17 civilians killed. Between 14 and 40 injured. School was also hit. Thousands of people displaced as a result of fighting.\textsuperscript{1302}

- 25 April 2006, Trincomalee: 3 civilians killed, 11 injured in mortar attack on Thakwanagar SLN ship in Muttur, Trincomalee. SFs blamed LTTE.\textsuperscript{1303}


22 February 2002 – 20 July 2006

Northern Province

The majority of incidents in the Northern Province were targeted killings and disappearances, which became increasingly common in 2005 and 2006. This ‘spiralling crisis of political killings’ was fuelled by the 2004 LTTE-Karuna split, an extended state of emergency implemented by the GoSL in 2005, and increasing GoSL-LTTE tension following the 2005 elections.

The main reported trends in this ‘crisis’ were intergroup attacks on perceived affiliates of rival Tamil groups; LTTE targeting of ‘dissident’ Tamil civilians; and SFs attacks on any civilian suspected of LTTE affiliation.

The other dominant incident pattern in this period was the conscription of child soldiers. According to Human Rights Watch, the ceasefire provided the LTTE with an opportunity to expand child soldier recruitment, as they had access to ‘cleared areas’ formerly controlled by the GoSL. LTTE control over administrative functions in the North-East may also have facilitated recruitment.

Killings and disappearances (factional)

Victims in this section were killed or disappeared by Tamil groups based on alleged or suspected political affiliation with rival groups. Most of these cases were reported by various news sources and UTHR. The LTTE was blamed for the majority of reported cases; however, in some cases, they publicly denied responsibility and blamed the SLA or rival factions. Most victims were EPDP affiliates, with about one-third as many PLOTE victims and a handful of targets from the EPRLF, TELO and unspecified Tamil groups.

Incidents were only included where victims did not appear to fulfil a military function at the time (eg supporters, former members or expressly identified civilian members).

Most of these attacks occurred in 2005 and 2006. While few incidents in the North involved the Karuna Group, reporting linked a range of factional attacks to the aftermath of the 2004 LTTE-Karuna split.

Some high-profile cases involved politicians, election candidates and government servants who were killed or disappeared by rival groups. For example:

- 13 or 14 June 2003, Jaffna: sniper killed Deputy Leader of EPRLF(V), Thambirajah/Kandiah Subathiran. The EPRLF, GoSL and other blamed the LTTE. Witnesses suspected Easwaran, an LTTE leader.
- 7 October 2005, Jaffna: employee at Hindu Affairs ministry shot dead. Victim had worked under allegedly pro-LTTE UNP minister Mr. Maheswaran, and then under EPDP minister Mr. Devananda. Some reported the LTTE was responsible.

1306 HRW, ‘Living in Fear’, above n 37.
• 23 April 2006, Jaffna: Nagamuthu Thiruchelvam, Deputy Chairman of EPDP who controlled local council in Kayts, shot dead. Ellalan Padai, an LTTE ‘front’ organization, allegedly claimed responsibility.1310
• 29 May 2006, Jaffna: Michael Jesudasan, former EPDP member or EPDP member running for election, shot dead at Navanthurai. LTTE. Victim had allegedly received threats from LTTE in month prior to incident.1311
• 12 July 2006, Jaffna: Sebastian Iruthayarajan, a PLOTE politician, candidate for municipal elections and Jaffna Municipal Council member, was shot dead. GoSL and PLOTE suspected LTTE.1312
• 12 December 2005, Vavuniya: Sinnathamby Ganeshalingam, senior PLOTE central committee member, was abducted. GoSL blamed LTTE.1313

Many lower-profile victims were supporters/sympathisers of Tamil groups. For example:
• 24 September 2004, Jaffna: EPDP supporter abducted and killed.1314
• 19 November 2004, Jaffna: gunmen shot at football match at Sithampara Grounds or Vallivetthurai, killing 2 players and injuring 1. Injured victim, who was reportedly target of attack, was either EPDP member or had been threatened by LTTE due to suspected EPDP links, subsequently seeking protection from SLMM. EPDP blamed LTTE, LTTE denied responsibility and blamed SLA.1315
• 11 or 12 October 2005, Jaffna: school principal shot dead. Victim was either an alleged LTTE supporter or was opposed to LTTE use of child soldiers. EPDP blamed LTTE, LTTE blamed EPDP and SLA, GoSL suspected LTTE.1316

Current group members/supporters in civilian professions were also targeted. For example:
• 12 October 2005, Jaffna: Jaffna Central College principal shot dead, reportedly as reprisal for killing of another school principal the day before. Victim was allegedly EPDP member who opposed LTTE. LTTE blamed.1317
• 5 January 2006, Jaffna: employee of Point Pedro public library or Point Pedro Urban Council was abducted from home/killed when returning home. LTTE media associated victim with EPDP.1318

A small number of current members/supporters engaged in non-militant activities, such as distributing newspapers or leaflets, were subject to attack. For example:
• 22 September 2003, Vavuniya: EPDP member abducted, beaten and warned not to distribute EPDP leaflets. Released through SLMM. LTTE blamed.1319
• 28 July 2005, Jaffna: person shot dead while selling EPDP newspapers. GoSL suspected LTTE.1320
• 1 June 2006, Vavuniya/Batticaloa: 2 EPDP members shot dead while distributing party newspapers. GoSL suspected LTTE, but LTTE denied involvement.1321

Former group members were often targeted. According to UTHR, even individuals who had long since left rival groups and were living civilian lives were vulnerable to LTTE attack.1322 For example:
• 12 August 2003, Kilinochchi: former TELO member disappeared after leaving Vavuniya to travel to Killinochchi. Unidentified sources in UTHR suspected LTTE.1323

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1310 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.
1314 ICI, Sri Lanka: Human rights organisations urge visiting Tamil Tiger delegation to end killings and recruitment of child soldiers, (Press release, 6 October 2004).
1318 ‘Municipal council labor cut and killed’, Vijayapura, 1 July 2006; UTHR, ‘Special Report No 20’ above n 1202.
1319 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 17’ above n 716.
1323 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 17’ above n 716.
• 16 or 17 September 2005, Vavuniya: former EPRLF member shot dead. SLA blamed LTTE, while LTTE and victim’s friends denied LTTE responsibility and blamed EPDP.1324
• 16 January 2006, Jaffna: former EPDP member, who left 5 years ago, shot dead. Some reported LTTE may have been responsible.1325
• 23 April 2006, Jaffna: former PLOTE member shot dead in Navanthurai. LTTE blamed.1326

In addition to targeted killings and disappearances, there were also several attacks on rival political offices in this period.

**Killings and disappearances**

The majority of killings and disappearances in this section occurred in Jaffna in 2006, when the political situation had begun to deteriorate prior to the outbreak of active conflict. Enhanced SFs powers under the extended state of emergency declared in 2005 exacerbated this trend, as did increased LTTE restrictions on life in the Vanni.

Most victims were civilians with no reported political affiliation, who were directly shot and killed. There was usually no reported reason for the killing. Cases were reported by a variety of news sources, NGO reports and the MoD. For example:

• 29 August 2003, Vavuniya: man shot dead in Pandarikulam. Body chopped up. LTTE blamed.1327
• 27 September 2005, Jaffna: person shot dead in Pommaiveli. LTTE blamed.1328
• 28 December 2005, Jaffna: 16 yo. girl shot dead in her house in Kodikamam. Armed Tamil-speakers blamed.1329
• 9 January 2006, Jaffna: person shot dead on Adiapatham Road. LTTE blamed.1330
• 16 January 2006, Jaffna: person shot dead in Urumpirai. LTTE blamed.1331

In April, May and July 2006, as the country descended into active conflict, general killings and disappearances occurred almost daily. Some reportedly occurred as reprisals for LTTE attacks, although reports did not suggest that the victims of these killings were connected with the attackers or with the LTTE. Unless specified otherwise, UTHR reported the allegations of blame for attacks. For example:

• 22 April 2006, Jaffna: president of Auto Drivers’ Association and another person shot dead at Nelliady. GoSL blamed.1333
• 24 April 2006, Jaffna: bus driver shot dead in Chavakachcheri. SLA blamed. 1 hour earlier in same location, SLA soldier allegedly shot dead by LTTE.1334
• 29 April 2006, Jaffna: 74 yo. shot dead in Allaipiddy. SLN blamed, allegedly entered houses in area and beat residents in response to LTTE mine attack.1335
• 3 May 2006, Vavuniya: 3 bodies found dumped. Victims blindfolded, hands tied, gunshot and stab wounds. SLPF suspected LTTE.1336
• 8 May 2006, Jaffna: civilian 3-wheeler driver shot dead in Thirunelvely. SFs blamed LTTE.1337
• 10 May 2006, Mullaitivu: 2 Tamil civilians, employees at Forestry Resources Protection Unit, found shot dead in jungle. LTTE suggested that SLA-backed paramilitary group was responsible, but SLA denied involvement.1338
• 14 May 2006, Jaffna: Civilian from Kadirippai killed. GoSL blamed LTTE.1339

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1326 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.
1327 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 17’ above n 716.
1329 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 20’ above n 1202.
1330 Ibid.
1331 Ibid.
1332 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.
1333 Ibid.
1334 Ibid.
1335 Ibid.
In some cases, a reason for the targeted attack was provided. One of the main reasons was perceived civilian resistance to the LTTE. Many of these civilian ‘dissidents’ were businesspeople who refused to comply with LTTE rules on store closure, permits, ransom payments and taxes. All except one of the examples below were blamed on the LTTE; however, the Sunday Leader claimed that Tamil businesspeople were also targeted by EPDP members but did not provide any individual examples of cases.\textsuperscript{1340}

Examples include:

- 13 March 2004, Jaffna: shop-owner killed at Vellai Moor, allegedly because he opposed frequent closures imposed by LTTE. LTTE blamed.\textsuperscript{1344}
- 3 October 2005, Jaffna: jewellery shop owner shot dead. GoSL blamed LTTE. Victim had allegedly refused to pay ransom, and may have been opposed to LTTE.\textsuperscript{1342}
- 3 October 2005, Jaffna: labourer killed at Kudathanai. GoSL blamed LTTE. Victim had allegedly failed to obtain permit from LTTE to dig for sand.\textsuperscript{1343}
- 24 March 2006, Vavuniya: Tamil businessman killed at his shop. GoSL suspected LTTE, while TamilNet blamed ‘armed Tamil groups’. Victim allegedly refused to pay LTTE/armed opponents money.\textsuperscript{1344}
- 14 April 2006, Jaffna: street hawker shot dead. UTHR cited unidentified sources blamed LTTE. Victim allegedly met with LTTE regarding taxes, refused to pay.\textsuperscript{1345}
- 30 April 2006, Jaffna: Tamil civilian bus driver shot dead, allegedly because he refused to run bus between Jaffna and Muhamalai. GoSL blamed LTTE. ‘LTTE front’ may have claimed responsibility.\textsuperscript{1346}

Dissidents also included civilians with reputed ties to SFs, or those who engaged in ‘anti-social activities’. For example:

- 16 May 2004, Jaffna: male killed in Jaffna town. In note near body, Ellalan Force claimed responsibility, accusing him and 5 others abducted with him of ‘anti-social activities.’\textsuperscript{1347}
- 14 or 15 September 2005, Jaffna: Hindu priest shot dead. GoSL blamed LTTE. Victim and his father allegedly had close relations with SLA.\textsuperscript{1348}
- 16 November 2005, Jaffna: male publicly beaten to death at Kokkuvil Hindu College football field, allegedly due to ‘anti-social activities.’ LTTE confirmed that ‘Culture Police’ killed him as he had refused to work for LTTE.\textsuperscript{1349}
- 23 July 2006, Jaffna: Tamil civilian killed, may have been SFs informant. GoSL blamed LTTE.\textsuperscript{1350}

Another main reason for targeted attacks, in this case mostly blamed on SFs, was perceived LTTE affiliation. According to Human Rights Watch, anyone who expressed non-violent criticism of the GoSL was branded as an LTTE supporter/sympathiser.\textsuperscript{1351} Even civilians with LTTE family members were vulnerable to attack. For example:

- 1 December 2005, Jaffna: 2 men shot dead, 1 injured at tea boutique in Neervely. Bodies dumped. Victims were Tamil farmers and/or LTTE members or sympathisers. TNA accused SLA and ‘pro-GoSL political party’ of killings, but they both denied involvement. LTTE blamed SFs Intelligence.\textsuperscript{1352}
- 2 December 2005: In response to killing, Tamil National Awakening Forum organised protests and strike. Stores, schools, banks and GoSL offices closed. Protesters threw grenades at SLA checkpoints, SFs fired at assailants. 4 civilians injured, but SLA denied that they were injured by SLA gunfire.\textsuperscript{1353}

\textsuperscript{1340} ‘Tiger supporters get taste of own medicine’, The Sunday Leader, 29 January 2006.
\textsuperscript{1341} UTHR, ‘Information Bulletin No. 35’, above n 1164.
\textsuperscript{1343} ‘LTTE stepping up its own agenda’, The Sunday Times, 9 October 2005.
\textsuperscript{1345} UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.
\textsuperscript{1347} UTHR, ‘Information Bulletin No. 36’, above n 1208.
\textsuperscript{1349} UTHR, ‘Special Report No 20’, above n 1202.
\textsuperscript{1351} HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
\textsuperscript{1353} ‘Tamil City of Jaffna Paralyzed by Strike After Two Killed’, Associated Press, 2 December 2005.
• 22 December 2005, Jaffna: member of Tamil Resurgence Movement committee and an organiser of Tamil Resurgence rallies shot dead. LTTE suspected SLA.1354
• 14 January 2006, Jaffna: mechanic and alleged LTTE supporter abducted and shot dead in Suruvil.1355
• 14 or 16 January 2006, Jaffna: 3 members of Bojan family, including actress Bojan Renuka, killed, 2 injured when attackers entered home in Manniyar. SLA, SFs intelligence operatives, LTTE, EPDP and other pro-Tamil groups all accused of killings. Some claimed SLA and EPDP (or another ‘pro-Tamil’ group) worked together. 3 victims were allegedly family members of LTTE member who was killed in action. Bojan Renuka reportedly acted in film produced by LTTE.1356
• 16 January 2006, Jaffna: two barbers shot dead. They allegedly boasted of LTTE connections and were reportedly related to LTTE spokesmen S.P. Tamichelvan. UTHR blamed SFs Intelligence.1357
• 26 April 2006, Jaffna: male shot dead outside Chavakachcheri market after release from SLA detention. He was detained by SLA following raid on market, and had allegedly participated in LTTE demonstrations. Gunmen spoke Tamil and wore civilian clothing.1358
• 26 April 2006, Jaffna: male shot dead. GoSL suspected. Victim’s elder brother reportedly had links to LTTE, but victim himself allegedly had no political affiliation.1359

A few killings and disappearances targeted current or former SLPF officers. For example:
• 4 January 2004, Vavuniya: off-duty SLPF constable Jeyam shot dead.1360
• 4 or 27 August 2005, Jaffna: SLPF Superintendent Charles Wijewardena killed in Inuvil. He had been called to investigate an allegedly accidental SLA shooting in barber shop. On arrival, he was taken hostage by ‘mob’ or was asked to speak with protesters in nearby house, where he was abducted. Body later found with evidence of torture. SFs blamed ‘Tamil mob’ encouraged/organised by LTTE.1361
• 11 or 13 April 2006, Jaffna: retired SLPF sergeant abducted and killed in Chavakachcheri/called out of home and shot. Sunday Times reported that LTTE and ‘rival groups’ were believed to be responsible.1362
• 22 May 2006, Jaffna: Muslim former SLPF constable killed in Kopay. GoSL blamed LTTE.1363

Sexual and gender-based violence
There were only three incidents of SGBV in the database in this period. However, as mentioned previously, this is not representative of the actual number of SGBV cases. Two reported cases were relatively high profile and led to public protests.
• 5 March 2005, Mannar: after about 50 IDPs on Indian fishing boats were dropped on sand bank off Talaimannar, 5 men robbed them, sexually assaulted some of the women. UTHR blamed SLN. 1 victim went to SLN camp and identified sailor. Sinhalese fishermen or smugglers also suspected.1364
• 28 October 2005, Jaffna: 16 yo. Tamil girl was victim to attempted rape in Puttur East village. Local residents accused SLA soldier, but SLA denied allegation.1365
• 28 October 2005, Jaffna: after residents accused SLA soldier of the attempted rape above, ‘hundreds’ of people protested at SLA camp. Suspected LTTE threw 3 hand grenades into camp, after which SLA shot at protesters, killing 1 and injuring 2. SLA confirmed casualties, claimed they shot in self-defense.1366

1359 Ibid.
1360 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.
1361 Ibid.
1364 Ibid.
• 15 or 16 December 2005, Jaffna: Tamil woman Ilayatamby Tharsini (various spellings) was raped, stabbed and strangled to death in Pungudutivu (various spellings). Body thrown into well. SLN blamed. Case scheduled for court proceedings several times in 2006, but continually postponed.1367

• 18 or 19 December 2005, Jaffna: following rape and killing of Ilayatamby Tharsini, University of Jaffna students protested against SLA harassment and assault. Students and professors sought to deliver petition appealing to SLMM. Protesters stopped by SLA near Parameshwara Junction, where they threw stones at SLA. SLA retaliated by beating students and professors and firing shots into air, on ground and at ice cream shop. At least 7, 15 or up to 100 people injured, including at least 25 students and Vice Chancellor. SLA spokesman denied students were fired at or injured, claimed students were incited by LTTE. Students may have been organised by ‘Gajendran’, an LTTE ‘front figure’/TNA politician.1368

Child abduction and recruitment

The majority of publicly reported child conscription cases in the North occurred in 2002 and 2003, with a relatively large number of cases in 2004 and only a handful in 2005 and 2006. This reflects both actual trends and the timing of reporting – as noted above, there was limited public reporting on individual cases. For example, Amnesty International published a communiqué on child soldiers in March 2002, which was the source for over half of the 2002 child soldiers cases in the database. These include:

• 24 February 2002, Vavuniya: student at Tamil Maha Vidiyalam and 3 others recruited. EPRLF (Premachandran faction) members blamed.1369

• 25 February 2002, Vavuniya: 2 15 yo. students from Tharanikulam, Sasthreekulankulam, disappeared. Suspected to have been recruited by LTTE with 2 other unnamed minors.1370

• 26 February 2002, Vavuniya: 14 yo. disappeared from Poonthotam IDP camp. LTTE blamed.1371

• 28 February 2002, Vavuniya: 16 yo. disappeared from Poonthotam IDP camp. LTTE blamed.1372

Nearly all of the cases in the database in 2003 were reported by UTHR Special Report No. 17. These included:

• 2 May 2003, Jaffna: 16 yo. abducted from Bankshall Street. LTTE blamed.1373

• 25 July 2003, Jaffna: 17 yo. abducted from Kalviyankadu. LTTE blamed.1374

• 28 July 2003, Vavuniya: 10 yo. abducted from Poonthottam Welfare Centre to Maharambaikulam. LTTE blamed.1375

Or:

• 17 September 2003, Jaffna: 17 yo. abducted from Sandilipay. LTTE blamed, told victim’s mother that she could see him after he finished training.1376

• 17 September 2003, Jaffna: 14 or 16 yo. disappeared from Chavakachcheri. Relative who was in LTTE allegedly saw victim in Vanni.1377

• On/around 24 September 2003, Jaffna: 17 yo. abducted from Manipay. LTTE blamed.1378

• On/around 24 September 2003, Jaffna: 16 yo. abducted from Allarai. LTTE blamed.1379

• 27 September 2003, Vavuniya: two 14 yo. students of Rambaikulam Vidyalayam in Poonthottam were abducted. LTTE blamed.1380


1370 Ibid.

1371 Ibid.

1372 Ibid.


1374 Ibid.

1375 Ibid.

1376 Ibid.

1377 Ibid.

1378 Ibid.

1379 Ibid.

1380 Ibid.
In 2004, the LTTE defeated Colonel Karuna’s troops in the Eastern Province. 2,000 children who fought with Karuna were demobilised. However, according to reports, the Vanni LTTE soon began to target them for re-recruitment.\textsuperscript{1381}

UTHR also reported nearly all the 2004 and 2005 child soldier cases in the database. These include:

- 28 January 2004, Vavuniya: 15 yo. abducted from Kalmadu. LTTE blamed.\textsuperscript{1382}
- 3 May 2004, Mannar: 15 yo. abducted. LTTE blamed. Father filed complaint with SLPF, but LTTE allegedly warned him not to pursue it.\textsuperscript{1383}
- 3 May 2004, Vavuniya: 6 children aged 13 to 17 yo. abducted from Maharambakulam. LTTE blamed.\textsuperscript{1384}
- 3 May 2004, Vavuniya: 4 children aged 13 to 17 yo. abducted from Poonthottam IDP Camp while on their way to class. LTTE blamed.\textsuperscript{1385}

And:

- 1 February 2005, Mannar or Vavuniya: 13 yo. girl from Kovil Veethy abducted. LTTE blamed. Around this time, LTTE allegedly visited houses in suburbs of Mannar and conscripted children.\textsuperscript{1386}
- 18 March 2005, Jaffna: 14 yo. abducted, allegedly at LTTE sentry point at Palakkadu. LTTE member Soundararajah Gunam blamed, told victim’s mother that each home had to contribute one fighter for ‘final battle’.\textsuperscript{1387}

The only publicly reported case in 2006 was the killing of a child soldier in June, when hostilities were escalating prior to the outbreak of open conflict.

- 17 June 2006, Kilinochchi: 15 yo. boy killed in GoSL and LTTE zone of separation, close to Muhamalai checkpoint. Boy carried pictures of himself in LTTE uniform. 3 SLA soldiers reportedly admitted to killing.\textsuperscript{1388}

**Release of child soldiers**

As mentioned earlier, in 2002 the LTTE made a public pledge to end child recruitment and release all children.\textsuperscript{1389} In 2003, the LTTE and GoSL agreed on the Action Plan for Children Affected by War, which set up three transit centres for children who were released. Following these agreements, child soldiers were released periodically in Kilinochchi. For example:

- 3 October 2003, Kilinochchi: LTTE released 49 children to transit home in Kilinochchi, facilitated by UNICEF. LTTE claimed children had been with them for 4 to 6 months, but had not been deployed in combat.\textsuperscript{1390}
- 3 weeks prior to 17 February 2004, Kilinochchi: 33 children released over 3 weeks to UNICEF transit home. LTTE claimed they were going through UNICEF list and would release any members discovered to be underage.\textsuperscript{1391}
- 17 July 2005, Kilinochchi: 9 child soldiers released. LTTE claimed children had lied about age.\textsuperscript{1392}
- 28 February 2006, Kilinochchi: LTTE released 20 underage combatants, who allegedly lied about ages to join LTTE.\textsuperscript{1393}

Despite these releases, child conscription appeared to continue. In November 2004, Human Rights Watch reported that since the Action Plan was signed, twice as many children were recruited as the number of children released.\textsuperscript{1394}

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\textsuperscript{1381} UNSC 2006 Report, UN Doc S/2006/1006.
\textsuperscript{1382} UTHR, ‘Information Bulletin No. 35’, above n 1164.
\textsuperscript{1383} UTHR, ‘Information Bulletin No. 36’, above n 1208.
\textsuperscript{1384} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1385} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1386} Ibid. 'Special Report No 18', above n 125.
\textsuperscript{1387} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1388} UNSC 2006 Report, UN Doc S/2006/1006.
\textsuperscript{1389} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1392} ‘Sri Lanka Tigers free nine child soldiers’, Agence France-Presse, 18 July 2005.
\textsuperscript{1393} ‘Tamil Tiger Rebels Say 20 Child Soldiers Released’, Agence France-Presse, 1 March 2006.
\textsuperscript{1394} HRW, ‘Complicit in Crime’, above n 1159.
Village raids and other group attacks

Almost all reported attacks on villages or groups of people occurred in 2006, except for one in 2003 and one in 2005. The majority were reported as SLN attacks on villages. In most of these cases, the SLN denied responsibility and blamed the LTTE. For example:

- 23 and 24 December 2005, Mannar: in an attack on Pesalai, villagers were beaten, 4 or 5 members of Tamil family killed, other civilians killed and burned, 2 to 4 civilians disappeared and 20 to 28 people hospitalised. Houses burned, gold looted. SLN blamed, but denied allegations. Attack was allegedly reprisal for LTTE landmine attack on SLN personnel on the same day.\[1395\]

- 12 or 13 May 2006, Jaffna: 8 to 13 Tamil civilians killed in Allaipiddy. Attackers shot victims and set fire to shop. 1 killed and 1 injured. Villagers blamed SLN and EPDP, LTTE blamed SLN, SLN blamed LTTE and EPDP, and EPDP denied the incident occurred. On or around 19 May 2006, 1 or more SLN were convicted of homicide. 2 other villages on Kayts were also attacked: Puliyankudal and Velanai.\[1396\]

The remaining attacks all targeted fishermen:

- 20 or 21 March 2006, Mullaitivu: Chinese fishing boat attacked and sunk off Mullaitivu coast. 15 Chinese and 2 Sinhalese fishermen killed. Survivors blamed LTTE, LTTE denied responsibility and blamed SLN.\[1397\]

- 30 April 2006, Mullaitivu: Kokkilai village attacked from boat, fishermen on shore shot or hit with mortar. 1 to 2 civilians killed, 2 to 3 injured. SLPF and witnesses blamed LTTE members, who possibly shot from boat with white flag, apparently aiming at SLA post.\[1398\]

- 17 June 2006, Mannar: 1 to 6 fisherman shot dead on beach in Pesalai. 1 body found burned in boat. 1 fisherman may have survived with injuries. 31 others may have been injured. SLN/SFs blamed.\[1399\]

Attacks on media and NGO personnel and offices

All reported attacks on NGOs targeted de-mining groups. The de-mining charity Halo Trust was attacked twice – damage but no casualties were reported in both cases.\[1400\] Employees of the Danish Demining Group were also targeted:

- 1 January 2006, Jaffna: 2 employees of Danish Demining Group were abducted. Witnesses claimed they were put into SLA truck by attackers speaking Tamil. SLPF, SLA denied responsibility and SLA post.\[1401\]

All attacks on the media targeted Tamil daily Uthayan:

- 23 June 2006, Jaffna: editor of Uthayan newspaper K. Kumaranadis detained. SLPF blamed. Unclear if/when released.\[1402\]

- 2 May 2006: attack on Uthayan’s Jaffna office. 2 employees killed, 2 to 5 injured. SFs, LTTE and EPDP were variously accused.\[1403\]
Landmines, grenades and other IEDs

Prior to 2006, there were only a handful of grenade/landmine attacks recorded in the database, all targeting SLPF or SLA patrols and vehicles.1404

Starting in April 2006, there was a landmine (or sometimes grenade) attack almost every week. The majority, which were reported by a variety of news sources, and said to target SLPF or SLA patrols, vehicles or checkpoints, caused civilian casualties. For example, from 10 to 19 April:

- 10 April 2006, Jaffna: landmine explosion hit SLA van and Caritas vehicle, killing soldiers and 2 Caritas relief workers. SFs blamed LTTE, LTTE denied involvement. ‘Resurging People’s Force’ claimed responsibility.1405
- 17 April 2006, Jaffna: landmine killed 14 yo. and 30 y o. in Chavacheri. SLA blamed LTTE, claimed 14 yo. was used by LTTE to set up mine, which exploded accidentally.1406
- 17 April 2006, Vavuniya: 1 SLPF member killed after grenade fired into SLPF post. SLPF suspected LTTE.1407
- 19 April 2006, Vavuniya: 3 civilians (2 Sri Lankans, 1 South Korean businessman) injured when mine exploded after apparently missing SFs target. LTTE accused SFs.1408

In June, immediately prior to the outbreak of renewed, open conflict, there was a landmine attack almost every day. For example:

- 6 June 2006, Vavuniya: mine killed 2 SLPF officers and 1 civilian, injured 2 SLPF officers and 12 yo. civilian. GoSL blamed LTTE.1409
- 8 June 2006, Mannar: 2 Tamil civilians killed in mine explosion. LTTE blamed SLA, claiming mine intended to target LTTE leader but exploded prematurely. SLA denied claim.1410
- 11 June 2006, Jaffna: 1 SFs soldier and 9 or 10 civilians injured from hand grenade attack in Thirunelvely. GoSL blamed LTTE.1411
- 12 June 2006, Vavuniya: K. Paramanathan, senior GoSL bureaucrat/Nedunkerney Divisional Secretary, his driver and 4 others injured by landmine in Puliyankulam/Nedunkerney.1412

Human shields

There were two identical allegations of human shields use in 2006 (one on 24 June, one on 4 July). Both were reported in an MoD situation report, which alleged the LTTE used two children as human shields while throwing a grenade at SFs in Irupalai.1413

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1406 UTHR, ‘Special Report No 21’, above n 496.


