

Salt on Old Wounds: The Systematic Sinhalaization of Sri Lanka's North, East and Hill Country

A Monograph by The Social Architects

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Executive Summary

‘Salt on Old Wounds: The Systematic Sinhalization of Sri Lanka’s North, East and Hill Country’ the first study published by The Social Architects (TSA)¹, seeks to set out the systematic, increasing and widespread process of Sinhalization that is taking place in historically Tamil areas in the North, East and Hill Country in post-war Sri Lanka. While focusing on the process of Sinhalization that is currently being implemented, this monograph seeks to situate it within the broader historical process of Sinhalization that has been carried out by different governments spanning a number of decades.

The report argues that even though Sinhalization is not a new phenomenon, the sweeping changes which continue to occur in historically Tamil areas inhibit the country’s ability to heal after nearly three decades of civil war. Although the current government’s rhetoric gives importance to building bridges between communities by ensuring those affected are able to fully and freely exercise their rights, in reality, its actions are evidence of the Sri Lankan State’s lack of respect for the rights of all its citizens, particularly the Tamil people.

This paper will show that the concept of Sinhalization extends well beyond the subjects of strategic state-planned settlements, land, military intrusion, boundary changes and the renaming of villages. Sinhalization has made its way into Tamil cultural events, religious life, economic activity, public sector recruitment and even the Sri Lankan education system. Since the Tamil community is attempting to recover from the devastating impact of the civil war and rebuild social networks and community structures, attempts to control and demolish socio-cultural aspects of their lives, such as the take over and destruction of temples, inhibit their attempts to engage in emotional healing and community regeneration even minimally.

The most important element of the process of Sinhalization is the continued militarization of many aspects of civilian life. While this is a national phenomenon, it is most aggressively practiced in the Tamil majority areas of the country. Even though at present it is the North and the East that are most militarized, creeping militarization is also evidenced in the Hill Country. As set out in the report, militarization is an effective tool used by the State to gain and maintain both government and Sinhala monopoly of various aspects of day to day life, including the provision of services by civil administration, economic activities and civic activities in Tamil majority areas. It also helps create and maintain a sense of fear within the Tamil community.

Nearly three years following the end of the civil war, state polices such as those discussed in this report have deepened existing feelings of fear, suspicion and mistrust between and within communities rather than creating more understanding amongst them, exacerbated ethnic tensions

¹ The Social Architects (TSA) are comprised of a diverse group of writers, intellectuals and working professionals. While most of TSA’s members hail from the country’s North and East, the group also includes other scholars and activists who have been working on issues related to Sri Lanka. TSA seeks to educate, to inform and to provide timely, thoughtful analysis on a range of topics.

and further polarized the country. The current government which has exploited