Western Province

In this section:
- Killings and disappearances (factional)
- Killings and disappearances
- Mass arrests, detention and torture in custody
- Attacks on the media

The majority of incidents in the Western Province were political killings and disappearances. Notably, the 2005 assassination of Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar and 2006 attempted assassination of SLA Lieutenant Sarath Fonseka caused a nation-wide deterioration in the political situation.

Killings and disappearances (factional)

All of the publicly reported attacks involving members of rival Tamil groups in non-military roles occurred in Colombo. Most occurred in 2004, and may have been linked with factional fighting following the March 2004 LTTE-Karuna split. For example:

- 13 or 25 July 2004, Colombo: 7 to 8 people killed at safe house in Kottawa after being drugged. Victims were allegedly Karuna supporters, including Karuna Group treasurer Kuganesan and chief bodyguard Castro. Sunday Leader blamed LTTE. 1414
- 21 November 2004, Colombo: General Secretary of ENDLF Packianathan Rajarathnam (alias Mano) disappeared along with ‘youth’ who was accompanying him. Sunday Leader reported that LTTE was suspected. LTTE members had allegedly visited victim’s mother’s house prior to disappearance and demanded knowledge of his address. 1415

Two former PLOTE members were reportedly killed based on claims they worked for SFs Intelligence:

- 18 March 2003, Colombo: former PLOTE member who worked for Sri Lankan SFs Intelligence shot dead in Mt. Lavinia. Human Rights Watch cited report from ‘The Island’, which suspected Mylvaganam Sivakumar, head of LTTE intelligence. 1416
- 31 July 2004, Colombo: former PLOTE member shot dead. LTTE blamed. Tamilnet claimed victim worked for SFs Intelligence. SLA denied this. 1417

A few victims were journalists with political affiliations. It is unclear whether the killings were motivated by the victims’ journalism, their political affiliation, or both. A couple of the victims reportedly criticised the LTTE. Examples include:

- 10 or 16 August 2004, Colombo: Balanadarajah Iyer (various spellings), senior EPDP spokesman and reporter for Tamil weekly Thinamurasu, shot dead. SLPF, EPDP and other sources suspected LTTE. As a politician, victim was allegedly opposed to LTTE. The newspaper he worked for had been harassed by LTTE. 1418
- 12 August 2005, Colombo: Relangi Selvarajah, a Tamil journalist and TV presenter at Sri Lanka Broadcasting Cooperation, and husband Senathurai Selvarajah, were shot dead. Both were PLOTE supporters, and Relangi had criticised LTTE. GoSL blamed LTTE. 1419

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1416 HRW, ‘Political Killings During the Ceasefire’ above n 1175.
Several killings, including a suicide bombing, appeared to target EPDP Minister Douglas Devananda and his affiliates. For example:

- **7 July 2004**, Colombo: suicide bomber detonated in Kollupitiya SLPF station, killing 4 to 5 SLPF, injuring 10 to 12 people. Bomber intended to target Hindu Affairs Minister Douglas and had attempted to speak with Devananda, but was taken into custody after refusing body search. LTTE denied involvement and blamed ‘renegade guerrilla faction’. Devananda’s former employee arrested as accomplice.\(^\text{1420}\)

- **24 July 2006**, Colombo: public relations officer for EPDP Minister Douglas Devananda, shot dead. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^\text{1421}\)

**Killings and disappearances**

Prior to mid-2005, when conflict intensified in the North-East, the main incidents in this section were high-profile assassinations/attempted assassinations of political figures:

- **25 May 2003**, Colombo: M.K Ranjith, the Minister of Fisheries and Agriculture for Southern Province and member of People’s United Front, shot dead.\(^\text{1422}\)

- **27 March 2004**, Colombo: T. Maheswaran, former Hindu cultural affairs minister and UNF candidate for Colombo, shot and injured while canvassing at Ginthupitiya. SLPF blamed LTTE.\(^\text{1423}\)

- **5 June 2004**, Colombo: shooting at office of Deputy Sports Minister Sripathi Sooriyaarachchi resulted in killing of political supporter and bodyguard. Sooriyaarachchi unhurt.\(^\text{1424}\)

In mid-2005, general killings of civilians began to increase, for example:

- **6 June 2005**, Colombo: 2 men killed in Kochikade, shortly after arriving from North. SFs Intelligence suspected.\(^\text{1425}\)

- **7 June 2005**, Colombo: man shot dead in Wellawatte. SFs intelligence suspected. Unclear if victim had LTTE connections.\(^\text{1426}\)

On 12 August 2005, Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar, who successfully lobbied for the international designation of the LTTE as a terrorist group, was shot dead by snipers. The GoSL blamed the LTTE, but the LTTE denied responsibility.\(^\text{1427}\)

Sri Lanka’s ‘spiralling crisis of political killings’\(^\text{1428}\) intensified over the next 12 months, exacerbated by the state of emergency introduced after Kadirgamar’s killing, increasing GoSL-LTTE tension and factional fighting following the 2004 LTTE-Karuna split. A sample of killings included:

- **15 December 2005**, Colombo: Vice-Chancellor of Eastern University abducted and disappeared in High Security Zone. Editor of Asian Tribune claimed victim was killed following disappearance. On 20 September 2005, Karuna Group gunmen had demanded his resignation after abducting Dean of Arts Faculty. Vice Chancellor’s resignation was not accepted by university, but he worked from home in Colombo. Some in university claimed he supported LTTE, but family claimed he was apolitical. Most sources, including victim’s family members, blamed Karuna Group for disappearance. Karuna Group denied allegations and blamed LTTE.\(^\text{1429}\)

- **3 January 2006**, Colombo: Tamil businessman killed in Wellawatte. UTHR cited sources blaming SFs.\(^\text{1430}\)


\(^{1422}\) ‘Minister of Southern Province was shot and killed’, Valampuri, 26 May 2003.


\(^{1425}\) UTHR, ‘Information Bulletin No. 38’, above n 1214.

\(^{1426}\) Ibid.


6 or 8 February 2006, Colombo: Tamil businessman abducted in Wellawatte. 2 abductors were wearing uniforms similar to SLPF, and may have spoken Tamil.1431

26 April 2006, Colombo: man abducted near Colombo train station. CID had visited victim a few months earlier and asked his friends about him.1432

23 June 2006, Colombo: SLPF Senior Intelligence Officer shot dead at Dehiwala SLPF station. LTTE blamed.1433

1 or 2 July 2006, Colombo: freelance journalist killed in Dehiwala. He either left home to meet someone, or was abducted from home. 2 SLA lieutenants arrested. Victim had reportedly met with SLA contacts in days before death. At time of death, he was covering GoSL-LTTE conflict for weekly Sathdina.1444

In April 2006, a suicide bomb targeting SLA Lieutenant Sarath Fonseka led to further nation-wide destabilisation and militarisation:

• 25 April 2006, Colombo: suicide bomb detonated in SLA-held area near convoy carrying SLA Lieutenant Sarath Fonseka. 8 to 11 killed, 1 to 30 injured, including the Lieutenant. 1 to 3 of those killed were civilians. Anoja Kuanasara, suspected LTTE member, blamed.1435

Following the attack on Fonseka, SFs launched strikes on LTTE territory.1436 In June 2006, another suicide bomb killed the third-highest ranking SLA official:

• 26 June 2006, Colombo: suicide bomber rammed motorcycle into car carrying Parami Kulatunga, SLA Major General and Senior Intelligence Officer at Dehiwala SLPF station. LTTE blamed.

Mass arrests, detention and torture in custody

Prior to 2005, there were a small amount of cases of torture in custody recorded in the database,1438 although torture cases were often underreported throughout the conflict, and when reported, often did not have sufficient detail to include in the database.

Following the introduction of Emergency Regulations in 2005, there were several mass arrests:

• 31 December 2005, Colombo: SFs carrying automatic weapons arrested and detained 920 civilians in Tamil areas for questioning after they failed to produce national identity cards or a valid reason for staying in Colombo. 867 later released, 53 kept for further questioning, 5 of whom had suspected LTTE links. Others suspected of involvement criminal activities.1439

• 18 December 2005: SLPF officials searching for LTTE detained 107 Tamils. 101 released after relatives provided proof of identities.

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• 18 December 2005: SLPF officials searching for LTTE detained 107 Tamils. 101 released after relatives provided proof of identities. Remaining 6 stayed in detention and were interrogated, allegedly because they had no national identity card and could not explain presence in Colombo.1440
There was only one publicly reported case of torture in the database post-2005 in this province:

- 17 June 2006, Gampaha: man arrested, allegedly on suspicion of possessing explosives to use against SLN. Detained under 2005 Emergency Regulations. Tortured, sexually abused and forced to confess LTTE membership. Remained in detention at time of reporting.1441

**Attacks on the media**

- 30 November 2002, Colombo: editorial office of Navamani Tamil-language newspaper burnt in Kohuwela. The newspaper, run by Muslims, had been reporting on experience of Muslims in the East.1442
- 29 August 2005, Colombo: 2 grenades thrown at office of Tamil newspaper Sudar Oli. 1 security guard killed, 1 to 2 people injured, including proof-reader. Vehicles damaged.1443
- 16 October 2005, Colombo: Sunday Leader in Ratmalana attacked. Publications manager S.A. Dias hit by attackers, who stole his phone and burned large bundles of newspapers. Attackers demanded that newspaper stop printing. Chief editor Lasantha Wickremetunge claimed that life threatened after pro-GoSL lawmaker publicly accused him of supporting LTTE.1444

1441 ICJ, ‘Authority without Accountability’, above n 212.
The main patterns of violence in the North Central Province appeared to be attacks targeting Muslims and civilian casualties resulting from LTTE-Karuna factional fighting. According to a Sunday Leader report, the Karuna Group frequently harassed villagers in the province.\textsuperscript{1445}

**Attacks on Muslim people**

A series of publicly reported killings and abductions in this period targeted the Muslim population. For example:

- 5 October 2004, Polonnaruwa: 2 Muslim civilians shot dead. Island reported that LTTE was responsible.\textsuperscript{1446}
- 5 March 2005, Polonnaruwa: 3 Muslim civilians abducted. Killed on 9 March, bodies left in forest in Welikanda. SLPF blamed LTTE.\textsuperscript{1447}
- 23 July 2005, Polonnaruwa: 16 Muslim farmers abducted from Thambala and Onegama 12 Colony. SLPF blamed LTTE members, who allegedly demanded ransom.\textsuperscript{1448}

**Factional fighting**

Some cases following the LTTE-Karuna split appeared to involve factional fighting:

- 21 August 2004, Polonnaruwa: Vasu Bawa, senior member of LTTE Political Wing, ambushed with landmine and shot dead in Kajuwatta along with one of his aides. Victims had just been checked at SLA checkpoint. SLA blamed LTTE, claiming that killing was factional fighting. LTTE blamed Karuna Group.\textsuperscript{1449}
- 14 March 2005, Polonnaruwa: 2 Tamils shot dead near homes in Karapola. GoSL and ‘local sources’ blamed LTTE, other villages blamed Karuna Group. Victims allegedly accused of LTTE sympathy and had rented land from Karuna Group. SFs claimed victims were friends with Karuna Group members.\textsuperscript{1450}

**Mass abductions**

There were two large-scale abductions in the database in 2006, including a high-profile attack on employees of the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation:

- 29 and 30 January/1 February 2006, Polonnaruwa: 5 to 10 TRO employees abducted (1 group abducted on 29 January, 1 group on 30 January) on way from Batticaloa to Kilinochchi. 2 victims, Ganeshalingam and Thangarasu, assaulted. 1 female victim gang-raped and killed. Conflicting information as to how many victims killed, how many released. Alleged that 2, 5 or all were killed, or that nearly all released. ‘Paramilitary group’ and Karuna Group blamed. GoSL disputed occurrence of incident.\textsuperscript{1451}

\textsuperscript{1445} ‘In the throes of Tiger rivalry’, The Sunday Leader, 20 March 2005.
\textsuperscript{1446} ‘LTTE kill two Muslims’, The Island, 7 October 2004.
\textsuperscript{1447} ‘Tigers continue killing spree’, The Island, 10 March 2005.
\textsuperscript{1448} ‘Tigers abduct 16 Muslim farmers’, The Island, 26 July 2005.
• 29 or 30 May 2006, Polonnaruwa: 13 to 14 Sinhalese construction workers who were building GoSL-funded irrigation canal were abducted near Welikanda. 12 to 13 shot dead, 2 injured. Tractor and backhoe machine burned. GoSL and survivor blamed LTTE.

**Attacks on villages and village guards**

There was only one reported attack on a village in this period:

• 5, 6 or 7 March 2005, Polonnaruwa: 6 villagers killed in Sewanapitiya (4 Muslims, 1 Tamil, 1 Sinhalese). 2 to 3 injured. SFs suspected LTTE or Karuna Group.

However, the Sunday Leader reported that the Karuna Group frequently harassed villages in the province, abducting and detaining villagers for forced labour.

There was also a series of attacks on village guards reported in 2005 and 2006. For example:

• 12 August 2005, Polonnaruwa: SLFP sergeant killed, village guard injured as they searched for LTTE who allegedly infiltrated a village. GoSL suspected LTTE.

• 16 November 2005, Polonnaruwa: village guard shot dead. GoSL suspected LTTE. Attack occurred hours before similar attack in Ampara.

• 13 June 2006, Anuradhapura: Home Guard killed in Yakawewa. Sunday Leader reported that LTTE was blamed.

**Landmines**

In a climate of increasing political violence in 2006, two fairly prominent bombings were reported:

• 27 May 2006, Anuradhapura: 6 to 8 local tourists and their guide killed by landmines in Wilpattu National Park. GoSL blamed LTTE.

• 15 June 2006, Anuradhapura: civilian bus carrying over 150 Sinhalese passengers hit by landmine in Kebithigollewa. 50 to 68 killed, 30 to 90 injured. SFs and Udalagama Commission blamed LTTE, LTTE denied involvement and blamed Karuna Group. SLMM investigation concluded that LTTE responsibility was 'highly probable'.
There were only a handful of incidents in this period in the North Western, Central, Southern and Sabaragamuwa Provinces, and none in Uva. The majority of these incidents were cases of abduction leading to torture or disappearance, most of which were reportedly perpetrated by SLPF or SLA. There were two high-profile incidents in the North Western Province: the 2002 abduction, torture and sexual assault of Nandini Herath in Kurunegala, for which five SLPF officers were charged,1460 and the 2004 killing of senior EPDP member Thambithurai Sivakumar in Puttalam. Following Sivakumar’s death, protestors left his coffin outside the Norwegian embassy in Colombo, demanding action over CFA violations.1461


20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Period Overview

The final phase of the civil war began at the end of July 2006 and continued until May 2009, when the GoSL declared victory over the LTTE.

Hostilities broke out following a dispute over the Mavil Aru anicut (dam). On 20 July 2006, the LTTE took control of the Mavil Aru area and closed the sluice gates of the anicut. The motivation behind this act was unclear, although the LTTE claimed it was protesting the insufficient amount of water provided to Tamil farmers in the region.1462 The anicut was the key water supply for the Eastern Province, and by closing the sluice gates, the LTTE cut off water to GoSL-controlled areas in the Trincomalee District.1463

The SLMM entered into negotiations with the LTTE to reopen the sluice gates, but claimed that talks and subsequent attempts to open the gates were hampered by the SFs, who had begun shelling the area. On 7 August 2006, the LTTE finally reopened the gates; however, heavy SFs shelling continued.1464

Following the Mavil Aru dispute, the SFs launched a massive military offensive to reclaim LTTE areas in the East, with help from the Karuna Group.1465 By July 2007, the Eastern Province was under GoSL control. The GoSL subsequently began a campaign to recapture LTTE areas in the North.1466 Despite this violence, the 2002 CFA technically held throughout the Eastern Campaign, although the LTTE had disengaged from peace talks in April 2006.

However, in January 2008, the GoSL formally withdrew from the CFA, declaring its intention to defeat the LTTE militarily. The GoSL withdrawal intensified fighting, and the SLMM ceased to operate.1467 In September 2008, the GoSL ordered the UN and INGOs to leave the Vanni, contributing to what many have labelled a humanitarian crisis, and removed all international observers aside from the ICRC.1468 By the beginning of January 2009, the GoSL had captured the de facto LTTE capital in Kilinochchi, and by February 2009, the GoSL had re-claimed most of the North, surrounding the LTTE in a small section of Mullaitivu District.1469

In the final months of conflict, fighting was concentrated in this north-eastern fragment of the Vanni, where the GoSL declared 3 successive “No Fire Zones” (NFZs) (described further in “Final stages” sub-section below). The NFZs were purportedly intended as safe areas for civilians, although they largely intersected with areas that were still under LTTE control. Civilians trapped by fighting in the NFZs were subject to multiple alleged violations of human rights and IHL, including indiscriminate shelling, denial of humanitarian assistance, restricted movement and use as human shields.1470

While these violations, particularly in the NFZ, are the focus of much reporting on this period, prior trends of targeted killings and disappearances continued to affect civilians throughout 2006 to 2009. According to Human Rights Watch, around 1,000 disappearances were reported to the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka in 2006, and over 300 in the first months of 2007, although only a fraction of these are recorded in the CMAP database.1471 There was also a reported increase in torture and SGBV in custody.1472

These violations were facilitated by passage of the “Prevention and Prohibition of Terrorism and Specified Terrorist Activities” Emergency Regulation in 2006, which enabled increased targeting of young Tamil men, clergy, educated Tamils, humanitarian workers and others.1473 The August 2005 Emergency Regulation, which expanded the arrest and detention powers of SFs and the SLPF, also continued to enable disproportionate targeting of mostly Tamil civilians.

1467 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2.
1470 Ibid.
1471 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
1473 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Eastern Province

In this section:
• Aerial and shelling attacks affecting civilians
• Attacks on fleeing civilians
• Landmines, grenades, suicide attacks and other IEDs
• Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups
• Disappearances
• Child abduction and recruitment
• Sexual and gender-based violence

From the implementation of the CFA in 2002 until the outbreak of active conflict in 2006, the LTTE and GoSL controlled separate parts of the Eastern Province – the GoSL had Batticaloa and Trincomalee towns, and the LTTE held most of the hinterland and coastal areas north of Batticaloa. However, following the Mavil Aru water dispute (described in ‘Period Overview’ section above), the SFs commenced ‘Operation Watershed’, which marked the beginning of the Eastern Campaign to reclaim LTTE areas of the East. By July 2007, the Eastern Province was under GoSL control.

Following the Eastern Campaign, the Karuna Group, which had cooperated with the GoSL, allegedly continued to engage in extortion, harassment and targeted killing of civilians.\textsuperscript{1474} The political wing of the Karuna Group, the Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP), won all local council seats in Batticaloa in the March 2008 elections, which observers criticised due to a reported atmosphere of violent intimidation.\textsuperscript{1475} While the TMVP formed a political party in 2006, it previously operated as an armed group,\textsuperscript{1476} and was also implicated in some armed attacks in the database in this period. In the following section, we refer to the TMVP (rather than the Karuna Group) whenever news reports used this term.

In May 2008, Eastern Provincial Council elections were held for the first time in 20 years. President Rajapaksa’s ruling United People’s Freedom Alliance (UPFA), a coalition which included the TMVP, won the vote, which was also criticised as fraudulent.\textsuperscript{1477}

Aerial and shelling attacks

On 26 July 2006, 6 days after the first reports of the Mavil Aru sluice gates being closed, the GoSL Peace Secretariat maintained it had exhausted all negotiation-based options, and were going to conduct an air operation to resume the free flow of water to civilians.\textsuperscript{1478} The SLAF began conducting air strikes over several days against LTTE positions in the area. On 30 July 2006, they began a ground offensive to capture the reservoir’s control point.\textsuperscript{1479}

There were a number of people killed and displaced during the two weeks it took for the SLA to recapture the Mavil Aru area. For example:
• 26 July 2006, Trincomalee: Mavil Aru and Kathiraveli, aerial attack killed 7 and injured 8 civilians. 3,000 displaced.\textsuperscript{1480}

The air strikes were all attributed to the SLAF by a variety of news sources and NGOs. However, the SLAF generally alleged any civilian casualties were a result of the LTTE co-locating with civilians or using civilians as shields.

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On 2 August 2006, the LTTE began an attack for control of Muttur\textsuperscript{1481} using heavy artillery and mortar bombs.\textsuperscript{1482} In response, the SFs

\textsuperscript{1475} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1476} Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, ‘Sri Lanka: The Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP) and Karuna factions; their relationship with eachother; reports concerning their treatment of Sinhalese and Tamil citizens; whether they are still active as paramilitary groups’, (Report, 17 February 2012).
\textsuperscript{1478} ‘Omens of July return’, The Sunday Leader, 30 July 2006.
\textsuperscript{1480} ‘Chronology of aerial bombings during CFA’, The Sunday Leader, 6 August 2006.
\textsuperscript{1481} HRW, ‘Improving Civilian Protection in Sri Lanka’, above n 864.
\textsuperscript{1482} ‘Tigers hit Sri Lanka army bases with artillery, mortars’, Agence France-Presse, 2 August 2006.
shelled the area repeatedly over multiple days, including with MBRLs, before gaining full control of Muttur on 4 August 2006. In the intervening days, many civilians were killed and injured. According to some reports, around half of the victims died in schools and religious centres where they were taking refuge. The LTTE continued to blame the SFs for civilian deaths, and the SFs continued to blame the LTTE for firing from civilian areas. Thousands of civilians reportedly fled Muttur as it came under attack.

- 2 August 2006, Trincomalee: St Anthony’s Roman Catholic church in Muttur hit by shelling. Over 600 people had gathered there to escape fighting. 8 yo. boy killed and 2 or 3 injured.
- 2 August 2006, Trincomalee: maternity ward of GoSL hospital in Muttur hit during exchange of artillery between SFs and LTTE. 1 hospital employee killed, 17 civilians injured. GoSL blamed LTTE, but others claimed shelling occurred as part of larger GoSL shelling campaign.
- 2 August 2006, Trincomalee: SLA bases and civilian areas in Muttur hit with heavy artillery and mortar bombs and shops reportedly looted. Up to 100 civilians killed and up to 200 injured. Allegations that SFs retaliated to LTTE attack with artillery fire and mortar bombs.
- 2 August 2006, Trincomalee: 1 ambulance carrying 2 injured civilians or 2 ambulances carrying around 30 passengers reportedly shot at or hit by artillery fire at Pachchanoor, Galkanda or Seruwila. 3 or 4 killed and 6 injured.
- 3 August 2006, Trincomalee: shelling hit 3 or 4 schools where residents of Muttur had taken shelter. The schools were variously reported as: Muttur Arab Vidyalaya; Thoppur Al Nooriya Vidyalaya; Thoppur Al Halal Vidyalaya; Al Amina Vidyalaya; Islamic Arawa Colleges; and Ashraff High School. From 10 to over 20 killed. Between 35 and 100 injured.
- 3 August 2006, Trincomalee: Arabic college in Muttur housing around 9,000 IDPs hit by shells in clash between GoSL and LTTE, which killed between 10 and 33 civilians and injured between 20 and 40. LTTE and SFs blamed each other.
- 3 August 2006, Trincomalee: Muttur Mosque hit by shells. 16 killed.
- 3 or 4 August 2006, Trincomalee: shelling around checkpoint in Kiranthimunai while civilians escaping Muttur passing through. 5 or 7 civilians killed.

On 8 August 2006, the sluice gates were finally reopened. The SLA’s subsequent strategy was described as ‘bite and hold’ – they would clear a limited area, consolidate it with troops and then move forward. Once they had captured Sampur, they moved towards Vakaral. Some SLA shelling during this advance hit civilian areas, often causing casualties. In most of these cases, SFs claimed that they only hit LTTE positions and were unaware of civilian casualties, or blamed them on alleged LTTE use of civilians as human shields. The LTTE, and sometimes NGOs, often denied this. In some cases, the SFs and LTTE blamed each other for shelling.

1489 Report of the Uddalagama Commission, above n 1223; Case No 3; ‘Civilians cry for help in east as shells start landing’, The Sunday Leader, 6 August 2006; ‘Humanitarian measures for civilians of Muttur East’, The Sunday Leader, 6 August 2006.
1490 ‘SLA artillery fire kills 10 Muslim civilians, 40 wounded’, The Sunday Leader, 6 August 2006. ‘Mortar attacks on 4 schools and 140,000 families displaced due to fighting in Muttur’, Rasavoya, 6 August 2006; UTHR, ‘Special Report No. 22’, above n 1311; ‘Humanitarian measures for civilians of Muttur East’, The Sunday Leader, 6 August 2006; ‘SLA artillery fire kills further 12 Muslim civilians in school refuge’, The Sunday Leader, 6 August 2006; ‘Tiger shells hit three schools killing 18, wounding 35’, The Island, 4 August 2006; ‘Mortar attacks on 4 schools and 140,000 families displaced due to fighting in Muttur’, Rasavoya, 6 August 2006.
1494 Report of the OSI, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2
1495 Ibid.
A few examples of this pattern from late 2006 and early 2007 include:

- 10 August 2006, Trincomalee: 30 to 50 civilians killed and 200 injured in Kantale during artillery and mortar attack. SFs claimed it was conducted in order to reclaim control of waterway cut off by LTTE, denied occurrence of civilian casualties and claimed that LTTE may have fired from civilian areas.1496
- 11 August 2006, Batticaloa: shells and MBRL rockets fired into area around school, damaging milk board outlet close by, the Vakarai hospital, public library and houses. SFs blamed.1497
- 28 August 2006, Trincomalee: 8 or 20 civilians killed and 26 injured by shelling at Paddalipuram. LTTE blamed SFs, SFs denied that civilian casualties occurred.1498
- 8 November 2006, Batticaloa: artillery bombardment and MBRL rockets hit Vakarai refugee camp, a school sheltering between 1,000 and 6,068 IDPs in Kathiraveli. Between 23 and 65 killed and between 60 and 300 injured. LTTE and SLMM blamed SFs.1499
- 28 November 2006, Batticaloa: aid convoy of 115 vehicles hit by artillery and blocked from entering LTTE-held Vakarai. The convoy eventually reached Vakarai on 29 November 2006. SFs and LTTE blamed each other.1500
- 9 December 2006, Batticaloa: 2 IDP camps shelled at Palchenai and Vammivedduvan. 13 or 15 people killed.1501
- 8 January 2007, Batticaloa: Vakarai hospital reportedly shelled with cluster bombs, killing 3 or 10 civilians and injuring 11 others. 9 January 2007, casualty figures updated to 4 dead and 16 injured. LTTE blamed SFs.1502
- 18 or 19 January 2007, Batticaloa: shelling around Vakarai hospital killed 6 civilians. Both SFs and LTTE blamed.1503

The SLA continued to capture more territory, moving further south in the Eastern region. Shelling caused further civilian casualties. For example, in March 2007:

- 1 March 2007, Batticaloa: library at Navatk holdi hit, killing 3 civilians, including 2 children, at Manjaiy. SFs blamed.1504
- 21 March 2007, Batticaloa: 32 or 40 civilians injured during fighting between SFs and LTTE, which allegedly hit a relief centre. SFs blamed LTTE.1505
- 29 March 2007 or 30 March 2007, Batticaloa: artillery and mortar attack killed 8 civilians in Sittandy and Morakkottanchenai. 6 to 18 injured. 8 houses damaged. SFs and LTTE blamed each other.1506

1497 ‘Striking the heart of a civilian centre’, The Nation, 12 November 2006.
1507 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2
**Attacks on fleeing civilians**

The MoD reported a number of cases in November 2006 where civilians attempted to flee the fighting and move into GoSL-controlled territory. The MoD detailed allegations from the civilians about LTTE conduct towards some of the escapees.

- 1 November 2006, Batticaloa: 189 civilians from Kaddimurichchikulam and Kirimichchiya villages crossed over to GoSL-controlled areas in Batticaloa after LTTE entered their villages. GoSL reported that civilians claimed that LTTE were constructing bunkers and moving logistics into villages, which were transformed into military zones because of the build-up of LTTE cadres.\(^{1508}\)

- 8 November 2006, Batticaloa: 224 civilians escaped from uncleared areas and reached Mankerni SLA camp, bringing the total number to over 800 since 1 November. On 9 November 2006, MoD claimed that LTTE fired at Tamil civilians trying to escape uncleared areas in Vakarai-Kathiraveli.\(^{1509}\)

- 14 November 2006, Batticaloa: 81 families consisting of 269 people entered cleared areas in Rideethenna, Batticaloa from uncleared areas of Komathalamadu, Vakarai, Poliyanakakkadi and Kadiraweli.\(^{1510}\)

In 2006 and 2007, Human Rights Watch reported that IDPs were being returned to Trincomalee by the GoSL, despite safety concerns.

- September 2006, Batticaloa: IDPs in camps in the East, including Kantale, reportedly forcibly transferred back to Batticaloa District in buses by GoSL. GoSL reportedly closed down IDP camps and terminated water supplies. GoSL denied that there was forced resettlement.\(^{1511}\)

- 16 March 2007, Batticaloa: GoSL arranged buses to take IDPs back to Trincomalee. IDPs were reportedly returned under threats of removal of aid, food rations, and security protections. IDPs were also sent back to Vakarai.\(^{1512}\)

**Landmines, grenades, suicide attacks and other IEDs**

About half the land mine, suicide and grenade attacks that occurred in this period were during the Eastern Campaign (July 2006 to July 2007). Many of these, however, were attacks that caused injuries, but not fatalities. These have been excluded from the examples below. Attacks that reportedly targeted the SFs, but also killed civilians, are included in a later section. Attacks that led to fatalities and are not reported as targeting the SFs occurred mainly between early 2007 and early 2008. Some of these incidents were only reported by MoD, but others were reported by news outlets. These include:

- 4 February 2007, Ampara: parcel bomb or suicide bomber detonated on bus carrying civilians on main road between Ampara and Badulla. 16 killed and 25 injured. GoSL accused LTTE. LTTE denied involvement.\(^{1513}\)

- 1 or 2 April 2007, Ampara: bomb exploded in bus at Kondawattuwan checkpoint. 15 or 16 killed and between 18 and 25 injured. SFs accused LTTE. LTTE denied responsibility.\(^{1514}\)

- 27 May 2007, Ampara: mine hit civilian vehicle travelling on Akkarapattu-Potuvil main road. 3 civilians killed. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{1515}\)

- 7 September 2007, Batticaloa: pressure mine along Wandaramulla-Uppude Road exploded. 3 civilians killed when their tractor was hit. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{1516}\)

- 22 October 2007, Trincomalee: landmine exploded in Kinniya, killing 2 civilians travelling in cart. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{1517}\)

- 24 February 2008, Batticaloa: suicide bomber on push-bike collided into 2 people on motorcycle on Saththi Ilam Road, Ondachichimadam. Bomber and the 2 people, (allegedly Karuna Group members), killed. 1 woman injured. SFs blamed LTTE.\(^{1518}\)

- 26 March 2008, Batticaloa: roadside bomb exploded when SLFP escorting Japanese aid workers through Batticaloa. 2 SLFP killed, and 4 or 7 injured, including 4 SLFP officers. None of the Japanese aid workers were harmed. SLFP blamed LTTE.\(^{1519}\)
In January 2009, the war intensified in the North, while the East was under GoSL control. However, there were still attacks in the East, for example:

- 9 January 2009, Trincomalee: 4 civilians and 3 ‘security personnel’ killed and 6 others injured when vehicle hit by claymore bomb/roadside mine. Blast had hit a commuter bus being escorted by security personnel. MoD blamed LTTE.1520
- 21 January 2009, Batticaloa: bomb planted on bicycle exploded near SLPF Batticaloa station. 1 SLPF and 1 civilian killed and 16 injured. SLPF and MoD suspected LTTE.1521

**Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups**

**General**

The majority of killings that targeted specific individuals in this period took place in late 2006, when the Eastern Campaign was underway. There were more of these killings in the latter half of 2006 than in the whole of 2007 or 2008.

There were many reported killings of civilians where articles only provided a date, and sometimes the victim’s name. These have not been included.

One of the most infamous incidents in this period was the killing of aid workers employed by the French aid organisation Action Contre la Faim (ACF):

- 3 August 2006 to 6 August 2006, Trincomalee: 17 aid workers employed by the French aid organization, ACF, were shot dead in Muttur. They were engaged in post-tsunami relief work and had arrived there by boat from Trincomalee on 1 August 2006. ACF attempted to evacuate the workers several times, but were allegedly denied entry by SLA. The victims included 16 Tamils and 1 Muslim, and 4 women (OHCHR reported 5). 15 of the workers were found in the ACF compound, on the front lawn of the ACF office, lying face down, side-by-side, and were believed to have been shot at close range. The other 2 workers were found in a nearby car. The 15 bodies were discovered sometime between 5 and 7 August 2006. Most reports suggest the victims were killed between 4 and 5 August 2006, but there is disagreement as to the time of death and identity of the perpetrators. Most sources blamed SFs for the killing, GoSL denied accusations and blamed LTTE for the killing and ACF for their ‘negligence’. The SLMM concluded that it was ‘convinced that there cannot be any other armed groups than the security forces who could actually have been behind the act’.1523

Below is a sample of killings from August 2006 until July 2007, when the Eastern Campaign was underway.

There were a number of killings during the Eastern Campaign for which the SFs were reportedly responsible. Some examples include:

- 4 August 2006, Trincomalee: elderly Tamil businessman killed in Killiveddy. SLA personnel allegedly came to Killiveddy School, took him out and executed him at close range. According the ‘local talk’, SLA was responsible because victim’s son was senior LTTE member.1524
- 16 August 2006, Ampara: 3 Tamil youth shot dead, allegedly by STF personnel during a cordon-and-search operation conducted in Alayadivembu. STF and SLPF claimed youths were attempting to lob a grenade at STF troopers.1525

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1525 ‘A country racing back to the past’ The Sunday Leader, 20 August 2006.
• 5 January 2007, Trincomalee: 2 or 3 male Tamils abducted, shot and bodies found on 6 January 2007 on roadside. SFs blamed. Killing was possible reprisal for 5 January 2007 mine attack on an SLN truck at Alles Garden.1526

There were also a number of reported cases that were blamed on the LTTE by various sources, including UTHR and the MoD. Many of these targeted people accused of being disloyal. For example:

• 24 or 27 August 2006, Batticaloa: female civilian shot dead. She had allegedly refused to give her 24 yo. son to LTTE for military training. GoSL blamed LTTE.1527

• 8 November 2006, Batticaloa: Woman who was allegedly on friendly terms with local SPFL was shot dead. According to ‘local sources’, LTTE reportedly asked her to work for them and shot her on refusal.1528

• 26 January 2007, Batticaloa: Manager of Cooperative Society Shop shot dead. According to GoSL, he was reportedly ordered by LTTE to transport goods to un-cleared areas, but had refused.1529

• 7 February 2007, Batticaloa: Tamil Hindu priest dragged from home and shot dead by 3 gunmen. Body found behind nearby school in ditch. SFs and GoSL blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement. The deceased had allegedly welcomed or given blessings and performed religious rites for President Rajapaksa.1530

• 25 March 2007, Batticaloa: woman abducted in van and killed. Victim’s brother-in-law told SLPF she was a former LTTE cadre, but had left 3 years ago. GoSL blamed LTTE.1531

In many of these cases, although the killings appeared targeted, additional people (including children) were also killed. For example:

• 17 August 2006, Batticaloa: former LTTE member reported to Mawadivembu detachment that LTTE pistol group had fired at his house. Former LTTE member and his 18 yo. wife injured, 18-month-old child killed. MoD alleged that he was attacked for refusing to re-join LTTE.1532

• 17 September 2006, Trincomalee: 4 Tamils killed, including 1 child. SFs blamed LTTE, claiming LTTE accused victims of being GoSL informants.1533

• 17 September 2006, Trincomalee: armed men in white van went to house of an auto driver, who had been forced to help during LTTE’s Pongu Thamil shows. They opened fire killing a 2 yo. and 2 others.1534

• 13 April 2007, Batticaloa: civilian family of 5 dragged out of home and shot dead. MoD claimed 2 of the victims were TMVP members. MoD and SFs blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement and blamed GoSL-backed forces.1535

There was also a high level of factional Karuna-LTTE killing in this period, which is generally not included in the examples below. However, examples of killings of people who were ‘supporters’ or representatives of other political parties have been included:

• 7 August 2006, Batticaloa: member of Socialist Equality Party shot dead. Socialist Equality Party blamed SFs or their associates.1536

• 30 August 2006, Batticaloa: woman killed in Sittandy, allegedly because of Karuna Group links. MoD blamed LTTE.1537

• 19 September 2006, Trincomalee: 2 employees of Kantali Hospital shot dead by gunmen on motorcycles. One was allegedly TULF supporter, the other a UNP supporter. MoD blamed LTTE, claiming LTTE targeted them because they look after SFs and their associates.1538

• 26 January 2007, Trincomalee: male shot dead and friend injured while on way to his village, Alankerni, from Kinniya. Victim was member of Illankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi (name used by TNA in local government elections) and only Tamil Urban Council member in predominantly Muslim area. GoSL-backed paramilitary groups blamed.1539


1534 UTHR ‘Special Report No. 23’, above n 1356.


1536 UTHR ‘Special Report No. 23’, above n 1356.


Some killings targeted local GoSL members and parliamentarians. For example:

- 30 October 2006, Trincomalee: unidentified gunman shot dead Gopala Sundaram, local GoSL member of Verugal Pradeshiya Sabha.1541
- 7 November 2006, Batticaloa: Nimalan, elected parliamentarian for Batticaloa District, shot dead at Kiran. GoSL blamed LTTE.1542

Other killings that appeared targeted in this period included:

- 24 August 2006, Ampara: unknown gunmen abducted and shot dead Sinhalese man who worked for UN Office for Project Services. SFs blamed LTTE.1544
- 24 August 2006, Trincomalee: white van and green auto-rickshaw went to house of Balachandran, a Trinco 5 witness and auto-rickshaw driver living in Madathady. He was abducted and shot dead.1545
- 1 April 2007, Batticaloa: gunman shot dead 6 Sinhalese workers at construction site. 2 or 3 other workers injured. SFs blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement, accused Karuna Group and SFs.1546
- 12 April 2007, Batticaloa: 9 prisoners held by LTTE were killed, including CTB conductor and 2 SLA soldiers.1547
- 13 May 2007, Trincomalee: chief Buddhist monk of Phabbatharama Vihare shot dead. LTTE and GoSL blamed each other.1548

After the Eastern Campaign, the GoSL had gained control of the Eastern Province. However, targeted killings and attacks continued to take place, for example:

- 30 August 2007, Trincomalee: regional political leader of Karuna Group shot dead. Leader of TMVP from Thambalagamuva, Nadaraja Kumaran (alias Murali), was found dead the day before.1549
- 7, 8 or 9 January 2008, Batticaloa: President of Volunteer Teachers Union shot dead near house. Karuna Group blamed.1550
- 10 February 2008, Batticaloa: male and his 2 children abducted by armed men travelling in white van. Dead body recovered with gunshot wounds.1551
- 22 May 2008, Batticaloa: 2 people shot dead by unidentified attackers in Kattankudy. Victims were head of TMVP in Kattankudy and an associate. 2 civilians injured.1552
- 22 May 2008, Batticaloa: TMVP allegedly retaliated by attacking Muslims in Kattankudy. 2 or 3 Muslims shot dead, 4 or 7 others injured. Doctor claimed 5 killed in total.1553
- 21 August 2008, Batticaloa: 3 masked men shot dead Sinhalese undergraduate student at Eastern University outside student hostel. GoSL suspected LTTE.1554

1545 UTHR ‘Special Report No. 23’, above n 1356.
1547 UTHR ‘Special Report No. 26’, above n 1396.
2 September 2008, Ampara: man shot dead in Kalmunai. Victim’s son allegedly LTTE member who operated “hit squad” in Ampara during peace accord.1555

21 September 2008, Trincomalee: Hindu priest shot dead while riding motorcycle to funeral. GoSL suspected LTTE, but some attributed responsibility to SFs.1556

29 September 2008, Trincomalee: Prasanna Pushpakumara, known as Chooty Mudalali, and his bodyguard, shot dead. Pushpakumara was Sinhalese fish merchant and prominent figure in Trincomalee. Witnesses claimed SLPF and SLPF sentry point had largely vanished at time.1557

As the conflict in the North intensified, reported killings that targeted specific people or specific groups seemed to reduce in the Eastern Province. Despite this reduction, incidents are consistent with the types of killings that occurred earlier in this period. Examples include:

- 8 or 9 October 2008, Batticaloa: two bodies found on beach, either washed up on shore or tied to pole. Bodies showed signs of torture/mutilation and gunshot injuries. Victims had been subjected to SLFP round-up in Batticaloa on 2 or 3 October 2008. Some people released in days following, and SLFP claimed to have released 2 victims on 4 October 2008.1558

- 16 October 2008, Ampara: 4 farmers (2 Tamils and 2 Muslims) shot dead after passing Sagamam STF checkpoint. An SLFP pass was allegedly required to access area of killing. STF suspected; however, Tamil witnesses allegedly identified attackers as TMVP.1559

- 16 November 2008, Batticaloa: two hospital employees shot dead by gunmen in Vavunathivu. Attackers allegedly called doctor out of his home and shot him, then shot other person while escaping. SLFP suspected either TMVP or LTTE.1560

- 24 or 27 November 2008, Batticaloa: employee of Norwegian Refugee Council dragged from home and shot dead. SLPF suspected TMVP or an unidentified Tamil group.1561

- 25 November 2008, Batticaloa: 3 people from 1 family (a grandmother, father and son) or 10 people, including 3 from 1 family and 4 from another family, were killed in Eruril. Some sources blamed a paramilitary group, others indicated it may have been a reprisal for a claymore mine attack that killed 2 SFs in Eruril.1562

- 26 or 27 November 2008, Batticaloa: Hindu priest shot dead. MoD blamed LTTE. SLPF suspected TMVP or an unidentified Tamil group.1563

- 23 or 24 March 2009, Trincomalee: 5 farmers killed and 2 injured in Serunuwara. SFs suspected LTTE.1564

There were also a handful of attacks on the offices of different groups. Two examples in early 2009 were:

- 26 March 2009, Ampara: the Savalakkadai, Kalmunai office of TMVP was attacked and 2 members shot dead.1565

- 3 April 2009, Batticaloa: 1 killed and 1 injured in a shooting in Uthusenai at the SLFP office. SLPF stated 2 persons who worked in the office and subsequently absconded were main suspects.1566

The only village raid (a style of attack more frequent in earlier periods) that was reported in the Eastern Province in this time period was the following:

- 21 February 2009, Ampara: Karamatiyagama or Rathmalgaha Ella, a village near Inginiyagala, was attacked either by attackers opening fire at villagers or hacking to death. 2 to 14 civilians killed and 4 to 15 injured. MoD, GoSL and SFs blamed LTTE.1567

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1557 UTHR, ‘Special Report No. 31’, above n 1556.


1559 Ibid.


1565 ‘Firing on Tamil People LTTE in Kalmunai: two were killed’, Tamilwin, 27 March 2009.

1566 ‘Shooting in political party’s office: one dead and one injured’, Tamilwin, 4 April 2009.

Attacks on Muslim people

While the Eastern Campaign was under way, Muslims once again became victims to the conflict, despite not being a party to it.^[1568] As mentioned above, the LTTE and the SFs fought for control of Muttur in early August 2006. Muttur was a small Muslim settlement, and many Muslim people who were still stuck there were caught in crossfire. Others tried to flee.^[1569] Incidents targeting Muslims included:

- **Early August 2006, Trincomalee**: Muslim civilians killed trying to escape fighting in Muttur because they were suspected SFs informants. LTTE allegedly directed Muslim IDPs through Galkanda checkpoint and detained men below 50 years. Those who supported SFs were separated and disappeared. ICRC recovered 2 bodies. LTTE blamed but denied responsibility, only admitting some Muslims may have been held briefly for questioning. Multiple reports on this incident with varying versions.[^1570]

- **17 or 18 September 2006, Ampara**: 10 or 11 Muslim labourers who had been repairing an irrigation system were found mutilated and dead near Pottuvil. Muslim community and LTTE blamed STF. Udalagama Commission, supported by the testimony of the sole survivor Meera Mohideen, blamed LTTE. GoSL blamed LTTE.[^1571]

- **20 September 2006, Ampara**: Muslims protested killing of the 10 Muslim men. Protesters were trying to prevent STF officers from entering Ullai village, reportedly “mobbing” an STF jeep, when they were shot at by SLPF. At least 4 to 14 people injured.[^1572]

- **20 September 2006, Trincomalee**: 3 people shot dead by unidentified gunmen in 2 separate incidents. SLPF suspected LTTE. Follows tension relating to killing of Muslim men.[^1573]

- **25 September 2006, Trincomalee**: Muslim man from Matco, shot dead. MoD blamed LTTE.[^1574]

- **1 March 2007, Trincomalee**: Uppuveli SLPF found dead bodies of 2 Muslim youth. According to SLPF, victims abducted by LTTE on 28 February 2007 while selling cutters and shot dead after hands tied behind backs.[^1575]

- **16 June 2007, Trincomalee**: Muslim youth who had previously worked for SLA from Jinna Nagar, close to Killiveddy, shot dead. LTTE suspected.[^1576]

In late 2008, there were three attacks on mosques that caused injuries, but no deaths.

Attacks on SLPF and SFs that killed civilians

There were a number of incidents of SLPF personnel being shot while on duty or on their way to and from work, as well as explosions at SLPF posts. 2 such examples provided by the MoD were:

- **7 August 2006, Batticaloa**: SLPF constable Wickramasinghe/SLPF Sergeant G. Wickramasuriya killed while on duty at a bank. MoD blamed LTTE.[^1577]

- **23 June 2008, Batticaloa**: bomb explosion within 400 metres of Ayithamalai SLPF post killed 3 SLPF constables and 1 injured.[^1578]

There were also attacks on SLPF or SFs, particularly during the Eastern Campaign, which caused civilian casualties, for example:

- **29 August 2006, Trincomalee**: 3 civilians killed following a landmine explosion claimed to be directed towards SLA.[^1579]

- **21 February 2007, Batticaloa**: mine attached to pushbike in Ottamawadi, targeting SLPF vehicle on patrol, killed 2 civilians and SLPF inspector, and injured 10 officers and 2 soldiers. MoD and SLPF blamed LTTE.[^1580]
• 26 or 27 March 2007, Batticaloa: suicide bomber tried to drive truck loaded with explosives into Chenkalady SLA camp. The bomber detonated when stopped by SFs guarding camp. He killed himself, 2 or 3 SF soldiers and 4 to 6 civilians. Between 4 and 18 injured, 15 houses and EPDP office damaged. LTTE blamed.1581

Disappearances

During this period, there were few publicly reported disappearances in the Eastern Province with enough detail to include in this report. Cases of children disappearing are not included in this section, as they have generally been reported as suspected forcible child conscription cases.

In late 2006, the most high-profile reported disappearance was:

• 30 September 2006, Batticaloa: Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Culture at Eastern University, abducted from home in white van by armed men dressed in civilian clothing for questioning. Some suspected SFs may have known about or supported the abduction.1582

In 2007, the small number of reported abductions all seemed to implicate either the GoSL or the TMVP, and many cases involved white vans. People were abducted both in broad daylight in public places, and from their homes in the middle of the night. The victims ranged from young boys, to farmers, to a former LTTE fighter, a teacher, and an NGO worker. For example:

• 20 February 2007, Batticaloa: 4 young men abducted from bus. Mother blamed TMVP1583
• 16 June 2007, Trincomalee: 3 Tamil farmers from Pattithidal went missing while out watching their rice fields. Locals blamed SLA.1584
• 24 September 2007, Batticaloa: former LTTE combatant abducted in Pethuchenai, Mandur when he went to Batticaloa Hospital. STF suspected.1585
• 28 November 2007, Batticaloa: World Vision employee abducted during daytime on main road in Navatkuda, Kallady.1586
• 4 December 2007, Batticaloa: teacher from Vavunathivu abducted by people in white van in Urani. STF suspected.1587
• 19 December 2007, Ampara: former lecturer at Eastern University abducted by 6 unidentified armed men in civilian clothes, and a white van with no registration plates, from village of Vinayakapuram. The Pillaiyan faction reportedly wanted him to agree to stand as a TMVP candidate in upcoming local elections. He alleged to have been tortured during previous periods of detention.1588

There were only a small number of reported cases in 2008 and 2009 with sufficient detail to include. Some examples are below.

• 14 November 2008, Batticaloa: 9 members of 2 families abducted in a single incident by a white van group in Pankuda. 3 of those abducted were children under 15.1589
• 9 March 2009, Ampara: mother of 3, abducted by unknown persons in Pothuvil. Around 10 civilians were reportedly abducted by the TMVP from the Ampara and Thirukkuvil regions in the same time period.1590
• 2 April 2009, Batticaloa: 2 men disappeared after an attack on the political office of Vinayakamoorthy Muralitharan in Vadamunai. 6 April 2009, one of the men was found dead.1591
• 18 April 2009, Batticaloa: male attacked then abducted in white van from Pankudaveli at Karadiyanaru. CID blamed.1593

1584 UTHR, ‘Special Report No. 26’, above n 1396.
1587 Ibid.
1590 ‘36 years old woman was abducted in Pothuvil’, Tamilwin, 15 March 2009.
1591 ‘One of the two missing persons found death’, Tamilwin, 6 April 2009.
1592 ‘Two civilians were abducted by CID in Batticaloa’, Tamilwin, 18 April 2009.
1593 Ibid.
Child abduction and recruitment

Possible conscription

With the Eastern Campaign underway in the LTTE-controlled area of Batticaloa District, especially Vavunathivu and Pattipalai DS Divisions, the LTTE’s Vanni faction resumed forced conscription. Many conscripts were children.1594 There was also child conscription in other parts of Eastern Province, and many cases that implicated the TMVP or Karuna Group as well as the LTTE.

Below are some from August and September 2006:

- 10 August 2006, Batticaloa: unidentified group abducted 15 yo. child from home in Vinayagapuram, Vaiachchenai. MoD suspected LTTE.1595
- 11 August 2006, Batticaloa: unidentified group abducted 14 yo. from home in Vantharamoolai. MoD suspected LTTE.1596
- August 2006, Batticaloa: 10 yo. orphan in the Arivuchcholai home in Palugamam set up by LTTE, disappeared. LTTE suspected.1597
- September 2006, Trincomalee: teenage boy abducted from shop. Father went to TMVP office and saw son with legs chained. A few days later he returned but son not there and they denied having him. TMVP blamed.1598
- 24 September 2006, Batticaloa: 12 or 14 boys abducted from several villages north of Batticaloa. The victims appear to have included 3 boys from Kanapathipillai village Chenkalady, and 1 other boy. TMVP blamed.1599

Below is another sample, this time from December 2006 to the start of February 2007:

- 18 December 2006, Batticaloa: 6 girls taken to LTTE female weapons training base in Paddichenai or Illukpadichena, where allegedly 30 to 35 teenage girls were undergoing training.1600
- 19 January 2007, Batticaloa and Ampara: 47 young people, including children, abducted. Victims reportedly taken to Kokkaddichcholai to become new recruits. MoD blamed LTTE.1601
- 23 January 2007, Batticaloa: 14 yo. of Kannan Village, Chenkalady abducted. Karuna Group blamed.1602
- 1 February 2007, Batticaloa: 15 yo. abducted while playing in a sports field in Ambalanthurai. LTTE blamed.1603

A TMVP office opened in Trincomalee town in late August 2007, and over the following 6 weeks the TMVP was implicated in the abductions of between 15 and 20 young men in Trincomalee, according to a member of the local town government.1604 Examples include:

- 2 August 2007, Batticaloa: 2 boys aged 16 abducted. TMVP blamed.1605
- 14 September 2007, Ampara: 16 yo. boy abducted in Sinnathotam. TMVP blamed. They refused to release him, claiming he had been recruited.1606
- 14 February 2008, Batticaloa: 14 yo. from Thiruchenthoor, Kallady, abducted. Mother suspected Pillaiyan group.1607

Injured or killed fleeing or general escape

While the Eastern Campaign was underway, there were reported cases of child conscripts fleeing, some of whom were injured or killed in the process. Some of those who fled described being trained or used in combat roles. Examples include:

- 30 July 2006, Trincomalee: 2 Tamil youths from Muttur shot while fleeing in a boat across Trincomalee harbor to escape forcible LTTE conscription. 1 injured, the other escaped. LTTE cadres had been visiting them often, demanding they join.1608
- 17 October 2006, Batticaloa: 17 yo. former LTTE cadre, abducted, escaped on 20 October 2006 and shot dead. Victim reportedly assualted before killed. MOD blamed LTTE.1609

1594 UTHR ‘Special Report No. 23’, above n 1356.
1598 HRW, ‘Complicit in Crime’, above n 1159.
1599 Ibid.
1603 Ibid.
1604 HRW, ‘Complicit in Crime’, above n 1159.
1607 ‘Warning factions emerge as campaigning enters final week’, The Sunday Leader, 2 March 2008.
1608 ‘Youth shot at while escaping Tigers’, The Island, 31 July 2006.
8 November 2006, Ampara: 16 yo. boy from Karathivu, student at Kotahena Hindu Central College, abducted while on way to GCE examination centre. Received weapons training at LTTE camp in Karadiyanaru and later escaped. 2 January 2007, surrendered to Kiran SLA camp. MoD blamed LTTE.1610

18 December 2006, Batticaloa: 15 yo. Tamil girl abducted by 2 women on a motorcycle. 26 December 2006, the girl escaped from Thoppigala base. 28 December 2006, surrendered to Dhamminna SLPF. MoD blamed LTTE.1611

6 January 2007, Batticaloa: 2 LTTE child cadres, aged 16, surrendered to SFs at Polwatta, Valaichchenai. They had undergone 3 months of combat training in the Thoppigala Illuppadichena LTTE camp and escaped. MoD blamed LTTE.1612

Between 14 and 20 May 2007, Ampara: one young Tamil surrendered to ICRC after escaping from TMVP. The boy was handed over to the Akkaraipattu SLPF.1613

28 June 2007, Batticaloa: 16 yo. former child soldier shot dead while attending a religious festival at Murugan Kovil. Victim allegedly deserted LTTE after being forcibly recruited. MoD blamed LTTE.1614

16 July 2007, Batticaloa: 11 people, abducted by LTTE and held in Thoppigala, surrendered to Kinniyadi SLA Camp. They claimed LTTE had killed about 100 prisoners from nearby villages who had been abducted by LTTE when collecting firewood. LTTE used them to lay anti-personnel mines, construct bunkers and for various other tasks. They said that all of them were held inside dark torture cells and some of their colleagues who did not obey orders were executed. Burn injuries, scars and swellings on their bodies testify to the suffering they had undergone while under LTTE detention, SLA sources said. 2 teenagers, 7 in their twenties and 2 in their late thirties were among those who surrendered.1615

After the defeat of the LTTE in Thoppigala in July 2007, more child soldiers emerged:

28 August 2007, Ampara: 7 LTTE child soldiers, boys and girls aged between 14 and 16 and one aged 20, were stranded in a jungle area near Sangamakanda and arrested by SLA detachment during a search operation. The child soldiers had fled Thoppigala area after SLA defeated LTTE. They told SLA they were abducted by LTTE and forcibly given arms training and put into combat.1616

Some child soldiers escaped from the TMVP:

31 October 2008, Batticaloa: 15 yo. who had been forcibly recruited and held since April, allegedly by TMVP, escaped from TMVP’s Valaichchenai site.1617

10 November 2008, Batticaloa: 17 yo. forcibly recruited and held since October 2006, allegedly by TMVP, escaped from TMVP’s Valaichchenai site.1618

Killed in combat

Very few reports give examples of child soldiers killed in combat, but there were two examples below:

11 March 2007, Batticaloa: 15 yo. LTTE recruited boy killed in attack between SLA and LTTE.1619

12 March 2007, Batticaloa: 2 17 yo. boys, recruited by LTTE, shot and killed during fighting between SLA and LTTE.1620

1615 ‘Surrendees claim LTTE killed over 100 Tamil captives’, The Island, 17 July 2007.
1618 Ibid.
1620 Ibid.
Sexual and gender-based violence

There were not many reported cases of sexual violence in the Eastern Province in this period, although, as noted previously, this likely reflects the limited public reporting of such violations. The few cases that have been reported all took place towards the end of the conflict, when the area was under GoSL control.

- November 2008, Trincomalee: couple did not possess valid permit to stay in Trincomalee, accused of being LTTE collaborators and immediately taken into SLA custody. Couple separated, female questioned, tortured and gang-raped at night. The men all spoke Sinhala and abused her while raping her. She was made to provide false confessions regarding LTTE involvement and also signed a confession written in Sinhala that she did not understand. December 2008, she was released following payment of bribe.\(^{1621}\)

- 1 March 2009, Batticaloa: in Kaluwanchikudi area, STF soldiers ordered all men to go to temple and conducted house-to-house checkups. In Vellaveli area of Kaluwanchikudi, 5 soldiers came to one particular house where they tied up a mother and 1 soldier raped her daughter as the others guarded the house.\(^{1622}\)

- 2 March 2009, the girl’s mother was killed for allegedly accusing STF of raping her daughter.\(^ {1623} \)
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Western Province

In this section:
• Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups
• Landmines, suicide attacks and other IEDs
• Disappearances
• Mass arrests, torture and sexual and gender-based violence in custody

In the Western Province, there were frequent killings, disappearances and other attacks targeting individuals, including high-profile political figures and journalists. There were also a number of IED attacks and suicide bombings, which mostly occurred in 2008.

Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups

From August 2006, while the Eastern Campaign was underway, there were a number of attacks in Colombo that appeared to be directed at specific people – either people who held high-profile political positions, or regular civilians. Attacks varied in form, including bombs, people arriving on motorbikes and shooting victims, abductions (sometimes involving white vans) and bodies later found. Below are some examples:

• 8 August 2006, Colombo: car bomb exploded in front of St. Paul’s Girls School, 2 or 3 killed and 5 or 8 injured. Alleged target was Sivathasan, former Tamil legislator from EPDP who opposed LTTE.1624

• 12 August 2006, Colombo: Kethesh (various spellings) Loganathan shot dead in home in Dehiwala. He was Deputy Secretary-General of GoSL Peace Secretariat and a Tamil. He allegedly opposed LTTE. GoSL and SLFP suspected LTTE.1625

• 14 August 2006, Colombo: bomb on auto rickshaw exploded (or suicide bomber on auto rickshaw) as Pakistani High Commissioner Basri Wali Mohmand’s convoy passed. 3 to 17 injured, not including High Commissioner.1626

• 1 September 2006, Colombo: Edward Reginald Jesudasan abducted when left office to go home. Previously held managerial post at Union Assurance, Colombo. On 2 September 2006, body found in Thotalanga, Grandpass on Ferguson’s Road with marks of torture and wrapped in polythene. SLPF and EPDP blamed LTTE.1627

• 9 September 2006, Colombo: employee at a communication centre, abducted from Subodhi Dharmarama Road, Dehiwala. 10 September 2006, body found in a paddy field in Kelaniya. Abductors were armed and in a white van.1628

• 19 October 2006, Colombo: employee at Korean International pre-school, and husband, a stationery shop employee in Pettah, abducted. Bodies found same day under bridge in Piliyandala.1629


1629 Ibid.
1 or 2 November 2006, Colombo: unidentified gunman shot dead Tamil woman in Wellawatte. She was a seamstress and was closing a tailor shop. LTTE suspected.1630

10 November 2006, Colombo: Nadarajah Raviraj, MP for TNA, shot dead by unidentified gunman on way to court. Bodyguard also killed. TNA accused GoSL. According to GoSL, 3 SLN officers and 1 former SLFP officer were arrested in connection with the killing in March 2015.1631

Towards the end of 2006, there was a suicide attack that targeted GoSL Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa.

1 December 2006, Colombo: suicide bomber drove motorised rickshaw into 5-car convoy carrying Defence Secretary Rajapaksa on Dharmapala Mawatha road, Colombo. Explosion killed some SLA bodyguards. 14 or 15 people injured, including 5 civilians. According to “eyewitnesses”, SFs opened fire following the attack, potentially killing civilians. LTTE blamed.1632

There were very few targeted killings reported in 2007 in Colombo. One involved ICRC staff, and one involved someone abducted for ransom. The most high-profile attack involved a suicide bomber targeting the Social Services Minister Douglas Devananda.

Between 1 and 4 June 2007, Colombo: 2 ICRC staff abducted from railway station. Abductors claimed to be SLFP. They were shot dead and bodies found in Ratnapura District. 18 August 2007 perpetrators identified by Human Rights Ministry as Sivakanthan Vivekananthan and his gang.1633

30 July 2007, Colombo: Tamil youth, living in Katapathena, abducted. Family asked to pay ransom. Victim killed when ransom not paid.1634

28 November 2007, Colombo: female suicide bomber killed herself and aide of Social Services Minister Douglas Devananda, and injured others when she detonated her device at Minister’s Colombo office.1635

In 2008, the majority of incidents in this section targeted politicians or well-known figures. The victims were mainly attacked by gunmen, roadside bombs, and suicide attackers. Most of the attacks resulted in death. The list below only includes the attacks on prominent persons/public figures:

1 January 2008, Colombo: gunman opened fire at UNP politician Thyagaraja Maheswaran at Sri Ponnambalavaneswarar Hindu Kovil. He and civilian Chandrakumar Mahindan were killed. 11 or 12 injured.1636

8 January 2008, Gampaha: roadside bomb detonated near car of D.M. Dassanayake, the Minister of National Building, in Ja-Ela. He and SLFP bodyguard died in hospital. 10 to 14 injured in explosion. GoSL blamed LTTE.1637

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1630 Ibid; UTHR, Bulletins No. 42, 43 and Supplement to SpR., above n 1202.


6 April 2008, Gampaha: suicide bomber detonated explosion at marathon event in Weliweriya. Between 10 and 15 killed, including MP Jeyaraj Fernandopulle. Between 12 and 100 injured. GoSL and others blamed LTTE.1638

6 October 2008, Gampaha: Pastor Sebamalai Gunesh of Elohim Gospel Church, Orugodawatte, reported missing on 10 October. Body discovered on 8 October in Ragama.1639

9 October 2008, Colombo: female suicide bomber attacked Agriculture Minister Maitriprapa Sirisena’s convoy in Boralesgamuwa. 1 or 2 killed. Between 3 and 7 injured, including Deputy Minister Siripala Gamalath and Secretary Ranjith Wijetilleke. LTTE did not claim responsibility but SFs blamed LTTE.1640

14 November 2008, Colombo: Kumarasamy Nandagopan and driver killed in Athurugiriya, Oruwala junction. Nandagopan was secretary to Sivanathurai Chandrakanthan (alias Pillayan), Chief Minister of the Eastern Province, and may have been appointed political head of TMVP the week prior. Pillayan claimed LTTE not involved.1641

There were also killings targeting human rights lawyers and those pursuing cases against SLPF.

20 September 2008, Gampaha: a man pursuing several cases against Negombo SLFP for alleged assaults on him by SLFP, was shot dead by unidentified gunman. Threats made to his human rights lawyer.1642

27 September 2008, Colombo: grenade thrown at house of J.C. Weilamuna, a human rights lawyer in Koluwela. Weilamuna’s house and neighbour’s house damaged, but no one injured. No claims of responsibility.1643

Attacks on journalists

From August 2006 to June 2009, there were over a dozen incidents reported of journalists or their offices being attacked in the Western Province. Attack types included abductions, detention, ill treatment, destruction of property, and killings. Cases where a person was abducted for short periods of time have not been included, although there were a number of these incidents. The most high-profile case in this period was the killing of Lasantha Wickrematunge, Editor of the Sunday Leader. Incidents include:

21, 22, 24 or 26 November 2006, Colombo: female Tamil journalist for Sinhalese newspaper Mauvima/Mawbima, arrested by SLFP personnel. Detained at TID headquarters in Colombo. SLFP alleged she had links to LTTE, although never formally charged. She was detained under the PTA and released by the Supreme Court in early 2007 due to insufficient evidence to sustain her detention.1644

6 January 2007, Colombo: a Rivira defence journalist and family attacked and injured by about 30 men. SLFP dressed in civilian clothing from the Homagama SLFP station suspected.1645

29 June 2007, Colombo: journalist, assaulted in Fort, Colombo and hospitalised for a week.1646 15 August 2007, unidentified gang threw acid on K.P. Mohan while on way home from hospital. He was again hospitalised for treatment.1647

20 or 21 November 2007, Colombo: group of masked men broke into and attacked the Leader Publications Office. They ordered employees to kneel down and set fire to printing presses and copies of the Morning Leader newspapers. An employee was also beaten. Some suspected SFs involvement. SFs denied involvement.1648


1646 Ibid.

1647 Ibid.


28 or 29 January 2008, Colombo: Associate Editor of Sri Lanka state-owned Tamil daily paper, Thinakaran, stabbed in abdomen after 5 attackers entered his home.1650

6 March 2008, Colombo: media couple arrested by TID, one at his office. Assaulted, laptop and printed materials seized, detained at Colombo TID office. Wife arrested on same day at home. She was marketing officer at Maharaja Broadcasting. TID officials acknowledged the arrests, claiming the detainees had aided and abetted terrorist activities. No medical or legal counsel provided.1651

7 March 2008, Colombo: Tamil columnist for the Sunday Times was detained by TID, allegedly without charge. 25 August 2008, charged under terrorism legislation for anti-GoSL views allegedly expressed in article 2 years prior. He claimed he was physically abused in custody and forced to confess under threat of torture. On 31 August 2009 convicted and sentenced to 20 years in prison. After sustained international pressure, released in January 2010, given a presidential pardon in June 2010.1652

22 May 2008, Colombo: journalist and deputy editor for the Nation Weekly, abducted and severely beaten by unidentified males before being released.1653

6 January 2009, Colombo: Maharaja TV/Sirasa TV/MBC station in Colombo attacked by 15 to 20 armed men who arrived in a white van. Attackers detonated claymore mines and grenades and set fire to the control room and studios. GoSL was suspected of involvement due to weapons carried by attackers. GoSL claimed owners planned attack to claim insurance.1654

8 January 2009, Colombo: Lasantha Wickramatunge, Editor of The Sunday Leader newspaper, killed at busy intersection not far from his office in Colombo, 100m from the SLA/SFs checkpoint in the nearby High Security Zone. Perpetrators blocked Wickramatunge’s vehicle and broke open car window. He had previously received numerous death threats. Prior to his death, the victim suspected that the GoSL wanted to kill him.1655

23 January 2009, Colombo: Upali Tennakoon, editor of Rivira newspaper, stabbed in face and beaten while driving. Assailants blocked victim’s car before attacking couple with knife, iron rods and sticks.1656

1 June 2009, Colombo: journalist abducted from street, beaten and tortured and returned to street. He wrote for Dinamina (a Sinhala language newspaper), was allegedly critical of GoSL in his writing. The UN Panel of Experts suspected STF given their general alleged involvement in these sorts of violations.1657
### Landmines, suicide attacks and other IEDs

There were a number of bomb blasts in this period, with the vast majority occurring in 2008. Most attacks involved parcel bombs or suicide bombs. Some appeared to target civilians, but others appeared to target SFs or the SLFP. There were a number of attacks in this period that caused injuries and no fatalities; however, only those that caused fatalities or a large number of casualties are listed below:

- **5 January 2007**, Gampaha: parcel bomb exploded on civilian bus in Nittambuwa, between 5 and 7 killed and between 30 and 70 injured. SFs and MoD blamed LTTE. LTTE denied allegations.1658
- **28 May 2007**, Colombo: land mine hidden under roof of shop exploded at Belekkaade Junction, Rathmalana, between 6 and 8 killed and between 28 and 40 injured. Intended target was allegedly an STF truck. GoSL blamed LTTE.1659
- **28 June 2007**, Colombo: parcel bomb exploded outside department store in Nugeodana. 16 or 20 killed and 36 or 43 injured. This occurred on the same day as a female suicide bomber blew herself up in an attempt to kill the Social Services Minister.1660
- **29 October 2007**, Colombo: 17 civilians killed, 43 injured in parcel bomb explosion outside a clothing store. GoSL blamed.1661
- **2 January 2008**, Colombo: roadside bomb exploded outside hotel as SLA bus carrying sick and injured soldiers to hospital passed. 3 civilians and 1 soldier killed, and 24 or 28 injured, including 14 or 17 civilians. SFs blamed LTTE. LTTE denied involvement.1662
- **3 February 2008**, Colombo: female suicide bomber self-detonated at Fort Railway Station, Colombo. Between 10 and 14 killed, and between 91 and 100 injured. SFs blamed LTTE.1663
- **10 March 2008**, Colombo: a bomb exploded in flower pot on an island in road. 1 killed, 5 or 6 injured. SFs blamed LTTE.1664
- **25 April 2008**, Colombo: parcel bomb, hidden on baggage rack of bus, exploded during peak hour as bus left station in Piliyandala. Between 23 and 28 killed. 40 to 62 injured. SFs and SPLF blamed LTTE.1665
- **16 May 2008**, Colombo: suicide bomber crashed motorcycle into bus near the Presidential Secretariat, SFs headquarters and Sangabodhi Vihara in Fort, Colombo. Between 10 and 15 killed and between 85 and over 95 injured. Surrounding vehicles and Hilton Hotel damaged. SPLF, Sri Lankan President and MoD blamed LTTE. GoSL Opposition Leader suspected Pillaiyan Group involved. Attack allegedly targeted security personnel.1666
- **26 May 2008**, Colombo: bomb exploded on commuter train in Dediwela. Between 7 and 9 killed and 70 to 84 injured. SFs and MoD blamed LTTE. Ellalan Force claimed responsibility.1667

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1661 'UN chief slams Sri Lanka attacks', Agence France-Presse, 29 October 2007.

1662 'UPDATE 4-Sri Lanka rebels bomb army bus, 4 dead-officials', Reuters, 2 January 2008; HRW, 'Sri Lanka: Truce Ends Shows Need for UN Monitors', (News article, 4 January 2008); 'Four killed, 28 hurt in City Bomb blast, Tigers target bus carrying wounded soldiers', The Island, 3 January 2008.


1665 'Sri Lanka: rebels bomb army bus, 24 dead-officials', Agence France-Presse, 6 January 2008; 'Sri Lanka: Truce Ends Shows Need for UN Monitors', (News article, 4 January 2008); 'Four killed, 28 hurt in City bomb blast, Tigers target bus carrying wounded soldiers', The Island, 3 January 2008.


• 6 June 2008, Colombo: between 20 and 22 killed and 47 to 60 injured by roadside bomb near civilian bus. SFs and GoSL blamed LTTE, and SLPF detained 51 people for questioning. Ellalan Force claimed responsibility.1668

• 30 August 2008, Colombo: parcel bomb exploded near fruit market in Pettah. The bomb was reportedly placed under a watch stand near the bus and train station. Between 44 and 47 injured, including 2 children. GoSL blamed LTTE.1669

• 28 December 2008, Gampaha: suicide bomber detonated in Hekitta, Wattala, near a security checkpoint for a detachment of the Civil Defence Force. 8 killed, mostly paramilitary. 15 or 17 injured. SFs, SLPF and MoD blamed LTTE.1670

• 2 January 2009, Colombo: suicide bomber attacked SLAF headquarters. 2 or 3 SLAF killed and 21 to 37 injured, many of which were civilians. 2 nearby buses and 3 motorcycles were damaged. SFs blamed LTTE. Attack was suspected to be a reprisal for SLA capture of Kilinochchi.1671

• 20 February 2009, Colombo: attempted aerial suicide attack involving 2 aircraft laden with explosives. One crashed into Internal Revenue Department, killing 2, and injuring 40 to 58. The second plane targeted Air Force Base in Katunayake, but was shot down north of Colombo by SFs. Bullets from air defence system allegedly hit civilians, killing 4. A number of nearby buildings collapsed and suffered damage. LTTE blamed.1672

Disappearances

Disappearances were the most frequent incidents by far that occurred in this period in the Western Province.

From August 2006, disappearances were publicly reported on an almost weekly basis. Many were reported with little information other than the person missing, the date of disappearance and maybe the place of their abduction; these have not been included in the timeline below. Almost all the cases reportedly involved white vans. In all incidents listed below, the victim’s whereabouts were unknown at the time of reporting.

Below is a sample from August 2006:

• 17 August 2006, Gampaha: male abducted by 4 armed men, who allegedly spoke Sinhala, in a white van. Later, wife was called by people who spoke Sinhala and Tamil and requested a ransom, which was paid.1673

• 22 August 2006, Colombo: a married couple disappeared after leaving their respective work places in Borella. One worked for Aero Lanka (Pvt.) Ltd. as director of finance, the other for Ameri Lanka (Pvt.) Ltd. an affiliate of Aero Lanka. Perpetrator is unclear.1674

• 22 August 2006, Colombo: director, finance of Aero Lanka (Pvt) Ltd. abducted from home. She was known to have significant wealth and strong links to the North as the company she worked for had uninterrupted flight services to Jaffna.1675

• 23 August 2006, Colombo: political organiser for UFP abducted by 6 unidentified persons from workplace. Abductors allegedly claimed to be CID officials who needed the victim for an investigation.1676
Below is a sample from December 2006:

- 9 December 2006, Colombo: male abducted from his grocery and communications shop in Kotahena by 5 men in a white van claiming to be from CID. One and a half months later, family informed he was in the Welikanda area and could be picked up. He was never found.1677
- 13 December 2006, Colombo: hairdresser abducted allegedly by men in dark blue jeep, some in SLPF uniforms. The family had not received any information, and SLPF provided no information.1678
- 22 December 2006, Colombo: employee at a communication centre and print shop, abducted in Wellawatte by men in a white van who reportedly claimed to be from ‘Slave Island-CID’. Shortly after, victim’s family went to Wellawatte SLPF station, but were unable to find him.1679

Other abductions not listed above were abductions of people seeking to travel or work overseas:

- 23 September 2006, Colombo: male came to Colombo for an Indian visa. He obtained the visa and was staying at a friend’s house when men in SLPF van took him away. SLPF denied having any knowledge of him.1680
- 16 November 2006, Colombo: male traveled from Vavuniya to Colombo on 15 November 2006, for work abroad visa. 16 December 2006, men in civilian clothes arrived in SLPF van and took him away. Family said they saw a newspaper article saying he was being held in Boosa prison, but received no confirmation of this.1681

In the first half of 2007, there were many reported disappearance cases, but less so in the second half. Almost all cases involved white vans. Incidents from early 2007 include:

- 7 January 2007, Colombo: Tamil truck driver, married to Sinhalese women, taken from home in Colombo. Group of SLPF and people in civilian clothing blamed.1682
- 10 January 2007, Colombo: siblings abducted by unidentified men in a white van. Victims ran a joint transport service.1683
- 12 January 2007, Colombo: 5 young men from Batticaloa arrived in Colombo to apply for work visas for the Middle East. All subsequently disappeared, including the employment agent.1684
- 13 January 2007, Colombo: in December 2006, male moved from Vavuniya to Colombo on way to UAE for work. He obtained work and travel permits and had an air ticket for 23 January 2007. On 13 January 2007, 6 unarmed men allegedly arrived in a blue van, identified themselves as CID and took him away. SLPF and CID denied having any knowledge of the arrest.1685
- 28 January 2007, Colombo: male arrested by SLPF in Kotahena for alleged involvement in illegal activities. Released on 30 January 2007 after denying the charge. While walking home after release, abducted by attackers in white van.1686
- 14 February 2007, Colombo: crane operator in Colombo Harbour, taken away by 4 men in a white van. Wife said he had no links with any terrorists or militants. He was the only Tamil working in crane operations in the port.1687
- 16 February 2007, Colombo: male abducted, the family went to SLPF and identified his bicycle, which was in bad condition. SLA had checked the bike to see if a bomb had been fixed to it. It was also reported that male had been forcibly taken in a van.1688
- 22 February 2007, Colombo: bother-in-law of CID Director, abducted near Nugegoda suburb by a group of 5 people.1689
- 2 March 2007, Gampaha: Pastor from Gospel Missionary Church disappeared along with his two sons, and church helper. According to the Pastor’s family, they were abducted in Negombo.1690
- 18 June 2007, Colombo: family of man from Wellawatte informed their parish priest of Christ Church Galle Face, he had been abducted on way to bank. He was a prominent member of the Christ Church.1691

1678 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
1680 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
1681 Ibid.
1684 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
1685 Ibid.
1687 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
There were few reported disappearances in 2008. Two key incidents involved a driver for an aid agency and a Pastor:

- 15 May 2008, Colombo: driver for aid agency disappeared after work.\(^{1692}\)
- 6 October 2008, Gampaha: Pastor of Messiah Ministries abducted from his residence by an unidentified group.\(^{1693}\)

In 2009, disappearances in the Western Province were rarely reported. Some of those that were publicly reported involved people working in NGOs and teachers. There was invariably a white van involved in the abduction. Examples include:

- 10 March 2009, Colombo: female teacher from Wellawatte, worked in Rajagiriya Roman Catholic Tamil Mixed School, abducted from road by attackers in white van.\(^{1694}\)
- 24 March 2009, Colombo: Jaffna University lecturer abducted by unidentified attackers in white van allegedly at SLPF checkpoint. The victim was reportedly the younger brother of a Member of Parliament from Jaffna. He was released the next month.\(^{1695}\)
- 7 May 2009, Colombo: male abducted by unidentified men in white van, a few hours after being released by order of the Supreme Court following detention without charge. He was a project manager at Centre for Human Rights and Development.\(^{1696}\)

In this province, as well as others, it was not uncommon for unidentified dead bodies to be discovered, which may or may not have been those of people who had earlier disappeared. For example:

- 2 or 3 March 2007, Gamph: SLPF found decomposed and unidentifiable bodies of 5 men in a marsh at Kandana. The men had been blindfolded and shot in the head with their hands tied together. The killing was suspected to have taken place during the previous week.\(^{1697}\)

**Mass arrests, torture and sexual and gender-based violence in custody**

There were several types of detention or confinement cases. Some involved people being unofficially held in custody, accused of being LTTE supporters, and sexually assaulted. Other cases have a similar basis for arrest/detention, but there are no reported references to rape or sexual violence, although there were reports of torture and mistreatment. Some cases of confinement relate to people being abducted, often tortured or ill-treated, where bribes were demanded. The final category of incidents were mass or group arrests of Tamil people.

**Sexual and gender-based violence**

As expected, and as reflected in other periods and other regions, the amount of publicly reported cases of rape and sexual violence is relatively low. This is common given the nature of the offence, and so does not correlate to the actual occurrence of conflict-related rape and sexual violence in Sri Lanka. All the cases included below are from a 2013 Human Rights Watch report “We Will Teach You a Lesson”, which documented 75 cases of rape and sexual violence of Tamils by the SFs between 2006 and 2012.\(^{1698}\) Many of the people were raped while in custody, and their release was often secured through the payment of bribes. Examples include:

- February 2007, Colombo: woman’s husband taken and questioned. She complained to SLPF. A few days later, 6 or 7 SLA personnel (including some men in civilian clothes) came to house, abused her, took her in a van to an SLA camp. She was questioned, beaten, sexually harassed and raped. She was released in April 2007.\(^{1699}\)
- 1 September 2007, Colombo: male escaped LTTE after he was conscripted 4 months earlier. Arrested, questioned, beaten, accused of being an LTTE member and forced to sign a paper with something written in Sinhala. He was raped in detention.\(^{1700}\)
- February 2008, Colombo: 5 SF personnel took a male from home to SLPF station for questioning. He was questioned, accused of helping LTTE, tortured and sexually abused. They wore civilian clothes and did not speak Tamil.\(^{1701}\)

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1694 ‘A teacher was abducted by white van in Wellawatte: People complained to the monitoring committee’, Tamilwin, 11 March 2009.
1695 ‘Request to the release of Jaffna University lecturer Raveenthiran’, Tamilwin, 28 March 2009.
1698 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1472.
1699 Ibid.
1700 Ibid.
1701 Ibid.
Abduction or confinement and mistreatment

Most cases in this period, except a handful attributed to unknown attackers, involved people being arrested by the SLPF, accused of terrorist activities or affiliation, sometimes tortured and often forced to sign false confessions in Sinhalese. The majority of these publicly reported incidents occurred in 2007. Below are some examples:

- 16 February 2008, Colombo: woman moved to Colombo from Vanni on 16 February 2008, registered herself and son at SLPF station. She was detained, but not formally arrested. She was taken to a second detention site, where she was sexually assaulted and raped, and tortured. She was accused of being an LTTE member. 1702

- 1 June 2008, Colombo: nearly 30 SLA and SLPF officials waiting outside man’s home in Wellawatte, took him away in SLPF vehicle. He was questioned, beaten, tortured and raped. He was in detention for over a month. 1703

- 1 September 2008, Colombo: Sinhalese woman beaten, sexually abused and raped after taken by a group of people, some in SLA uniform and others in civilian clothes (one claimed to be CID). She was forced to sign statements in Sinhala saying she worked against GoSL and supported LTTE. 1704

- 1 May 2009, Batticaloa: woman from eastern Sri Lanka was returned to Sri Lanka by the UK in May 2009. On arrival at Colombo’s international airport, detained and interrogated by CID officials, and accused of being an LTTE supporter and fundraiser in the UK. She denied their allegations and was transferred to Batticaloa. Kept there for nearly 5 months and was frequently raped there. 1705

- 1 June 2009, Colombo: woman staying at lodge in Colombo. SLA soldiers accompanied by masked men in civilian clothes detained and took her by van to SLPF station. Questioned about links to LTTE, beaten, tortured and raped. 1706

1702 Ibid.
1703 Ibid.
1704 Ibid.
1705 Ibid.
1706 Ibid.
1708 Ibid.
1709 Ibid.
1710 ‘Sri Lanka’s Assault on Dissent’, above n 1223; HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
1711 ‘Arrested Sinhalese youth tortured’, Raavaya, 10 June 2007.
1714 ICJ, ‘Authority without Accountability’, above n 212.
Mass or group arrests

There were also patterns of groups of people being arrested in Colombo following an incident or averted incident, or prior to an anticipated one. This seemed to occur mostly in 2007, for example:

- **4 February 2007, Colombo:** SLPF arrested 266 people after finding and defusing bomb near cricket stadium. SLPF stated that people arrested were those who could not immediately explain presence in area. 1715

- **February and March 2007, Colombo:** over 100 Tamil youth rounded up by SLPF and sent to Boosa detention camp. Round-up occurred following demonstrations at Upper-Kotmale hydroelectricity project. Some arrests were connected to the detention of Sinhalese journalists by the SLPF in February 2007. 1716

- **1 or 7 June 2007, Colombo:** 300 to 400 Tamils staying in Colombo without ‘proper’ identification or a ‘valid reason’ were forcibly removed from lodge by SLPF for ‘security considerations’ to eliminate LTTE attacks. 8 June 2007, in response to fundamental rights application, Supreme Court halted expulsions and ordered GoSL to return lodge-dwellers to Colombo. 9 June 2007, SLPF released statement that victims expressed consent to be sent home, but some reports said the victims were not told their destination. 1717

- **Late November or early December 2007, Colombo:** between 800 and 2,554 Tamils, including women and children, were detained by the SLPF in mass arrests in the Colombo area. The arrests occurred following the suicide bombing in Colombo at the Social Service Minister’s office on 28 November 2007. While most of the arrested persons were released within few days, at least 200 persons remained in custody as of 19 December 2008. 100 detainees were sent to Boossa detention camp in Galle. Some reportedly disappeared. 1718

Smaller group arrests in 2009 seemed to target Tamil people who appeared to be from the Northern or Eastern regions, but not Colombo, for example:

- **15 March 2009, Colombo:** 23 Tamil civilians arrested by Bambalapitiya SLPF following search in the Wellawatte area. SLPF claimed the arrested persons failed to prove their identity or a reason for their stay in Colombo. The detainees were allegedly from the North, East and the Central Highlands. 1719

- **9 April 2009, Colombo:** 14 men arrested during SLPF search in Wellawatte. The arrested persons were identified as permanent residents of Jaffna. 1720

- **14 April 2009, Colombo:** 11 Tamil youths arrested on New Year in Colombo by STF. The relations of the victims made a complaint to Minister Rathakrishnan who contacted police authorities. There is information that the youths were detained in Kalubowila, Panadura and Kalutara. 1721

1716 AI, ‘Sri Lanka’s Assault on Dissent’, above n 1223.
1719 ‘23 Tamil civilians were arrested in Wellawatte Colombo’, Tamilwin, 18 March 2009.
1720 ‘14 Tamil men were arrested in Colombo’, Tamilwin, 9 April 2009.
1721 ‘11 Tamil youths were arrested on the day of New Year’, Tamilwin, 15 April 2009.
From July 2006 until mid-2007, conflict was concentrated in the Eastern Province. However, during this time, there was an increased rate of targeted killings and disappearances in the Northern Province. Low-level shelling also caused civilian casualties.\textsuperscript{1722}

In the last few months of 2007, the GoSL launched its Northern Campaign around Mannar.\textsuperscript{1723} SFs advanced from the south-west and from the northern tip of the Jaffna peninsula, while SLA DPUs reportedly attacked the LTTE from within their own territory.\textsuperscript{1724} By the end of 2007, LTTE-controlled territory had been reduced to Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, northern Vavuniya, north-western Mannar and small parts of the Jaffna peninsula.\textsuperscript{1725}

In August 2008, the SLA captured Mannar, and by September, troops were advancing on the de facto LTTE capital in Kilinochchi. By the beginning of 2009, LTTE territory was reduced to a small area of north-eastern Vanni, with hundreds of thousands of civilians trapped behind LTTE lines.\textsuperscript{1726}

It is important to note that from mid-2007 onwards, foreign journalists and independent human rights monitors had little or no access to the Vanni. As this conflict mapping report only includes publicly reported incidents, information in this section relies on a small number of sources, which had limited reach and capacity.\textsuperscript{1727}

**Killings**

Over half of the killings in the CMAP database in this period targeted civilians with no reported political or professional affiliation to the conflict. Many of these killings occurred in Jaffna in 2006. A relatively large number were also reported in 2007, mostly in Jaffna and Vavuniya, but considerably fewer cases were reported in 2008. This pattern may be due to an increasing focus in reporting on shelling in the Vanni, rather than on individual violations throughout the North.

The majority of killings were shootings, which were blamed on the LTTE and sourced from MoD situation reports or were reported by NESOH and UTHR and variously attributed.

\textsuperscript{1722} HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
\textsuperscript{1723} HRW, ‘Besieged, Displaced, Detained’, above n 48.
\textsuperscript{1724} Weiss, above n 6.
\textsuperscript{1725} PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
\textsuperscript{1726} Report of the OISL, UN Doc. A/HRC/30/CRP.2.
\textsuperscript{1727} HRW, ‘Besieged, Displaced, Detained’, above n 48.
Most of the victims were civilians who were shot directly on the street, in their homes or in vehicles. There was usually no reported reason for the killing. For example, in the last week of August:

- 23 August 2006, Jaffna: woman called out of home near Vaideeswara junction. Presumed dead. LTTE suspected. 1728
- 23 August 2006, Jaffna: civilian killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 1729
- 28 August 2006, Jaffna: civilian shot dead. MoD blamed LTTE. 1730
- 29 August 2006, Jaffna: civilian shot dead. MoD blamed LTTE. 1731
- 29 August 2006, Jaffna: civilian shot dead in Nallur. MoD blamed LTTE. 1732

Or in the first half of November 2006:

- 5 November 2006, Jaffna: man shot dead in Sirippiddi. MoD blamed LTTE. 1734
- 6 November 2006, Jaffna: civilian killed in Point Pedro. MoD blamed LTTE. 1735
- 11 or 12 November 2006, Jaffna: 15 yo. and 21 yo. either shot dead together in Anaipanthy, or abducted separately and subsequently killed. MoD blamed LTTE. 1736
- 11 or 12 November 2006, Jaffna: civilian killed and another injured in Saravan Stores. MoD blamed LTTE. 1737

Or in October and November 2007:

- 8 October 2007, Jaffna: male shot dead by gunmen on motorbike. Military intelligence group blamed. 1738
- 17 October 2007, Jaffna: male shot dead by gunmen entering his shop. Sri Lankan intelligence group blamed. 1739
- 21 October 2007, Jaffna: 74 yo. male shot dead in Thenmaradchi. 1740
- 9 November 2007, Jaffna: male civilian shot dead in Kalviyan Kadu area by unknown armed men. 1741

A number of victims were abducted, detained and sometimes tortured before being killed. No reason was provided for their killing. The LTTE and SFs were variously blamed. For example:

- 25 November 2006, Jaffna: person abducted in Thinnevely Milk Farm area. Body found dumped with torture injuries 2 days later. GoSL affiliates suspected. 1742
- 11 January 2007, Mannar: brothers arrested near Madukkarai, detained for at least a day and tortured. Bodies found in field. STF blamed. 1743
- 14 March 2007, Jaffna: body found at Konan Thottam Veethy, near SLA High Security Zone. Victim had been abducted. SLA blamed. 1744
- 8 September 2007, Vavuniya: Tamil farmer abducted from home. Body found on 10 September in Chettikulam. MoD blamed LTTE. 1745
- 29 September 2007, Jaffna: student in technical college abducted by attackers in white van and killed, along with unidentified man. Body found in Urumpirai. 1746

1732 Ibid.
1739 Ibid.
1740 Ibid.
1741 Ibid.
1742 UTHR, ‘Bulletins No.42, 43 and Supplement to SpR’, above n 1202.
• 22 December 2007, Vavuniya: body of overseer at a construction company found buried in field. Victim had allegedly been abducted several months earlier in Chettikulam. SLPF blamed LTTE.1747

In cases where a reason for the killing was provided, a number of victims were reportedly targeted due to alleged personal or business relations with SFs or the LTTE. For example:

• 22 August 2006, Jaffna: person who used to sell vegetables to SLA was killed in Punnalaikkadduvu. LTTE blamed.1748
• 25 August 2006, Jaffna: fish trader dead at Kattuaidi Junction. Suspected of dealing with SFs. LTTE blamed.1749
• 22 October 2006, Vavuniya: Hindu priest who allegedly had close relations with SFs was shot dead in Srinagar. MoD blamed LTTE.1750
• 28 September 2006, Jaffna: brothers disappeared. LTTE suspected. Victims allegedly spoke good Sinhala and were known to be “friends” with SLA.1751
• 26 November 2006, Jaffna: former village headman, who allegedly opposed LTTE and was friendly with SLA, was shot dead in Arasadi. MoD blamed LTTE.1752
• 1 December 2006, Jaffna: woman shot dead in Oddumadam. LTTE blamed, classified victim as “traitor” for allegedly having sexual relations with SLA officer.1753
• 14 July 2007, Jaffna: shop employee found dead. SFs often visited her shop. LTTE and GoSL-linked group suspected.1754

There were also cases where civilians, mostly businessmen, were killed for refusing to pay a ransom or protection money. For example:

• 9 May 2008, Jaffna: Tamil businessman shot dead in Nallur, allegedly for refusing to pay ransom. MoD blamed LTTE.1755
• 25 March 2007, Vavuniya: 3 Tamil businessmen shot dead because refused to pay protection money. SFs blamed LTTE.1756

In one case where students were targeted, the shooting appeared to occur in response to an alleged LTTE attack on SFs:

• 18 November 2006, Vavuniya: 4 to 5 agriculture students killed, 8 injured in school in Thandikulam. SFs allegedly fired following an explosion, which was allegedly set off by LTTE. Most source claim SFs shot students at close range. One source claimed they died in initial blast.1757

There was one, well-known targeted attack on a family of four:

• 8 or 9 June 2006, Mannar: Family of 4, including a 9 yo. girl and 7 yo. boy, was killed and hanged in their home in Vankalai. Reports suggest that all were likely tortured, and that mother was raped. A family member of victims was formerly in the LTTE, and victims had just returned from living in India. Most source, including LTTE and victims’ neighbours, blamed SFs. MoD blamed LTTE.1758

There was only one, generalised village raid recorded in the database in this period:

• 12 April 2007, Vavuniya: attack on Avarantalawa, Sinhalese-majority village, killed 7. SFs blamed LTTE.1759

1747 'Body of youth abductd by LTTE recovered', The Island, 26 December 2007.
1749 Ibid.
1751 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
1753 UTHR, ‘Bulletins No.42, 43 and Supplement to SpR’, above n 1202.
Disappearances

In this period in the North, there were a large number of disappearances targeting people with no reported political or professional connection to the conflict. In the majority of cases, SFs or the SLPF were allegedly responsible. Many of these cases were reported by a Human Rights Watch report on state responsibility for disappearances and abductions and a NESoHR report that identified a large number of disappearances that were attributed to the SLA, various paramilitary groups, Karuna Group, and other unknown abductors. According to Human Rights Watch, the vast majority of victims were Tamil, although this is not always specified in reporting on individual incidents.

In many of these cases, no reason for the disappearance was reported. From the end of 2006, an increasing number of these incidents involved white vans, and were often blamed on unidentified ‘paramilitaries’ or ‘armed groups’. For example:

- 16 August 2006, Jaffna: 2 men disappeared on way to Kachai. SFs in area denied knowledge of victims, but knew that one of them used to work for Ceylon Transport Board. Relatives saw victim’s bicycle at Kodikamam SFs camp, but commander told them that people who arrested victims had left the camp.

- 14 April 2007, Vavuniya: trishaw driver abducted along with three-wheeler. Vehicle located by SLPF the following day. MoD blamed LTTE.

- 31 August 2007, Mannar: 2 civilians abducted from Mannar town at midday by paramilitary in white van.


A couple of disappearances occurred in the immediate aftermath of attacks on SFs:

- Around 23 December 2006, Mannar: 4 civilians disappeared following 23 December 2006 attack on SLN bus in Pesalai. SLN suspected.

- 28 December 2006, Jaffna: a coconut trader and his 13 yo. son abducted and disappeared following a bomb explosion near Chavakacheri courts. SLA blamed.

In some incidents, a ransom was demanded after the victim disappeared. For example:


In such cases, relatives who refused or were unable to pay the ransom may have been killed (see examples in “Killings” section) or assaulted, for example:

- November 2007, Vavuniya: man and son arrested, wife sexually assaulted, man disappeared. SLA blamed. Soldiers responsible allegedly came to victims’ house in mid-June, demanded ransom, raped wife, were paid half of ransom, and returned in November to arrest husband and son.

In addition, several disappearances occurred after victims sought permission from the SLA to travel.

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1761 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
1764 Ibid.
1765 Ibid.
1769 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.
Killings and disappearances during cordon-and-search operations

A number of disappearances, and one killing, were reported during SLA cordon-and-search operations, which were particularly frequent from 2006 to 2008, and often occurred following an alleged LTTE attack on SFs. While the operations purportedly sought LTTE members, unaffiliated civilians were often caught up in the search. Victims in the cases below were not reported as having any LTTE affiliations. For example:

- 6 December 2006, Jaffna: man stopped during SLA cordon-and-search operation in Navindil, released but told to come to Udupiddy SLA camp. Went to camp later that day, detained. SLA blamed, but denied that he was arrested.
- 8 December 2006, Jaffna: 2 men abducted, disappeared when SLA allegedly conducted large cordon-and-search operation in several villages. Both had ID cards confiscated, were told to pick them up later that day in Navindil playground, but were abducted from playground. SLA blamed.
- 8 March 2009, Vavuniya: 12 Tamil youth arrested during search operation in Cheddikulam and Poovarasankulam. 5 detained in SLPF station, 7 disappeared. SLA and SLPF blamed.
- September 2008, Vavuniya: 4 persons arrested and disappeared the night after a search operation in Vavuniya.

In one incident, several youths were killed during one of these search operations:

- 29 April 2007, Jaffna: 6 youths and a priest, Rathnasabapathi Aiyiayar Somasanthi Kurukkal, were shot dead. SLN blamed. Shooting occurred during SLN cordon-and-search operation, during which public were prevented from entering and leaving Jaffna. Operation followed killing of SLN commander by unidentified Tamil youth.

Detention, torture and sexual and gender-based violence

Almost all reported cases of detention involved torture, and the majority involved rape or sexual violence. Most victims were accused of LTTE membership or connections. They were generally forced to sign confessions and identify others as LTTE members, before being released after family members paid bribes. All cases of arbitrary detention were blamed on the SLPF and SFs.

According to Human Rights Watch, the rate of sexual violence in custody increased in this period compared to prior periods. They partially attributed this trend to the mid-2005 passage of expanded Emergency Regulations and December 2006 passage of the Prevention and Prohibition of Terrorism, which enabled increased targeting of young Tamil men. However, due to the nature of the violation, the vast majority of sexual violence was likely unreported.

- 18 August 2006, Jaffna: Jaffna University student detained for 8 months, allegedly by SLA. Claimed that he was not provided reason for detainment, and had no involvement with armed groups.
- Early December 2006, Vavuniya: man abducted and detained for 28 days in Joseph camp, where he was kept in a toilet, repeatedly tortured and sexually assaulted. Released later in December when his family bribed officials.
- January 2008, Vavuniya: woman attending primary teachers’ training organised by the Tamil Eelam Educational Society was arrested, detained in Veppankulam camp, tortured, repeatedly raped and forced to sign confession of LTTE membership. SLA blamed. Released in February 2008 after aunt bribed SLA.

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1771 Ibid.
1772 Ibid.
1773 ‘Twelve Tamil youngsters were arrested in Vavuniya’, Tamilwin, 8 March 2009.
1775 Ibid.
1777 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
1778 Ibid.
1780 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.
1782 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.
1783 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30 CRP.2
• 4 January 2008, Vavuniya: 17 yo. abducted, allegedly by SLPF looking for his father who had worked for LTTE. Detained in Veppankulam camp, tortured repeatedly, raped and asked about his father’s LTTE connections. Released in May 2008 after bribe paid.1784

• July 2008, Vavuniya: woman arrested, allegedly after SLA officials asked to see her ID card and saw that she was from Mullaitivu. Detained in Joseph Camp, tortured and raped repeatedly, forced to sign documents. Released on unspecified date when cousin bribed SLA.1785

• 30 September 2008, Vavuniya: Mahalingam Baskaran, driver from Jaffna who was hired to transport food to Vavuniya and Kilinochchi, was arrested while loading items at UN warehouse in Vavuniya. SLA accused him of helping LTTE transport illegal items. Detained and tortured at Vavuniya SLAF camp, Vavuniya SLPF Station and Anuradhapura Remand Prison. Alleged torture before magistrate on 19 January 2009. Filed fundamental rights petition against arresting officer, who was awaiting trial at time of reporting.1786

• October 2008, Vavuniya: woman arrested during SLPF and SIS search operation. Accused of being LTTE operative. Detained in local SLPF station, tortured and raped repeatedly, forced to admit LTTE membership and sign documents in Sinhala. Released in November 2008 after uncle bribed SLPF and SLA officials.1787

• November 2008, Vavuniya: woman arrested at Irambakulam checkpoint when travelling from Trincomalee to Vavuniya. Detained in Vavuniya SLPF station, assaulted and accused of LTTE membership. Taken to Veppankulam CID camp, repeatedly tortured and raped, admitted to allegedly false accusations and signed documents in Sinhalese that she was unable to read. Taken to other camps, forced to identify LTTE supporters, beaten when she refused. Released when family bribed SFs in December 2008.1788

• December 2008, Jaffna: woman arrested at parents’ home, beaten, accused of being LTTE member. Taken to SLA camp, tortured and raped repeatedly, forced to sign documents and participate in identification parades. Released later in December 2008 when uncle bribed SLA officials through an EPDP member.1789

• January 2009, Vavuniya: woman arrested after SLA searched her house, found a bag of explosives that allegedly belonged to her friend and saw on her ID card that she was from Mullaitivu. Accused of being LTTE, tortured and raped repeatedly, forced to sign confession. Released in February 2009 when father bribed officials.1790

• January 2009, Vavuniya/Kilinochchi: woman arrested at Nedunkerni, taken to Gamini Mahavidyalayam camp and then Joseph camp in Vavuniya. Tortured, raped and accused of being LTTE member. Released when family bribed SLA soldiers through PLOTE members.1791

• May 2009, Vavuniya: man abducted from home, allegedly by 4 to 5 men, including SLA soldiers, who claimed to be CID officials and have information on his LTTE links. He was detained in Joseph Camp, tortured, raped and forced to identify LTTE members. Released following payment of bribe in June 2009.1792

Attacks or killings targeting specific people or groups

The following section details attacks on groups of civilians who were reportedly targeted due to their profession or political affiliation.

Attacks on political office-holders, affiliates, supporters and informants

Killings in this period were fairly evenly distributed throughout 2006 and 2007, with a handful in 2008. The majority occurred in Jaffna.

A number of political office-holders and candidates were killed or disappeared in this period. These included people affiliated with the EPDP, TNA and three presidents or former presidents of fishermen’s unions/societies:

• 9 November 2006, Jaffna: president of fishermen’s union and local council candidate for EPDP was killed. LTTE blamed.1793

• 30 November 2006, Jaffna: Grama Niladhari (village headman) shot dead at Gurunagar West GS office. LTTE blamed, allegedly suspected victim was EPDP supporter.1794

• 5 February 2007, Jaffna: president of fishing society, disappeared next to Thondaimanaru SFs camp. SLA had borrowed his bike earlier in the day, as they allegedly knew him well and frequently did this. SLA suspected, but denied involvement.1795

1784 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.
1785 Ibid.
1786 ICJ, ‘Authority without Accountability’, above n 212.
1787 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.
1788 Ibid.
1789 Ibid.
1790 Ibid.
1791 Ibid.
1792 Ibid.
1793 UTHR, ‘Bulletins No.42, 43 and Supplement to SpR.’, above n 1203.
1794 Ibid.
1795 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
The following victims were reportedly killed because of their involvement in advocacy or protest surrounding the conflict. Some were simply involved in agitation. Others were high-profile activists, such as the Chairman of NESoHR, or witnesses to alleged human rights violations, such as Tamil priest Rev. Thiruchelvam Nihal Jim Brown.

- 6 March 2008, Vavuniya: K. Sivanesan, TNA MP, killed in explosion targeting his car. SLA DPU blamed. MoD denied involvement.1796
- 13 May 2008, Jaffna: Maheswari Velayudan shot dead in Nelliyaddi. Victim was member of EPDP central committee, human rights lawyer and senior adviser to Minister Devananda. Attackers entered house dressed as SFs, but LTTE blamed.1797
- 28 August 2006, Jaffna: civilian EPDP supporter and former president of fishermen’s union in Vadamaratchy, shot dead. MoD blamed LTTE.1798

In cases where higher-profile community members were targeted, reporting sometimes included multiple, conflicting reasons for their death. For example:

- 1 February 2007, Jaffna: retired engineer and president of Jaffna Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society, shot dead in Ariyalai. Victim may have been killed because he defied LTTE orders by distributing food, or GoSL-affiliated group may have killed victim because he had been publicly (allegedly falsely) accused of LTTE membership, or he may have been killed because he uncovered corruption of officials he worked for.1801

Aside from office-holders and activists, general ‘supporters’ of political parties were also targeted, for example:

- 21 September 2006, Jaffna: postman who allegedly supported anti-LTTE party, killed at Chankankai. MoD blamed LTTE.1804

Several victims were former members of political parties, for example:

- 11 August 2006, Vavuniya: former EPDM member shot dead at Ukkulankulam. MoD blamed LTTE.1805

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1801 Ibid.


• 18 January 2007, Jaffna: male disappeared on way to his shop in Jaffna town. SLA suspected. The victim had spent 2003 in an LTTE training camp when he was 17 yo. but allegedly had severed ties with LTTE. A week before disappearance, victim's father was allegedly questioned by SLA about son's involvement with LTTE.1806

A couple of incidents targeted family members of political figures:
• 4 November 2006, Jaffna: widow of former EPDP secretary in Atchuvely, shot dead. LTTE blamed.1807
• 13 November 2006, Jaffna: relation of LTTE political leader shot dead on Kasturiyar Rd. GoSL killers suspected.1808

Several killings or disappearances targeting current members of the EPDP or PLOTE were recorded in the database. These have not been included in the report, as the nature of their roles (political or military) in those parties were not clear.

**Attacks on journalists and writers**

The majority of victims in this section were Tamil. In most cases, the killing was unattributed or there were conflicting allegations of blame. According to Human Rights Watch, the LTTE was routinely implicated in persecution of Tamil journalists, particularly those who worked for state-owned media.1809

In Jaffna in 2006, there was reportedly a series of death threats against distributors of Tamil-language newspapers.1810 Only three actual attacks were recorded in the database:

• 15 June or 16 August 2006, Jaffna: Uthayan newspaper distributor killed while delivering paper in marked ‘Uthayan’ vehicle in an SLA-controlled area of Jaffna. Most source blamed SFs or GoSL-affiliated gunmen. MoD blamed LTTE.1811

• 27 July 2006, Jaffna: newspaper vendor killed by 2 roadside bombs that exploded as he was collecting newspapers for distribution. Attack also injured SFs soldier and another civilian. SFs blamed LTTE, claiming that target of bombs was SFs patrol. Attack occurred during series of death threats against distributors of Tamil-language newspapers.1812

• 20 August 2006, Jaffna: Sinnathamby Sivamaharajah, managing director of Tamil newspaper Namathu Eelanadu and former TULF MP and TNA member, shot dead. TNA blamed SFs, other sources suspected SFs.1813

Several attacks were carried out against the Tamil publication Uthayan, which was the only Tamil-language daily published in Jaffna during much of the conflict.1814 For example:

• 18 August 2006, Jaffna: 1 or 2 Uthayan warehouse(s) burned down, equipment destroyed. Publisher blamed ‘paramilitaries’.1815

• 29 or 30 April 2007, Jaffna: Rajivarmanhad/Selvarajah Rajeewarnam, a reporter or delivery man working for Uthayan newspaper, was shot dead on Rashavintottam road in Navalar. Victim had been investigating reports of enforced disappearances. While most sources suspected EPDP, SLFP suspected LTTE.1816

• 6 May 2007, Jaffna: Manager of Uthayan newspaper, K. Nandakumar, killed by unknown group.1817

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1806 HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35.
1807 UTHR, ‘Bulletins No.42, 43 and Supplement to SpR’, above n 1202.
1808 Ibid.
1809 HRW, ‘Return to War’, above n 27.
• 17 November 2007, Jaffna: Vadivel Nirmalarajan, a proofreader with Uthayan newspaper, abducted near Navalar Road railway. His whereabouts remained unknown at the time of reporting. EPDP or ‘paramilitary group’ in Jaffna suspected.1818

There were also fatal attacks on a Tamil playwright1819 and a Tamil poet.1820

In 2006, Voice of Tigers radio station, which was the LTTE media outlet, was shelled:
• 17 October 2006: main transmitting tower ‘Voice of Tigers’ radio station in Kokkavil bombed and destroyed.1821

The radio station was also hit by generalized shelling in 2007 (see ‘Shelling’ section).

Attacks on humanitarian workers/offices

Attacks on humanitarian workers and offices were fairly evenly distributed throughout 2006 and 2007, and mainly occurred in Jaffna.

Several attacks targeted employees of de-mining NGOs:
• 15 November 2006, Jaffna: employee of mine-clearing charity Halo Trust abducted from home in Chundikuli. Attackers, who spoke both Tamil and Sinhala, arrived in white van and green jeep, broke into house and asked for Halo Trust employee. Relative suspected that attackers were Tamil. SLPF suggested that they were SLA, but SLA denied arrest and suggested that SFs Intelligence unit may have been involved.1822
• 4 January 2007, Jaffna: Halo Trust employee abducted from home on Racca Road in Jaffna by unidentified men in white van.1823
• 20 August 2007, Jaffna: 4 staff members of Danish Demining Group were chased and shot at while travelling to work on 2 motorcycles. 1 killed, another injured.1824
• 20 August 2007, Jaffna: 2 de-miners from NGO Halo Trust were shot on Kasthuriyar road in Jaffna. 1 died, 1 injured. MoD suspected LTTE.1825

Four attacks targeted Red Cross workers or offices:
• 20 August 2006, Vavuniya: Tamil Sri Lankan Red Cross worker shot dead. SLPF blamed LTTE.1826
• 30 September 2006, Jaffna: grenade explosion in front of Jaffna ICRC office damaged building. No casualties reported.1827
• 23 December 2008, Jaffna: ICRC staff member shot dead.1829

Attacks on fishermen

Nearly all of the attacks on fishermen occurred in Mannar, mostly in 2007 and 2008. Several involved the large groups of fishermen:
• 12 March 2007, Mannar: 12 fishermen from Tamil Nadu abducted and detained in Mannar. 11 released on 18 May 2007, 1 remained in detention. LTTE Sea Tigers allegedly abducted fishermen to use their vessel, the ‘Sri Krishna’.1830

There were likely more abductions in Mannar that were not recorded as distinct incidents in the database. For example, between 16 and 4 April 2007, SLMM reported that the LTTE abducted 43 fishermen, later releasing 29.\(^{1831}\)

Some fishermen who were abducted were taken to LTTE camps:

- 26 March 2008, Vavuniya: 3 Sinhalese fishermen shot dead, 3 injured near Omannathai. Victims were allegedly escaping from LTTE camp at time of attack. SLA/SFs blamed, and initially blamed LTTE, but later claimed that victims were caught in crossfire.\(^{1834}\)

Fishing bans may have contributed to targeted attacks on fishermen, for example:

- 28 April 2007, Jaffna: fisherman killed in Jaffna lagoon by artillery fired from shore. SLA blamed. Incident occurred soon after SLA relaxed fishing ban in lagoon.\(^{1835}\)

LTTE Sea Tigers were accused of intentionally mingling with fishermen, heightening the risk of collateral damage and generalized targeting of anyone who may be suspected of being a Sea Tiger. For example:

- 20 July 2008, Kilinochchi: 9 civilians injured in an attack on fishing boats in coastal village of Anpupuram. SLN and SLAF blamed, but claimed they destroyed LTTE Sea Tigers boats, and people on boats had weapons and high-speed engines not generally used by civilian fishermen.\(^{1836}\)

**Attacks on the SLPF and Home Guards**

Most SLPF and Home Guard casualties were caused by bombings (see ‘Landmines’ section below). However, there were a handful of direct shootings,\(^ {1837}\) and several armed attacks on checkpoints and bunkers.\(^ {1838}\)

**Landmines**

The majority of mine attacks occurred in 2007 and 2008. A number of mines allegedly targeted SLPF or SLA foot patrols, but also caused civilian casualties. For example:

- 6 December 2006, Jaffna: landmine near Jaffna town exploded. 4 killed, 1 injured. Mine allegedly targeted passing SLA vehicle, but missed. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^ {1839}\)

- 1 January 2007, Jaffna: 2 killed by landmine, which allegedly intended to target SLA foot patrol, at Nallur Road.\(^ {1840}\)

The remaining attacks were mostly blamed on the SLA DPU. The intended target was often unclear. For example, a number of medical vehicles were hit, although there is no indication in reporting of whether they were targeted:

- 8 August 2006, Vavuniya: landmine exploded near ambulance, killing 5 civilians, including 1 doctor and 2 nurses. SLA DPU blamed, but denied allegation.\(^ {1841}\)

- 27 November 2007, Mullaitivu: 5 students killed in mine attack while going in ambulance for a First Aid Program. SLA DPU blamed.\(^ {1842}\)

- 23 May 2008, Kilinochchi: ambulance hit by mine at Muzhangkaavil, killing 2 civilians who were catching ride from Kilinochchi Hospital.\(^ {1843}\)


\(^{1840}\) ‘Five soldiers, four civilians killed in series of incidents’, Sunday Times, 7 January 2007.


A number of attacks killed and/or injured one to three seemingly unaffiliated civilians. However, there were also attacks on several vehicles carrying large numbers of civilians, including a school bus. For example:

- 7 April 2007, Vavuniya: landmine hit civilian bus, killing 6 to 8 Tamils and Muslims, injuring 18 to 26. SFs blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied involvement and blamed SFs.\(^{1844}\)
- 1 September 2007, Mannar: 12 people killed due to claymore attack at Silavathurai Road. SLA DPU blamed.\(^{1845}\)
- 28, 29 or 30 January 2008, Mannar: roadside bomb exploded on school bus, killing 17 to 20 and injuring 10 to 21. LTTE blamed SLA DPU, alleged that attack ‘deliberately targeted the children’. SFs denied responsibility. GoSL blamed LTTE.\(^{1846}\)
- 23 May 2008, Kilinochchi: van carrying members of family was hit by roadside bomb. 16 or 17 killed, 3 to 20 injured. SLA DPU and SLA Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol blamed. SFs denied involvement in, and knowledge of, incident.\(^{1847}\)
- 2 June 2008, Mullaitivu: car carrying three families hit by landmine. 6 killed, 4 injured. SLA DPU blamed. SFs denied involvement.\(^{1848}\)

**Vehicle bombs, grenades and other IEDs**

Several bombs were allegedly intended to target SFs patrols, but caused civilian casualties. For example:

- 2 March 2008, Vavuniya: bicycle bomb exploded at Sanasa Junction, allegedly targeting SLA patrol. 10 to 11 injured, including 6 to 7 civilians, 2 to 4 SLFP and 2 Civil Defence Force personnel. LTTE blamed.\(^{1849}\)
- 17 February 2007, Jaffna: 7 yo. child killed, 3 injured by bicycle bomb near Chundikuli Girls School. 1 SFs soldier also killed, 7 soldiers injured. Bomb allegedly triggered by remote control when SLA truck passed by. SFs blamed LTTE.\(^{1850}\)

There were also bombings in public civilian places, such as markets. For example:

- 13 September 2006, Vavuniya: grenade exploded in market, injuring 15 to 16. MoD and SLFP blamed LTTE.\(^{1851}\)
- 17 May 2008, Vavuniya: 17 civilians injured by grenade in Vavuniya town. LTTE blamed.\(^{1852}\)

**Suicide bombings**

There were two suicide bombings recorded in the database in this area during this period, both of which targeted SFs/SLFP:

- 24 March 2007, Jaffna: suicide bomber detonated when stopped at SLA roadblock, killing 1 soldier and injuring 1 to 2. LTTE blamed.\(^{1853}\)
- 16 June 2008, Vavuniya: suicide bomber detonated outside SLFP office, killing 12 SLFP, injuring 20 to 40. LTTE suspected.\(^{1854}\)
Attacks by armed groups

There were few publicly reported attacks by armed groups in this period. There were two attacks on civilian ships, which were allegedly mistaken for enemy vessels:

- 21 or 23 December 2006, Mullaitivu: the ship Farha III carrying rice from India to South Africa was hijacked off Mullaitivu coast. Crew (11 Jordanians, 13 Egyptians, Iranian captain) were detained. LTTE admitted to attack, claiming that they boarded ship to check whether it was ‘enemy vessel.’ Crew later released.\[1855\]
- 18 October 2007: boat carrying family to India was attacked off Mannar coast. Father and 2 children killed, mother and 2 other children injured. Family reportedly waved a white flag at attackers. SLN were blamed for attack, but claimed that they were responding to LTTE boat attack.\[1856\]

Shelling

From mid-2006 to mid-2007, conflict was concentrated in the East, where the GoSL was conducting its Eastern Campaign. However, there was low-level, but fairly frequent, shelling in the North, starting with the well-known attack on Vallipunam village:

- 14 August 2006, Mullaitivu: an air raid killed 19 to 61 people, all aged 14 to 21 yo. and injured 60 to 150 in Vallipunam. SLAF blamed, but claimed victims were LTTE recruits who received weapons training at the site. However, sources including some victims, SLMM, UNICEF and LTTE reported victims were students attending first-aid course or leadership training. Some victims claimed they were forced to attend the first-aid training. SLMM and UNICEF found site bore no signs of use as a LTTE training facility, and no evidence victims were affiliated with LTTE. 3 victims were taken into SLPF custody, and provided televised confessions claiming they received first-aid training and were taught to assemble and dismantle guns. Udalagama Commission found site was legitimate military target, but OISL found it was a primarily civilian object.\[1857\]

In most incidents of shelling in this period, the SLAF were blamed but denied that civilian settlements were targeted or that civilian casualties occurred, claiming that they had targeted and/or hit sites of LTTE activity. For example:

- 17 October 2006, Mullaitivu: 2 children killed, 15 injured, homes destroyed when civilian settlement shelled. SLAF blamed. GoSL reported that SLAF targeted LTTE base in PTK in response to suicide attack.\[1858\]
- 1 January 2007, Mannar: Padahuthurai village bombed, 16 civilians killed. SLAF blamed, but claimed they hit a Sea Tiger base.\[1859\]

In one incident, SFs admitted to shelling, but blamed the LTTE for using the civilian population as a shield:

- 12 or 13 August 2006, Jaffna: 15 to 24 civilians killed and 50 to 75 injured in St Philip Neri Church in Alliapidy. The SLA either fired rockets on church, or civilians were killed in LTTE-SFs crossfire because LTTE was allegedly hiding in church.\[1860\]

Two hospitals were hit:

- 2 November 2006, Kilinochchi: airstrikes damaged a hospital, 5 killed and 2 or 12 injured, as reported by multiple sources including SLMM, US and EU ambassadors. SLAF blamed, but reported airstrikes hit Sea Tigers base in Mannar and LTTE training camp south of Kilinochchi.\[1861\]
• 14 July 2007, Vavuniya: shelling damaged maternity section, electricity transformer and out-patient department of a hospital. Hospital was operational at minimal level following attack. SLA blamed.\textsuperscript{1862}

Starting around October 2007, SFs began the Northern Campaign. Shelling reportedly continued to cause civilian casualties, but SFs claimed they only hit legitimate targets. For example:

• 27 November 2007, Kilinochchi: Voice of Tigers radio station, UN World Food Programme office and surrounding civilian buildings hit by aerial attack. 8 to 10 killed, including 3 to 5 radio station employees and 4 to 6 other civilians. SFs admitted to the attack but claimed they hit a legitimate target.\textsuperscript{1863}

• 22 February 2008, Kilinochchi: 8 or 9 civilians killed, 10 to 14 injured by aerial attack in Kiranchi or Sivanager. SLAF blamed for allegedly indiscriminate shelling, but claimed they only bombed Sea Tiger base, killing 10 LTTE members and injuring 9. According to SLAF, there were no civilian homes within 2 to 3km radius of the base. MoD acknowledged deaths of ‘innocent children’, but claimed LTTE must have brought them to camp.\textsuperscript{1864}

In April 2008, the Northern Campaign intensified around Mannar.\textsuperscript{1865}

- 1 April 2008, Mannar: Murunkan Government Hospital damaged by shelling. Patients and civilians were immediately evacuated by SFs into shelters. Details of the damage was unavailable at the time of publication.\textsuperscript{1866}

- 1 April 2008, Mannar: Lady of Madhu Church hit by shelling. SLA denied responsibility.\textsuperscript{1867}

On 24 April 2008, the SLA entered LTTE-controlled territory after capturing Madhu, Mannar.

By July 2008, SFs were advancing on Kilinochchi, the de facto LTTE capital.\textsuperscript{1868} In August 2008, the SLAF reportedly dropped leaflets warning civilians to leave the Vanni or suffer heavy casualties.\textsuperscript{1869} On 3 September 2008, the GoSL ordered all UN agencies and NGOs to leave LTTE-controlled areas, as the safety of staff could not be guaranteed.\textsuperscript{1870}

In the last months of 2008, shelling in Kilinochchi intensified, occurring every few days towards the end of December. For example:

- 30 August 2008, Kilinochchi: 5 civilians killed, 3 injured in shelling of Puthumurippu. Victims were allegedly IDPs sheltering in area. SFs blamed.\textsuperscript{1871}

- 16 September 2008, Kilinochchi: civilian area in Murikandy where IDPs sheltered was hit by bombing. 3 civilians killed, 2 injured. Shelling later that afternoon killed 12, injured 1. Bombing was allegedly ‘indiscriminate’. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{1872}

- 17 December 2008, Kilinochchi: 2 IDPs killed, 13 injured when IDP settlements in Vattakachchi hit by bombing. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{1873}

- 27 December 2008, Kilinochchi: 3 civilian settlements in lyakkachchi, Irnamadu and Vattakachchi hit by aerial attacks, killing 1 and injuring 10. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{1874}

- 31 December 2008, Kilinochchi: Murasumoddai hit by bombing. 4 civilians killed, 16 injured. SLAF blamed.\textsuperscript{1875}

There was one reported chemical weapons attack in the database during the offensive on Kilinochchi:

- 12 to 19 October 2008, Kilinochchi: SLA troops sick, allegedly as a result of gas use by LTTE fighters in Akkarayan. LTTE also accused SLA of using gas, but SLA denied allegations.\textsuperscript{1876}


\textsuperscript{1865} Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2.


\textsuperscript{1867} ‘Our lady of madhu a IDP in her own land: Bishop’, Tamil Guardian, 8 April 2008.

\textsuperscript{1868} Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2.

\textsuperscript{1869} Philip Alston, Special Reporteur, Report of the Special Reporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, UN Doc A/HRC/A/40/Add.1 (12 March 2007).

\textsuperscript{1870} Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2.


\textsuperscript{1872} ‘Sri Lanka says bombs one of rebel leader’s hideouts’, Reuters, 17 September 2008; UTHR, ‘Special Report No. 34’, above n 1655.

\textsuperscript{1873} ‘TNA accuses Colombo of war crimes’, Tamil Guardian, 9 January 2009.

\textsuperscript{1874} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{1876} LTTE resorts to gas warfare as fighting escalates’, Sunday Times, 19 October 2008.
Kilinochchi hospital was hit and damaged on three occasions, although no casualties were reported:

- 25 October 2008, Kilinochchi: Kilinochchi hospital hit by shelling, buildings damaged. SLA blamed.\(^{1877}\)
- 25 December 2008, Kilinochchi: Kilinochchi hospital hit by shelling, building damaged. SLAF blamed.\(^{1878}\)
- 30 December 2008, Kilinochchi: Kilinochchi hospital shelled, buildings damaged. SLA blamed.\(^{1879}\)

Areas of Mullaitivu, including the General Hospital, were also hit several times in the last few months of 2007:

- 30 November 2008, Mullaitivu: civilian housing scheme set up by CARITAS-backed Human Development Centre was hit by bombing in Vallipumam, Mullaitivu. 1 child killed, 6 people injured. SLAF blamed.\(^{1880}\)
- 15 December 2008: 2 patients injured by shelling that hit Mullaitivu General Hospital. Ward and medical equipment damaged.\(^{1881}\)
- 19 December 2008, Mullaitivu: 11 civilians injured when Mullivaikaal village hit by bombing.\(^{1882}\)

**Restricted movement and denial of humanitarian assistance**

Once the Northern Campaign began, the LTTE heightened restrictions on movement out of the Vanni.\(^{1883}\) Meanwhile, the GoSL increased restrictions on humanitarian aid entering Northern LTTE-controlled areas. Some examples of restricted movement or denial of humanitarian assistance in this period are as follows:

- 20 August 2006, Kilinochchi: convoy of vehicles carrying 141 mostly local staff from aid agencies was prevented from leaving Kilinochchi. LTTE denied it stopped convoy, alleging that convoy could not leave due to closure of entry points into GoSL areas. SFs stated that they would let convoy through if it reached Vavuniya.\(^{1884}\)
- 13 to 30 March 2007, Mannar: IDPs who had taken refuge in Madhu Church were ordered to vacate church, and humanitarian access to church was restricted. LTTE blamed for forcing IDPs onto trucks, cutting off supplies and threatening that anyone who did not leave would be treated as traitor. Most of 8000 to 10,000 IDPs who had left by 31 March. LTTE reportedly sought to vacate church in order to conduct offensive against SFs, or out of fear that SFs would capture site. LTTE denied allegations.\(^{1885}\)
- 2 November 2008, Jaffna: 28 IDPs fleeing Vanni were intercepted at sea, reportedly by SLN. Brought before Jaffna magistrate and sent to Jaffna prison. Allegedly provided with no legal justification for detainment. In December, transferred to Kopay Teachers’ Training Complex, where they remained under SLA guard.\(^{1886}\)

There were similar cases in the final stages of conflict (addressed in a separate section below), including a well-known incident where the 11th UN humanitarian convoy was repeatedly prevented from leaving the NFZ.

**Child abduction and recruitment**

There were few reported cases of forced recruitment from mid-2006 to mid-2007. The LTTE allegedly began to increase forced recruitment when the GoSL Northern Campaign began in October 2007.\(^{1887}\) However, there are only a handful of cases of 2007-2008 child recruitment in the database. It is unclear why there were so few publicly reported incidents. Examples include:

- November 2007: 15 yo. girl abducted, father beaten. Father allegedly received letter from LTTE telling him that his daughter was fighting with them. She was later killed in combat, and her body was returned to her family.\(^{1888}\)
- 26 December 2008 Kilinochchi: 16 children abducted from orphanage run by Catholic Church at Dharmapuram. MoD blamed LTTE.\(^{1889}\)

There was, however, controversy over a June 2008 TamilNet report alleging the SLN recruited child soldiers. According to TamilNet, on 16 June more than 15 SLN recruits, all 16 to 20 yo. were found dead in their camp in Delft, Jaffna. The recruits reportedly committed collective suicide.\(^{1890}\)

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1880 ‘LTTE accuses Govt of breaching deal with India’, Sunday Leader, 2 November 2008.
1888 Ibid.
There were two cases in this period where minors were abducted, allegedly by the SLA:

- 21 January 2008, Vavuniya: 16 yo. boy abducted from home. SLA blamed, but denied involvement.\(^{1891}\)
- 3 April 2008, Vavuniya: 17 yo. boy abducted from home. SLA blamed, but denied involvement. Remained missing on 31 January 2009.\(^ {1892}\)

**Human shields**

Starting in 2006, the GoSL consistently accused the LTTE of firing from civilian areas, co-locating in civilian areas and using civilians as shields (see 'Aerial attacks and shelling' sub-section in 'Eastern Province' section above). In 2007, SLMM reported one allegation that the SLA used 100 civilians as human shields during an offensive into LTTE territory.\(^ {1893}\)


\(^{1892}\) Ibid.

20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Northern Province: final stages

In this section:
- Shelling and use of human shields
- Restricted movement
- Denial of humanitarian assistance
- Killings and disappearances
- Child abduction and recruitment

On 2 January 2009, Kilinochchi fell to the SFs. By 9 January 2009, SFs troops surrounded Mullaitivu from the west, north and south. Over the next four months, the SFs pushed LTTE defence lines towards the north-eastern coast.

During this period, the SLA declared three successive ‘safe areas’ for civilians, known as No Fire Zones (NFZs). Civilians began to congregate in the NFZs, setting up shelters around hospitals and humanitarian hubs. However, according to reports, the NFZs encompassed areas where the LTTE was already conducting operations, and were subject to almost continuous, allegedly indiscriminate shelling throughout the final stages of the war.\(^{1894}\)

The SFs were blamed for the majority of these shelling attacks.\(^{1895}\) However, the GoSL claimed that the LTTE purposely operated in close proximity to civilian settlements and humanitarian sites. The LTTE was also reported to have discarded their uniforms and mingled with the civilian population.\(^{1896}\)

Civilians trapped in the NFZs were reportedly prevented from fleeing the conflict zone by both the LTTE and SFs.\(^{1897}\) Humanitarian assistance was limited, and the infrequent aid convoys were frequently unable to reach the NFZ due to shelling. These factors contributed to a high civilian casualty toll, which the GoSL has repeatedly denied.\(^{1898}\)

The NFZ period has already been the subject of extensive inquiry, including an OHCHR investigation. In order to avoid repeating existing studies, we have sought to provide an insight into incident patterns, rather than an analysis of dynamics behind these patterns. This applies throughout the report, but is particularly relevant to our approach to the NFZs.

Although there has been detailed post-hoc investigation of NFZs, there was minimal contemporaneous reporting during the actual conflict, as journalists were generally not allowed into the NFZs. Therefore, it is important to note that information on incidents in the database comes from only a handful of sources, mainly Tamilwin articles, a few MoD reports, an International Crisis Group report and witness statements used in subsequent investigations.

**Shelling and use of human shields**

The SFs were allegedly responsible for the bulk of shelling below, although often contest that the casualties were their fault. As in other report sections, only a sample of these incidents in the database have been included. In the handful of cases where responsibility was contested or unattributed, this has been specified in incident descriptions.

As noted above, SFs often denied that shelling caused civilian casualties. Alternatively, they blamed the LTTE for allegedly operating from civilian areas. The LTTE was frequently accused of using human shields in the NFZs, allegedly by firing, building bunkers and storing weapons in populated civilian areas, and by using specially protected objects for military purposes. They were also accused of wearing civilian clothing and ‘intermingling’ with the civilian population. The LTTE did not respond to these allegations.\(^{1899}\)

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1895 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
1896 Ibid.
1897 Ibid.
1898 Ibid.
1899 Ibid.
When Kilinochchi fell to the SFs on 2 January 2009, the LTTE relocated to PTK. SFs troops of the 59th division began operating south of PTK from around 10 January.\textsuperscript{1900} There was intermittent shelling in Mullaitivu from 10 to 20 January, including alleged SLAF use of cluster bombs between 11 and 18 January.\textsuperscript{1901} The civilian casualty toll appeared to be lower than later periods. On 13 January, PTK hospital was hit by shelling for the first time, reportedly killing one person and injuring two to six others.\textsuperscript{1902}

Examples of shelling from 10 to 20 January include:

- 10 January 2009, Mullaitivu: Civilian residences in PTK hit by bombing. 4 IDPs killed, 4 injured.\textsuperscript{1903}
- 11 to 18 January 2009, Mullaitivu: civilian homes hit by cluster bombs. No injuries reported. Some bombs reportedly remained dormant.\textsuperscript{1904}
- 13 January 2009, Mullaitivu: Athisaya Vinayakar temple in Visuvamadu hit by artillery attack, killing 4 to 6 people and injuring 21 others, all of whom were staying at temple.\textsuperscript{1905}
- 13 January 2009, Mullaitivu: PTK hospital hit by shelling. 1 killed, 2 to 6 injured, hospital damaged.\textsuperscript{1906}
- 15 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 2 killed, 7 injured when PTK AGA area shell. 5 killed, 7 injured when Kaively and Kombaavil in PTK area shell.\textsuperscript{1907} 3 killed when shelling hit Suthanthirapuram.\textsuperscript{1908}

On 20 January, the SLA declared NFZ-1 in Suthanthirapuram, Udayarkaddu North, Vallipunam and Thevipuram.\textsuperscript{1909} Around 23 January, the UN staff relocated from PTK to NFZ-1, establishing a clearly-marked ‘Hub’ near Suthanthirapuram Junction. The GoSL AGA set up a food distribution centre near the Hub. Civilians began to congregate in the area.\textsuperscript{1910}

However, between 23 January and the beginning of February, witnesses reported that NFZ-1 was hit by relentless SLAF shelling. This included attacks on the Hub, food distribution centre, surrounding IDP shelters, Vallipunam hospital and Udayarkaddu hospital. According to the UN Expert Panel, over 240 artillery impact sites were identified within one kilometre of the UN Hub in this period. Some include:

- 20 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 1 killed, 1 injured when shelling hit Valluvapuram in Visuvamadu.\textsuperscript{1911}
- 20 January 2009, Mullaitivu: shelling in Thevipuram killed 1, injured 11.\textsuperscript{1912}
- 20 January 2009, Mullaitivu: IDP homes in Udayarkaddu hit by shelling, 2 children killed.\textsuperscript{1913}
- 21 to 22 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 3 shells exploded in Vallipunam Hospital compound. 5 killed, 22 injured. Surgery and ICU units destroyed.\textsuperscript{1914}
- 23 January 2009, Mullaitivu: shelling hit food distribution centre next to UN Hub established earlier that day in Suthanthirapuram. Shells fell within 50 metres of an international agency’s lorry and within 10 metres of the agency’s bunker. Unknown number of civilians, including children, killed and injured. SFs blamed for shelling. An LTTE position and radio station located 100 metres away. One witness stated that no LTTE was firing at SFs, while another stated LTTE was firing at SFs but did not specify LTTE distance from UN hub.\textsuperscript{1915}
- 23 January 2009, Mullaitivu: Udayarkaddu Hospital hit by shelling. Hospital was allegedly clearly marked. 3 to 5 civilians killed, 27 to 37 injured. SLA suspected.\textsuperscript{1916}
24 January 2009, Mullaitivu: Visuvamadu-Theravil area hit by shelling. 3 civilians killed, 30 injured. SLA blamed.1917

24 January 2009, Mullaitivu: Valayanmadam area shelled, 8 injured.1938

25 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 3 civilians killed, 9 injured in shelling in Visuvamadu, Theravil Thirukkadu area.1919

26 January 2009, Mullaitivu: Udayarkaddu Hospital hit by shelling. 10 patients and 2 other people killed, 40 injured.9220

On 25 January, international agency staff left NFZ-1 for PTK, where there was allegedly less shelling.9221 However, from 26 January to 4 February, PTK hospital was almost continuously hit by shelling:

- 26, 27, 28 January 2009, Mullaitivu: shells, MBRL rockets and heavy artillery from south and east hit PTK hospital. Ambulances damaged. SFs suspected.9222
- 1 February 2009, Mullaitivu: PTK hospital hit by shelling 3 times – twice in afternoon, once in evening. 1 to 2 killed in afternoon. 4 patients, 6 other civilians killed and 14 to 15 people injured in evening attack, which hit women’s and children’s ward.9223
- 2 February 2009, Mullaitivu: hospital in PTK, Udayarkaddu or both were hit by shelling. 3 killed, 10 injured.9224
- 3 February 2009, Mullaitivu: PTK hospital hit by shelling for several hours. Unknown number people killed and injured, operating theatre and other parts of building damaged. Shelling continued the next day.9225
- 4 February 2009, Mullaitivu: shelling hit hospital, killing 5 to 12 in hospital and 52 civilians outside of hospital. Hospital buildings damaged. Hospital closed, around 300 patients displaced.9226
- 5 or 6 February 2009, Mullaitivu: shelling hit Ponnambalam Hospital, killing 60 to 61. SLAF claimed they bombed hospital in order to destroy underground bunker and house of senior LTTE leader, and that they bombed site again when they saw LTTE members digging in wreckage. However, UTHR claimed that the people digging were rescuers pulling victims from rubble, who were hit by second bombing.9227

Following the 4 February shelling, PTK hospital was closed. Udayarkaddu hospital was also hit by shelling in this period:

- 5 February 2009, Mullaitivu: Udayarkaddu hospital hit by shelling. 7 Tamils killed, 27 injured. Parts of hospital, ambulances damaged.1938

The attacks hit civilian settlements in and around NFZ-1, reportedly causing up to hundreds of civilian casualties in one day.9229

For example:
- 29 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 7 killed, 2 injured when IDP housing in Udayarkaddu, Iruttamadu hit by shelling.931
- 29 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 3 separate incidents of shelling in Redbana area Mullaitivu killed 1, injured 11.1932
1 February 2009, Mullaitivu: 6 Tamils killed, 12 injured in attack on Thevipuram.1933
1 February 2009, Mullaitivu: 7 Tamils killed, 24 injured in attack on Suthanthirapuram.1934
4 February 2009, Mullaitivu: shelling at Ampalavanpokkanai killed 10 Tamils, injured 36.1935
5 or 6 February 2009, Mullaitivu: Iruttumadu hit by artillery and shelling: 16 Tamils killed, 42 injured.1936
5 February 2009, Mullaitivu: Vallipuram shelled. 3 Tamils killed, 4 injured.1937
7 February 2009, Mullaitivu: 364 civilians killed by shelling in PTK area. Some shells fell on Ponnampalam Memorial hospital. GoSL denied there were any shellings.1938

Due to this continuous shelling, civilians began to move out of NFZ-1 towards the coast.1939 On 4 February, a temporary hospital (relocated from PTK) and UN compound had been set up in the coastal village of Putumattalan. From 5 February, an estimated 300,000 to 330,000 civilians began to set up shelters around the UN compound and hospital.1940 After PTK hospital relocated to Putumattalan, the GoSL announced that there were no hospitals functioning in the Vanni.1941

On 12 February, the SLA established NFZ-2 in this coastal area, including the villages of Putumattalan, Ampalavanpokkanai, Valayanmadam, Karaiyamullivaikkal and Veellamullivaikkal. However, from as early as 6 February, SFs allegedly attacked this area using aerial bombardment, long-range artillery, howitzers and MBRls as well as small mortars, RPGs and small arms fire.

On 7 or 10 February, the new makeshift hospital was hit by shelling for the first time:

8 or 10 February 2009, Mullaitivu: makeshift hospital in Putumattalan school hit by shelling, killing 16 patients and damaging building. There were allegedly a small number of LTTE members being treated in hospital, kept in separate ward. SFs blamed. Hospital allegedly marked with clear Red Cross emblems and was visible to SFs forces stationed about 1 km away.1942

Civilians in NFZ-2 were killed and injured in almost daily attacks throughout February and March 2009, despite the SLA’s repeated commitments to not use heavy weapons on the NFZ from February to April 2009.1943

For example, over the period of 20 February to 2 March, some shelling incidents include:

20 February 2009: Valayanmadam hit by shelling, 12 killed, 72 injured.1944
22 February 2009: Matalan, Ampalavanpokkanai, Mullivaikkal and Valayanmadam, hit. 48 Tamils killed, 55 injured.1945
23 February 2009: Valayanmadam and Pokkanai hit by shelling. 32 Tamil civilians killed, 49 injured.1946
27 February 2009: PTK, Matalan and Ampalavanpokkanai shelled. 38 killed, 65 injured.1947
28 February 2009: Putumattalan, Matalan shelled. 35 Tamils killed, 61 injured.1948
2 March 2009: 45 Tamils killed, 107 inured in artillery, multi barrel and artillery attacks at PTK, Valayanmadam, Ampalavanpokkanai and Matalan areas.1949

Or the period of 26 to 31 March, examples include:

26 March 2009: shelling and RPG attacks in Matalan, Ampalavanpokkanai, Valayanmadam and Mullivaikkal killed 46, injured 96.1950

1933 ‘26 dead and 52 Injured in Shelling on NFZ’, Tamilwin, 1 February 2009.
1934 Ibid.
1936 ‘SLA Shelled at Udayarakaddu Hospital and Displaced Civilians: 43 Civilians Killed, and 155 Injured’, Tamilwin, 5 February 2009.
1937 Ibid.
1939 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
1940 Ibid.
1941 Ibid.
1943 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
1944 Due to SLA’s attacks, 44 tamils were killed and 170 were injured in Vanni, Tamilwin, 21 February 2009.
1945 No Fire Zone Becomes Killing Ground: 48 Tamils were Killed and 55 were Wounded in Vanni’, Tamilwin, 22 February 2009.
1946 ‘No Fire Zone’ Continues to be a Death Trap: 32 Tamils Including 12 Children were Killed and 49 People were Injured’, Tamilwin, 23 February 2009.
1947 ‘Heavy Shelling Attack Continued in Vanni: 38 Tamils Including 17 Children were Killed and 65 were Wounded’, Tamilwin, 28 February 2009.
1948 ‘Heavy Shelling in Vanni: 35 Tamils were Killed and 61 were Wounded’, Tamilwin, 28 February 2009.
1949 ‘In SLA’s Genocide 45 Tamils were Killed in Vanni’, Tamilwin, 2 March 2009; PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
1950 ‘SLA has Launched Heavy Shelling in Vanni: Including a Grama Servagar 46 Civilians were Died and 96 were Injured’, Tamilwin, 26 March 2009.
• 27 March 2009: artillery, MBRL, RPG attacks hit Matalan, Valayanmadan, Idaikadu and Ampalavanpokkanai. 61 killed, 164 injured.1951
• 29 March 2009: shelling in Mullivaikkal, Idaikadu, Valayanmadam and Pachaipulmoddai killed 31 civilians, injured 125 civilians.1952
• 30 March 2009: shelling and aerial attacks in Matalan, Ampalavanpokkanai, Valayanmadam and Iradaivaikaal killed 112, injured 154. Cluster munitions allegedly used. Shelling was allegedly ‘directed at civilian dwellings’.1953
• 31 March 2009: Matalan, Ampalavanpokkanai and Valayanmadam shelled, killing 46 civilians, injuring 118 civilians. Cluster munitions allegedly used.1954

Or in mid-April, when shelling continued despite a 2-day ceasefire declared by the GoSL for the New Year:
• 13 April 2009: 287 civilians killed, 346 injured in shelling on Matalan, Putumatalan, Valayanmadam, Idaikadu and Pachaipulmoddai.1955
• 15 April 2009: area between Matalan and Valayanmadam subject to shelling and aerial attacks. 90 to 219 civilians killed, 408 injured.1956

Or the last week of April, for example:
• 24 April 2009: Shelling and cluster munitions in Iradaivaikal and Mullivaikkal killed 197 civilians and injured 100.1957
• 25 April 2009: aerial attacks in Mullivaikkal killed 174 civilians and injured 212 civilians were injured. Another attack later that day killed 48 civilians and injured 78.1958
• 26 April 2009: PTK attacked. 32 civilians killed, 48 injured.1959
• 27 and 28 April: Shelling in Mullivaikkal, Thalamban, Oddaipanaiyadi and Iradaivaikal killed 200 civilians and injured ‘more than 1,000. Cluster munitions allegedly used at Oddaipanaiyadi and Iradaivaikal. Casualty toll included casualties in attacks on Karaiyamullivaikkal hospital from 26 to 29 April.1960

These attacks often hit hospitals and humanitarian sites. The following aid distribution hubs were hit when large numbers of civilians were nearby waiting for aid:
• 23 March 2009: cooperative store at Karaithuraiyappru destroyed by shelling, civilians waiting for aid were killed. Food, fuel and other relief products were destroyed.1961
• 8 April 2009: Primary Health Centre in Ampalavanpokkanai hit by shelling while ‘hundreds’ of civilians lining up for food distribution. 40 to 129 killed, 150 to 296 injured. SLA blamed but denied involvement.1962
• 7 or 8 April 2009: shelling hit near Pokkanai food distribution centre, killing 13 immediately, injuring 50. Total shelling that day killed 20, injured 133.1963

1951 ‘SLA has Launched Heavy Shelling Today in Vanni: Including Unborn Baby 61 Civilians were Killed and 164 were Injured’, Tamilwin, 27 March 2009.
1952 ‘SLA has launched Heavy Shelling in Vanni Today: 49 Civilians were Killed and 125 were Injured’, Tamilwin, 29 March 2009.
1953 ‘112 Civilians were Killed and 154 Civilians were Injured in Attacks Today in Vanni’, Tamilwin, 30 March 2009.
1954 ‘SLA has Attacked in Vanni, 46 Civilians were Killed and 118 Civilians were Injured’, Tamilwin, 31 March 2009.
1955 ‘After the Declaration of Ceasefire in Couple of Hours 287 Civilians were Killed and 346 Civilians were Injured in Vanni by SLA’, Tamilwin, 13 April 2009.
1956 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43; ‘SLA has Made a Heavy Attack in NFZ Since Morning’, Tamilwin, 15 April 2009; ‘Air Crafts Attacks and Shelling in NFZ: 219 Civilians were Killed and 408 Civilians were Injured’, Tamilwin, 15 April 2009.
1957 ‘Genocide Attacks in Vanni on 24/04/2009: 197 Civilians were Killed and 100 Civilians were Injured’, Tamilwin, 24 April 2009; ‘SLAF has Made Attacks in Mullivaikkal: 174 Civilians were Killed and 212 Civilians were Injured in This Attacks’, Tamilwin, 25 April 2009.
1958 ‘SLAF has Made Attacks in Mullivaikkal: 174 Civilians were Killed and 212 Civilians were Injured in This Attacks’, Tamilwin, 25 April 2009.
1959 ‘SLAF has 38 Times Made Attacks in Vanni on 26/04/2009: 32 Civilians were Killed and 48 Civilians were Injured’, Tamilwin, 26 April 2009.
1960 ‘In No Heavy Weapon Usage Period, SLA has Launched 5600 Shells in NFZ: 200 Tamil Civilians were Killed and More than 1000 Civilians were Injured’, Tamilwin, 28 April 2009.
1961 ‘Shelling and Firing in Vanni: 102 Civilians were Killed and 140 Civilians were Injured’, Tamilwin, 23 March 2009.
Putumattalan hospital was also repeatedly hit throughout March and April 2009. SFs had moved to the shore of Nanthikadal Lagoon, across from the hospital, after capturing PTK on 5 March 2009. Reports indicate the hospital was clearly marked, and that SFs could see it from across the lagoon. Incidents include:

- 13 March 2009: artillery hit Putumattalan hospital, killing 8 people.\footnote{1964} Shelling also killed 7 humanitarian workers, injured 32 who worked in ICRC store.\footnote{1965}

- 24 March 2009: Putumattalan hospital hit by RPGs, shelling and small arms fire. 3 to 4 killed, 10 to 52 injured. Shelling came from across the Nanthikadal Lagoon.\footnote{1966}

- On or around 25 March 2009: food distribution centre in Ampalavanpokkanai hit by shelling. Between 35 and 140 killed. According to OHCHR, aerial surveillance aircraft witnessed above area during distribution of food.\footnote{1967} Also on 25 March, 1 person injured when UN base hit by RPG fire.\footnote{1968}

- 26 March 2009: Putumattalan hospital hit by RPG attack. 2 or 5 patients killed, 11 or 25 injured. Operating theatre damaged, medical supplies destroyed.\footnote{1969}

- 27 March 2009: Putumattalan hospital hit by RPGs. Unknown number of civilians killed. Operating theatre, roof and makeshift ward were damaged.\footnote{1970}

- 9 April 2009: 3 people killed by shelling near entrance of Putumattalan hospital.\footnote{1971}

- 15 April 2009: Matatalan Hospital hit by shells, over 10 people killed. LTTE allegedly mistakenly targeted hospital and apologised to

- 20 April 2009: Putumattalan hospital hit by shelling. At least 13 people or up to ‘hundreds’ were killed and ‘thousands’ were injured. Hospital damaged. LTTE allegedly set up weapons and fired from outside hospital.\footnote{1973}

- 21 April 2009: aerial bombing and artillery hit Putumattalan hospital, setting tents that housed patients on fire.\footnote{1974}

Valayanamadam hospital was also hit by shelling in this period:

- 2 April 2009: 25 civilians killed, 56 injured in attacks on Matalan, Ampalavanpokkanai, Valayanamadam and Irdadaivakal.\footnote{1975}

Attacks also hit Valayanamadham hospital, killing 4 to 5, injuring more than 30. SLA drone was allegedly seen conducting reconnaissance above hospital prior to attack.\footnote{1976}

- 21 or 21 to 22 April, 2009: church and makeshift hospital in Valayanamadam hit by shelling multiple times. Cluster munitions may have been used. 4 to 5 civilians killed, including 1 doctor. Over 30 injured.\footnote{1977}

On or around 20 April 2009, all patients and medical equipment were evacuated from Putumattalan to Karaiyamullivakkal hospital. However, between 19 April and 13 May, Karaiyamullivakkal hospital and surrounding areas were subjected to heavy shelling:

- 26 April 2009: shelling hit Karaiyamullivakkal Hospital. Hospital damaged, ‘a number’ of patients killed and wounded.\footnote{1978}

- 27 April 2009: Karaiyamullivakkal hospital hit by shelling near the entrance. People injured.\footnote{1979}

- 28 April 2009: shelling hit Karaiyamullivakkal Primary Health Centre. 6 to 20 killed, 1 injured.\footnote{1980}
* 29 April 2009: Shelling hit both Primary Health Centre and hospital killed 15, injured 15. Buildings damaged.\(^{981}\)
* 30 April 2009: Mullivaikkal hospital hit by shelling, killing 9 and injuring 15.\(^{982}\)
* 1 to 2 May 2009: Mullivaikkal hospital hit by shelling. 64 to 68 killed, more than 87 injured. SLA claimed they did not fire shells, but that they heard explosions.\(^{983}\)
* 10 May 2009: Shell fell on Vellamullivaikkal Hospital operating theatre, killing doctor and patients lying nearby and injuring nurses. Shelling allegedly fell continuously in area surrounding hospital.\(^{984}\)
* 11 May 2009: Mullivaikkal hospital hit by aerial bombing. 6 killed, 11 injured. Bodies of 25 more killed in surrounding areas brought to hospital.\(^{985}\)
* 12 May 2009: Mullivaikkal hospital hit by shells. 20 to 50 killed, 6 to 31 injured. Shelling exploded near admissions during visiting hours. SFs blamed, but denied attack.\(^{986}\)
* 13 May 2009: Mullivaikkal hospital hit by shelling. 35 to 65 people killed, 60 to 117 injured. Building was so damaged that it was unusable in future. SLA blamed, but denied allegations that it had used heavy weapons or attacked hospital, and alleged LTTE members were being treated in similar facilities.\(^{987}\)

In the last week of April and first week of May 2009, the LTTE and civilian population were pushed further east towards Wadduvaikal and shelled by the SLA to the west, SLN to the east and SLAF from the air. The number of civilians in NFZ-3 had decreased from the number of civilians in NFZ-2.\(^{988}\) However, the increasingly compressed area was under increasingly intense attack, and the rate of civilian casualties reportedly rose in the final days of the conflict.\(^{989}\) By mid-May, a GoSL official described the shelling and smalls arms fire as so relentless that they were unable to leave the bunker.\(^{990}\)

Throughout May, there were some allegations that white phosphorous and poison gas were used in attacks on the NFZ by the SLA. This allegation was reported by Tamilwin, AFP, the Sunday Leader and the ‘Island of Impunity’ report by PIAC, for example:

* 5 May 2009: 78 killed, 214 injured by shelling, white phosphorous attacks and poisonous gas attacks in Mullivaikkal. SFs blamed.\(^{991}\)
* 14 May 2009: MoD claimed that LTTE used white phosphorous against advancing SFs troops.\(^{992}\)
* 14 to 26 May 2009: doctors treating civilians who escaped the conflict zone reported injuries possibly caused by poison gas and phosphorous.\(^{993}\)
* Around 14 to 18 May 2009: senior local official of NGO stated that in final week of war, artillery shelling, MBRL shelling and white phosphorous were used at Vellamullivaikkal Hospital.\(^{994}\)

On 14 May 2009, Vellamullivaikkal was captured. Karaiyamullivaikkal was captured on 18 May, signalling the end of active conflict.

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**Restricted movement**

During the final stages of the conflict, both the LTTE and the SLA were accused of targeting civilians who were attempting to leave the NFZ.

However, all except one of the publicly reported incidents blamed on SFs occurred when they detained civilians and transferred them to camps, where the civilians were reportedly tortured or disappeared. Therefore, these have been described in the ‘Killing, disappearance and torture in custody’ sub-section below.

The LTTE mainly attempted to restrict movement by shooting at crowds of civilians attempting to flee, often causing low-level casualties. Examples include:

- **9 January 2009**, Vavuniya: 50 to 56 civilians leaving LTTE areas near Paranthan were attacked. 7 civilians killed, 2 injured, 49 escaped.
- **10 January 2009**, Kilinochchi: MoD reported that 7 Tamil civilians leaving LTTE areas were attacked.
- **20 January 2009**, Kilinochchi: at least 10 people killed when around 75,000 people who were attempting to enter liberated areas of Kilinochchi were surrounded and beaten. One person was tortured and paraded ‘as an example’.
- **4 February 2009**, Mullaitivu: Hundreds of civilians were attempting to cross frontlines near Udayarkaddu. LTTE allegedly told them to stop, then fired into air and ground when they continued moving. 1 killed, 10 injured.
- **9 February 2009**, Mullaitivu: 4,700 Tamil civilians kept as hostages in PTK escaped and crossed to GoSL territory. Escapees were beaten and shot at.
- **10 February 2009**, Mullaitivu: 17 to 19 people killed, 69 injured in Udayarkaddu as they attempted to enter GoSL areas.
- **13 March 2009**, Mullaitivu: 58 civilians attempting to enter GoSL areas were fired on. 1 killed, 4 injured.
- **15 March 2009**, Mullaitivu: MoD reported that 66 people leaving LTTE areas were fired at. 3 killed.
- **27 March 2009**, Mullaitivu: 1 killed, 2 injured as 381 civilians attempted to escape conflict and enter GoSL area.

In one publicly reported incident, the LTTE allegedly mingled with fleeing civilians in order to escape themselves:

- **24 February 2009**: 4 LTTE members were arrested, allegedly because they were disguised as IDPs travelling in 3 boats from Mullaitivu. They were later handed over to the Pulmoddai SLPF for further investigations.

There was also an incident recorded in the database where SFs were accused of shooting at fleeing civilians:

- **15 May 2005**: people attempting to surrender to SFs were allegedly shot by SFs. 150 were killed.

**Denial of humanitarian assistance**

When the Northern Campaign began in 2007, the GoSL increased restrictions on humanitarian aid entering Northern LTTE-controlled areas. In September 2008, humanitarian workers were forced to leave Kilinochchi due to intensified shelling. For the remaining months of the conflict, humanitarian aid provision was limited, leading to an ‘unimaginable humanitarian catastrophe’. The GoSL was suspected of contributing to this crisis by deliberately understating the number of civilians in the NFZs and the need for humanitarian aid.

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When humanitarian convoys did attempt to enter or leave the NFZs, they were often prevented from doing so by ongoing shelling. For example:

- 16 January 2009, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi: 50 lorries carrying humanitarian aid for civilians in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi were forced to turn back, either by increased SFs’ LTTE fighting or direct LTTE fire.\textsuperscript{2009}
- 21 to 28 January 2009, Mullaitivu: 11th UN humanitarian aid convoy attempted to leave PTK in order to take injured civilians to hospital on 21, 22, 26 and 28 January, but was prevented from leaving until 29 January. 80 or more than 100 staff and dependents trapped with convoy. According to reports, LTTE was initially responsible for stopping convoy, which was subsequently trapped by intense artillery fire, most of which was blamed on SFs.\textsuperscript{2010}
- 22 April 2009: waters around ICRC ship hit by shelling off the coast of Mullaitivu District. Ship itself was not hit, but was forced to retreat into deeper waters. Shelling was allegedly launched from SFs’ position on banks of Nanthikadal Lagoon.\textsuperscript{2011}

In one case, the LTTE allegedly prevented a convoy of hospital patients from leaving the NFZ in order to use the patients as human shields:

- 27 or 28 January 2009: convoy of two-dozen ICRC and UN vehicles transporting 300 hospital patients was allegedly prevented from crossing frontline because the LTTE was holding the patients as ‘human shields’. The LTTE did not respond to these allegations.\textsuperscript{2012}

In some cases, there were allegations that humanitarian aid was explicitly turned away, for example:

- 12 to 14 May 2009: ship carrying food from WFP and ICRC was allegedly turned back by SFs, or simply unable to deliver food due to shelling.\textsuperscript{2013}

**Killings and disappearances**

In mid-May 2009, a number of senior LTTE leaders and members surrendered to SFs after negotiations between the GoSL and international officials. However, it is widely suspected that some of those who surrendered were killed. Examples include:

- 18 May 2009: a group of LTTE members, who were reportedly hors de combat and included a political member, surrendered to SFs at holding area in Wadduvakal, Mullaitivu. Catholic priest, Father Francis Joseph, ‘facilitated’ surrender. Following the surrender, the LTTE members and Father Joseph disappeared. A total of up to 20 people, including the LTTE members’ family and children, also disappeared that day from the area.\textsuperscript{2014}
- 18 May 2009: LTTE Political Wing leaders Balasingham Mahendran (known as Nadesan), and Seevaratnam Pulidevan (known as Pulidevan) surrendered to 58th Division of SLA, allegedly while carrying white flag. Their intention to surrender had reportedly been communicated to UN officials, representatives of ICRC, President Rajapaksa and Defence Secretary Rajapaksa. Both Nadesan and Pulidevan were killed following surrender. Most sources blamed SFs. GoSL provided various explanations for killing, including that bodies were found by SFs during ‘mop up operations’, and that Nadesan and Pulidevan did not raise white flag when approaching SLA. It was also reported that the wives of Nadesan and Pulidevan, and 12 yo. Balachandran Prabhakaran (son of LTTE leader Prabhakaran) were killed around the same time. The GoSL claimed that Balachandran was killed in cross-fire, but other sources report that he was taken into custody and killed by SFs.\textsuperscript{2015}
- 18 May 2009: Colonel Ramesh, a senior LTTE Military Commander, reportedly surrendered to SFs along with large group of civilians, shortly after surrender of Nadesan and Pulidevan (see above). Ramesh was subsequently killed. Several sources blamed SFs, claimed that victim was killed after being taken into SFs custody. GoSL provided various explanations for killing, including that body was found by SFs during ‘clearing operations’, and that Ramesh and other LTTE cadres were killed in confrontation with 53rd Division of SLA.\textsuperscript{2016}

\textsuperscript{2009} ‘Artillery attacks while transporting food to Wanni’, Raapoya, 19 October 2008; ‘Sri Lanka: UN food convoy to war-wracked north forced to turn back’, UN News Centre, 16 October 2008; ‘Military says LTTE attack forces 50 food lorries to turn back’, The Sunday Times, 16 October 2008.


\textsuperscript{2011} ‘Sri Lanka’s genocide: 324 civilians were killed and 423 civilians were injured’, Tamilwin, 22 April 2009; PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43; Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2.


\textsuperscript{2016} Ibid.
18 May 2009: Isaipriya, a Tamil news presenter who allegedly worked for the LTTE or was involved with the LTTE, was abducted from Nanthikalad Lagoon. She was, reportedly, shot and had may have been sexually assaulted. SLA blamed for killing. Soldiers responsible may have thought she was Prabhakaran's daughter. MoD official website acknowledged that Isaipriya was killed by SLA soldiers of 53rd division, allegedly while engaged in a 'hostile operation' against SLF.

Aside from these high-profile cases, both surrenderees and civilians fleeing the conflict zone were reportedly detained and transferred them 'GoSL screening sites' at Kilinochchi, Pulmoddai, Padaviya and Omanthai, where some were allegedly tortured.

According to some reports, most of those detained were LTTE members or had relatives in the LTTE. Victims of torture were generally questioned about LTTE links or forced to sign confessions of LTTE membership. For example:

- April 2009, Mullaitivu: woman rounded up as she tried to leave NFZ. Taken to camp in Vavuniya, tortured, raped and forced to sign a confession in Sinhalese. SLA blamed. Released when friend bribed officials.
- April 2009, Mullaitivu: woman and husband taken from bunker in Matalan to Arunachalam camp, where woman was questioned about LTTE links. She was detained, tortured and forced to sign a confession in Sinhalese. SLA blamed. Released when friend bribed officials.
- On or around 21 April 2009, Mullaitivu: woman fled from Kodikaman, Jaffna to Iranaippalai and 'surrendered' to SLA. Taken to camp in Vavuniya, tortured, raped and forced to sign a confession in Sinhalese. SLA blamed. Released when friend bribed officials.
- April 2009, Mullaitivu: woman fled from Kodikaman, Jaffna to Iranaippalai and 'surrendered' to SLA. Taken to Omanthai with others and sexually harassed. Then taken to Arunachalam camp, Vavuniya, where she was tortured and raped along with other women. Released after friend bribed officials.
- 17 May 2009: man who was sent to Omanthai checkpoint was tortured after telling SFs that there were LTTE fighters in his village classes in the Vanni. Another man, who admitted to LTTE membership, was also tortured.

In one incident, SFs allegedly targeted doctors who treated victims in the NFZ:

- 15 May 2009: 4 or 5 GoSL-employed Tamil doctors who treated victims in a NFZ were arrested after leaving the NFZ. The victims had reportedly crossed into GoSL territory with 5000 other civilians and were last seen in a holding area at Omanthai checkpoint. They were reportedly arrested by the SLA under the PTA for leaking false information to the media about civilians in the NFZ, and were handed over to the CID or TID for questioning. One of the doctors, who was injured, was reportedly airlifted from Omanthai to an unknown destination by the SLAF. Two of the other doctors were reportedly held in a TID detention centre in Colombo without any access to a lawyer. In July 2009, they appeared at a GoSL press conference and stated that they had lied about the high casualty toll in the NFZ. However, one of the doctors later claimed that they were forced to make this statement or face time in prison.

In May 2009, SFs also allegedly abducted many civilians from IDP camps and took them to SLA detention camps. In most cases, the SLA claimed that the victims willingly went to the camps. For example:

- Week prior to 6 May 2009, Jaffna: 21 young people abducted from Kodikaman to Arunachalam IDP camp. SLA blamed, allegedly brought victims to SLA camp at Tellippalai. However, Jaffna GA Ganesh claimed that victims went willingly to SLA camps. Victims from two other areas reportedly abducted and taken to SLA camps in same period.
- Week prior to 6 May 2009, Jaffna: 12 youths abducted from Muralivul Roman Catholic centre closed IDP camp. SLA blamed, claimed victims came willingly.
- Week prior to 6 May 2009, Jaffna: 10 youth abducted from Nelliyadi Mahavidyalayam closed IDP camp. 76 persons abducted the previous week, taken to Tellippalai detention camp. SLA blamed, claimed victims came willingly.

Humanitarian workers described 'widespread rape' of women fleeing the NFZs, allegedly perpetrated by the SLA. However, due to the nature of this violation, there are no publicly reported cases in the database.
While this report only covers incidents that occurred until 19 May 2009, it is important to note reports that detail other LTTE members being tortured, disappeared or killed after they surrendered around this date.2030 ‘Island of Impunity’, a report by PIAC, included two statements from former LTTE members who alleged that they were detained for one to two years by SFs, interrogated and tortured while in custody.2031 The International Truth and Justice Project (ITJP) published a list of approximately 280 LTTE members or affiliates who reportedly disappeared after surrendering to SFs on 18 May 2009.2032 ITJP also published a report detailing the torture of former LTTE members or affiliates at Joseph Camp in Vavuniya, including cases that occurred up until the end of 2016.2033

**Child abduction and recruitment**

In the final months of conflict, the LTTE reportedly recruited a large number of children, including those under age of 14 or 15.2034 According to OISL, many more child soldiers were likely used and recruited towards the end of the conflict than was documented, as international monitors had left the Vanni in September 2008. Therefore, there are only a handful of cases in the CMAP database, including the recruitment of the daughter of a UN staff member. For example:

- 18 January 2009, Vavuniya: 17 yo. girl forcibly conscripted.2035
- 2 March 2009: 16 yo. daughter of UN national staff member recruited. Staff member and 2 other family members (not minors) also forcibly recruited.2036
- 14 March 2009, Mullaitivu: 16 yo. girl recruited, taken to training camp at Mullivaikkal.2037
- 23 March, late March or mid-April 2009, Mullaitivu: 400 or 1,500 children were taking refuge in Valayanmadam Church. LTTE allegedly forced entry into church, conscripted 580 or ‘hundreds’ of minors.2038
- Late March, Mullaitivu: LTTE allegedly stopped civilians trying to escape across lagoon north of Putumattalan hospital and forcibly recruited men, including children as young as 14.2039

OISL also reported that the LTTE often used child recruits in combat. There is one MoD report in the database claiming that a child soldier was used as a suicide bomber:

- 4 February 2009: alleged child suicide bomber disguised as civilian seeking refuge detonated in front of SFs soldiers at SLA 55th Division front line in Chalai.2040

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2030 Report of the OISL, UN Doc A/HRC/30/CRP.2; PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’ above n 43; Paranagama Commission above n 2015.
2031 PIAC, ‘Island of Impunity’, above n 43.
2032 International Truth and Justice Project, see: http://www.itjpsl.com/reports/disappear-site
2033 Ibid.
2035 Ibid.
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

North Central Province

In this section:
- Landmines, vehicle bombs, suicide attacks and other IEDs
- Killings
- Abduction and disappearance
- Sexual and gender-based violence

During the final three years of the conflict, combat operations were focused on the East and then the North. Although there were a significant number of attacks in the West, the rest of the country was relatively quiet.

Most incidents that occurred in North Central Province during this time were in Anuradhapura, and some in Polonnaruwa.

Landmines, vehicle bombs, suicide attacks and other IEDs

All reported IED attacks occurred in Anuradhapura. Most were blamed on LTTE. All landmine attacks and one IED on a bus in this period were after the Eastern Campaign had finished, except for one – in late 2006, there was a significant suicide attack on a convoy of SLN buses. In late 2008, there was another suicide attack, this time hitting a target near the bus station.

Examples of attacks in this section include:
- 16 October 2006, Anuradhapura: suicide bomber drove explosives-laden truck into convoy of SLN buses at Digampathana Transit Camp. Between 93 and 104 SLN personnel killed, 91 to 150 injured, including civilians who may have been selling refreshments to SLN. 18 buses damaged. LTTE blamed.2041
- 5 December 2007, Anuradhapura: landmine explosion hit passenger bus near Anuradhapura. The bus was also fired at by attackers. 15 or 16 died and 5 injured. LTTE blamed.2042
- 1 February 2008, Anuradhapura: bomb on bus killed 20 people, mostly Buddhist pilgrims, en-route to Anuradhapura.2043
- 3 or 4 February 2008, Anuradhapura: roadside landmine mine detonated near bus carrying civilian passengers in Welioya. 12 or 13 killed and 15 to 17 injured. The day marked the 60th anniversary of independence for Sri Lanka.2044
- 13 February 2008, Anuradhapura: landmine targeted bus at Kebeithigollewa. 13 killed.2045


• 6 October 2008, Anuradhapura: suicide bomb attack killed 22 to 30 people near bus station in Anuradhapura town. Between 60 and 94 others injured, some seriously. Victims killed included: correspondent of Sirasa TV, Rashmi Mohamed, UNP Provincial Leader Major General Janaka Perera and wife Waira Perera. 3 lawyers were among the dead. GoSL accused LTTE. 2046

There were also a few reported mortar attacks that hit villages in Anuradhapura during this period, with only one or two casualties.

In July 2008, there were reportedly over 4,000 displaced people from affected villages living in welfare centres in Anuradhapura, and over 3,000 living with friends and family. 2047

Killings
In late 2007 and early 2008, there were a handful of incidents where people were shot dead. For example:

• 5 April 2007, Polonnaruwa: 4 farmers shot dead while on way to sell crops or while working the fields. SFs blamed LTTE, but LTTE denied allegations. 2048

• 10 March 2007, Anuradhapura: 4 civilian security personnel and 4 park officials shot dead inside wildlife sanctuary. Civilians were allegedly on way to identify locations for setting up military detachments in sanctuary when ambushed. SFs blamed LTTE. 2049

• 30 May 2008, Anuradhapura: woman shot dead and husband either killed or injured in Zone/Block 18 in Rajanganaya/Rajagane. Civil Defence Force soldier also killed. LTTE blamed. Assaulted reportedly came from the Wilpattu jungle. 2050

Mass graves
• 24 January 2008, Anuradhapura: 2 graves with 16 bodies, allegedly males between the ages of 25 and 40, found in the jungle in a swamp near Kebithigollewa. Victims had been shot or hacked to death, and some blindfolded and had hands tied behind backs. SFs believed they were cattle herders. Some suspected they were Tamils who had disappeared. GoSL denied involvement. MoD suspected LTTE. 2051

Abduction and disappearance
There were limited relevant incidents reported in this period in this region. All occurred in 2007. They reflect similar patterns observed in other provinces, namely the abduction of young men, possibly for forced recruitment, and abduction for ransom. 2052

Sexual and gender-based violence
There was only one publicly reported SGBV case in this region, although this is not reflective of the actual number of cases that might have occurred:

• May 2008, Anuradhapura: woman moved from Kilinochchi to Vavuniya. CID officials accused her of spying on SLA. She was taken by CID officials to Anuradhapura in van, kept in detention. She was questioned and tortured, and was raped on three occasions. Became pregnant as result of rapes and gave birth in March 2009. CID and PLOTE blamed. 2053


2053 HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

North Western Province

Most of the incidents in this period were disappearances. There were a handful of killings in 2006 – one case where the victim reportedly disobeyed LTTE orders, and several political killings. There were also a few attacks on fishermen in late 2006 and early 2007.

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2004 ‘Killings and abductions’, Raavaya, 11 March 2007; HRW, ‘Recurring Nightmare’, above n 35; ‘Two Muslims were abducted in Puttalam’, Tamilwin, 18 March 2009; ‘White van abduction: 3 civilians in Puthalam and 2 civilians in Wattala were abducted’, Tamilwin, 22 March 2009; World Evangelical Alliance, ‘Pastor and assistant abducted, Puttalam District, Sri Lanka’, (Report, 3 June 2008); ‘Two Muslims were abducted in Puthalam’, Tamilwin, 18 March 2009; ‘White van abduction: 3 civilians in Puthalam and 2 civilians in Wattala were abducted’, Tamilwin, 22 March 2009.


20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Central Province

There were very few incidents in the Central Province in this period. Notable incidents included the killing of a senior SLPF officer in 2006, and two bus bombs in 2008, one of which had a high number of casualties. There was also one reported incident of arrest and torture by SLPF in 2008.


2061 Manfred Nowak, ‘Promotion and Protection of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Including the Right to Development; Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, Manfred Nowak’, 10th sess, Agenda Item 3, A/HRC/10/44/Add.4.
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Uva Province

There were not many incidents reported in Uva at the start of this period. However, as the conflict intensified in the North, there were a number of attacks in this province that targeted civilians. In most cases, the LTTE was the alleged perpetrators. The attacks varied in intensity and victim count. Examples of incidents that reportedly killed more than one person are included in the timeline below:

- 16 January 2008, Monaragala: landmine mine detonated near bus carrying civilian passengers in Buttala. Between 26 and 32 killed and 49 to 70 injured. Most killed after the explosion from gunfire on attempted escapees. Some witnesses blamed LTTE; others claimed perpetrators wore SLA uniforms.2062
- 17 or 18 January 2008, Monaragala: 10 or 13 Sinhalese civilians in Thanamalwila shot dead. 3 others possibly injured. 2 victims were allegedly SLPF. LTTE blamed. A ‘pro-rebel Web site’ reported civilians were armed with GoSL guns. SFs denied this allegation.2063
- 11 July 2008, Monaragala: gunmen hiding on side of road shot at civilian bus, killing 4 civilians, and injuring 25 or 26. LTTE blamed.2064
- 12 April 2009, Monaragala: 5 villagers killed by unknown persons while working in fields on road from Buttala to Monaragala. SLA suspected LTTE.2065
- 14 April 2009, Monaragala: 9 men, women and children killed at Mahagodayaya. SLA blamed LTTE.2066
- 15 April 2009, Monaragala: 11 Tamil civilians injured in shooting. Some say armed Sinhalese responsible as possible revenge attack for killing of around 10 Sinhalese in the area the previous Saturday and Sunday. SLPF took 2 Sinhalese youth into custody in relation to this incident.2067

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2065 ‘Five civilians were killed in Putalam’, Valorum, 12 April 2009.

2066 ‘Tigers massacre 12 civilians in Moneragala’, The Island, 16 April 2009.

2067 ‘Sinhalese have attacked the upcountry Tamils in Monaragala: 11 civilians were injured’, Tamilwin, 16 April 2009.
20 July 2006 – 19 May 2009

Southern Province

In this section:
• Vehicle bombs, suicide attacks and other IEDs

Aside from the suicide bombings and other IED attacks below, there were a number of detention cases in the Southern Province. The majority appeared to be connected to prior attacks (see arrests following 10 March 2009 attack below). There were also cases of abduction and sexual violence and torture in custody, where detainees were taken to Boosa camp in Galle.\(^{2068}\)

**Vehicle bombs, suicide attacks and other IEDs**

On or around the same day as the suicide attack on the SLN in Anuradhapura, there was a suicide attack on the SLN in Galle. There were fewer casualties in the latter:

- **16 or 18 October 2006, Galle:** suicide attack on SLN’s Dakshina detachment killed 1 SLN sailor and 1 civilian. Between 12 and 38 SLN soldiers and civilians injured. LTTE suicide attackers dressed as fishermen in fishing boats blamed. SLN reportedly detected suicide boats and fired ‘warning shots’, destroying 1 boat, before other 2 boats detonated.\(^{2069}\)

In 2007, there were a few incidents of bombs on passenger buses.

- **6 January 2007, Galle:** bomb exploded on bus, killing 11 to 21 and injuring between 12 and 47. Explosion either caused by suicide bomber or time bomb left on the bus by a passenger. LTTE blamed, but denied involvement.\(^{2070}\)

- **6 July 2007, Galle:** bomb on passenger bus killed 15 people and injured ‘dozens’ in Meetiyagoda. SLPF suspected bomb triggered by female suicide bomber. LTTE denied responsibility.\(^{2071}\)

In March 2009, there was a suicide attack on a mosque in Matara. Subsequently, a number of Tamil people were arrested in connection with the attack.

- **10 March 2009, Matara:** suicide bomber carried out attack near mosque in Godapitiya, Akuressa during religious procession marking birthday of Prophet Mohammed. 14 or 15 civilians killed and 35 to 46 injured, including Telecommunications Minister Mahinda Wijesekara. The 5 other ministers who were walking in the procession were not seriously injured. Some blamed LTTE.\(^{2072}\)

- **17 March 2009, Matara:** 99 Tamils arrested during search operation by SLPF and SLA. According to SLPF, they had received information that suicide bomber responsible for the bombing lived in the area.\(^{2073}\)

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\(^{2068}\) HRW, ‘We Will Teach You a Lesson’, above n 1473.


\(^{2073}\) Tamilwin, 99 Tamils were arrested in Matalea, 17 March 2009.
• 23 March 2009, Matara: 15 Tamils arrested at 51st Milestone, Deniyaya.  

• 26 March 2009, Matara: 7 people (including 3 women) arrested in Kamburupitiya. Victims reportedly from Central Highlands.  

• 4 April 2009, Matara: teacher from Mullaitivu, but teaching at school in Matara, arrested on suspicion of helping LTTE with Akuressa bomb blast.  

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2074 7 Tamil civilians were arrested in Southern part of Sri Lanka, Tamilwin, 27 March 2009.  
2075 Ibid.  
2076 ‘One teacher was arrested in relation to Acurassa bomb blast’, Tamilwin, 4 April 2009.
Conclusion

This conflict mapping report details the many reports of violations of human rights and IHL between 1983 and 2009 in Sri Lanka. The gravity and widespread nature of these alleged violations are a stark reminder of the suffering people in Sri Lanka have experienced. Despite initial steps towards transitional justice, the vast majority of these violations have not been addressed.

A meaningful transitional justice process will require thorough investigation of these allegations, aimed at uncovering detailed, nuanced truths. As we have emphasized throughout this report, conflict mapping is not intended as a replacement for this investigation. Rather, mapping reports are used to encourage the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms; to help existing mechanisms develop informed research and investigation strategies; and to help civil society monitor the work of these mechanisms. They also become a valuable part of the historical record of a conflict.

The authors of this report hope that it will fulfil these functions in the Sri Lankan context, contributing towards truth, justice and accountability.
## Glossary of groups involved in the conflict or mentioned throughout the report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Political Party and/or Militant Group?</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Cats</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>The Black Cats was a death squad or “vigilante” group that targeted JVP supporters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Cobras</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>The Black Cobras was a “vigilante” group that killed pro-LTTE individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The Ceylon Communist Party is a Maoist political party that was founded and led by Nagalingam Sammugathanan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The Communist Party was founded in 1943 as a continuation of the United Socialist Party. It later joined the People’s Alliance and contested the 2004 elections as part of the UPFA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPLF (Democratic People’s Liberation Front)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>Founded in 1987, the DPLF is the political wing of PLOTE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUNF (Democratic United National Front)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>DUNF was founded by UNP dissidents in 1990 and led by Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake. In 1993, DUNF split after Athulathmudali was killed. DUNF joined the UPFA in 2004, the UNF briefly in 2009 and the Democratic National Alliance in 2010.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellalan Force/Ellalan Padai</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>Ellalan Force was an LTTTE militant organisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENDLF (Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front)</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>ENDLF was a former Tamil militant group that consisted of EPRLF, PLOTE and TELO splinter groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPDP (Eelam People’s Democratic Party)</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>Established in 1987 by Douglas Devananda, the EPDP was originally conceived as an ethnic Tamil, pro-GoSL militant group. It evolved into a political party during the War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPRLF (Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Organisation)</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>The EPRLF was formed in 1981 by Kandasamy Pathmanabha, Douglas Devananda, Varatharaja Perumal, and Suresh Premachandran. The PLA (People’s Liberation Army) was the EPRLF’s military wing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPRLF(V) (Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (Varathar))</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>In 1999, the EPRLF divided into two factions, with the majority forming the EPRLF(V) wing, led by Varatharajah Perumal. It later became registered as the Padmanaba Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPRLF (Suresh)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>In 1999, the EPRLF divided into two factions. Those who did not join EPRLF(V) formed the EPRLF (Suresh) wing, led by Suresh Premachandran. In 2001, the Suresh wing formed the TNA alongside other pro-LTTE parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EROS (Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students)</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>The EROS was formed as a militant group in London in 1975, with a separatist, Marxist ethos of an independent Tamil homeland. As a militia, it disbanded in 1990. However, it maintained its status as a political party with a minor presence in Parliament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITAK (Illankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi, aka the Federal Party (FP))</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>Founded by former All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC) parliamentarians who split from the ACTC, in later years the ITAK joined with the ACTC and Ceylon Workers’ Congress to form what is now known as TULF. Currently, ITAK is part of the TNA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHU (Jathika Hela Urumaya)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The JHU emerged in 2004 as a Sinhala party, with its initial candidates comprising entirely of Buddhist monks. They were affiliated with SLFP during the War, having endorsed Rajapaksa in 2005 and joining his government shortly after.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihad</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>Jihad was a Muslim militant group that was known to target LTTE and PLOTE members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna or People’s LiberationFront)</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>Founded in 1965, the JVP is a communist party that launched an insurgency against the UNP government from 1987 to 1989. In 2004, it formed the UPFA with SLFP and came into power, but later withdrew in 2005.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEdoHR (North East Secretariat on Human Rights)</td>
<td>Human Rights Organisation</td>
<td>NEdoHR was originally established in 2004 and operated in Vanni as part of the 2002 peace process. It was forced to cease operations in 2008.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA (People’s Alliance)</td>
<td>Political Alliance</td>
<td>Formed in 1994, the PA was a former alliance of political parties, which included the SLFP, Communist Party, SLMP and DUNF. It won the 1994 and 2000 elections and the 1994 and 1999 presidential elections. It merged into the UPFA in 2004.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Revolutionary Red Army</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>The PRRA emerged in 1988 as a militant group that targeted JVP members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party/Group</td>
<td>Political/Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s United Front (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna) Piliyaniy Group</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The party was formed by P. Gunawardena and PH William de Silva in 1959. It was part of the People’s Alliance in 2000 and later became a constituent of the UPFA for the 2004 and 2010 parliamentary elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLOTE (People’s Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam) PLOTE-PLO</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>The PLOTE was established by former LTTE chairman Uma Maheswarien in 1980 when he split from the LTTE. PLOTE-PLO split from PLOTE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razeek Group (National Defence Force)</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>The Razeek Group was a Tamil splinter group made up of former EPRLF members. It worked with and was later incorporated into the SLA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The SLFP was formed by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1951 under the tenet of democratic socialism. Over the years, leaders of the party made attempts to formalise Sinhala’s status as the sole official language of Sri Lanka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLMC (Sri Lanka Muslim Congress)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The SLMC was formed in 1981 and emerged as the leading Muslim party, following formal recognition in 1986.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLMP (Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakshaya, aka Sri Lanka People’s Party)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The SLMP was founded by Vijaya Kumaranatunga in 1984. It joined the United Socialist Alliance during the 1989 general election and joined the People’s Alliance in 1993. It was part of the UPFA in the 2004 legislative elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Equality Party</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>Originally known as the Revolutionary Communist League, the SEP was founded in 1968 and was renamed the Socialist Equality Party in 1996.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Resurgence Force</td>
<td></td>
<td>First emerging in 2005, the TRF carried out attacks against SLF as a self-proclaimed group of armed civilians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Resurgence Movement</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Tamil Resurgence Movement was reportedly an LTTE front organisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eagles/Eagles of the Central Hills</td>
<td>Militant Group</td>
<td>The Eagles was an anti-JVP “vigilante” group and a suspected GoSL death squad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TELO (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation)</td>
<td>Political Party and Militant Group</td>
<td>The TELO was formally founded in 1979. It emerged as a student-led organisation led by Nadarajah Thangathurai and Selvarajah Yogachandran alias Kuttipani. The ENLF, EPRLF and EROS represent a consolidated military front formed by TELO.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMVP (Karuna Group)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The TMVP is a political party formed by Karuna Amman in 2004 following his breakaway from the LTTE. It was initially a pro-GoSL paramilitary group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNA (Tamil National Alliance)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The TNA was established when a number of Tamil political parties came together in 2001 due to efforts made by Tamil journalists and civil society and functions as an organised body of Tamil politicians who represent their respective parties (ie TULF, EPRLF, ACTC and TELO), but embody a coherent Tamil standpoint. When the TULF left the TNA, ITAK was revived and became a constituent party of the TNA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNAF (Tamil National Awakening Forum)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>The TNAF is considered to be closely connected to the LTTE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNPF (Tamil National People’s Front)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The TNPF is a Tamil nationalist party founded by a minority faction of the TNA in 2010. They have no representation in Parliament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>Founded as the Tamil United Front in 1972, TULF consisted of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, ITAK and Ceylon Workers’ Congress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNF (United National Front)</td>
<td>Political Alliance</td>
<td>Formed by the UNP to counter the People’s Alliance in 2001, the UNF initially consisted of the UNP, Ceylon Workers’ Congress, SLMC and the Western People’s Front. In 2015, the United National Front for Good Governance was formed out of the UNP, SLMC, Tamil Progressive Alliance, JHU and some SLFP members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNP (United National Party)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The UNP was founded by D.S. Senanayake in 1946. It grew to become one of Sri Lanka’s largest political parties. As the coalition government in the early 2000s, the UNP reached a ceasefire in 2002, which ended in 2008.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Socialist Alliance</td>
<td>Political Alliance</td>
<td>The United Socialist Alliance was formed around the time of the 1988 presidential elections. It was led by Chandrika Kumaratunga and comprised of four left-wing parties, including the Communist Party and the SLMP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPF (Up-country People’s Front)</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>The UPF was founded in 1989 by Periyasamy Chandrasekaran and is part of the Tamil Progressive Alliance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPFA (United People’s Freedom Alliance)</td>
<td>Political Alliance</td>
<td>The UPFA was formed in 2004 by the SLFP and JVP, the latter of which broke away in 2005. The UPFA won the 2005 and 2010 presidential elections with Rajapaksa as its candidate. It also won the 2010 parliamentary elections but lost power in 2014.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>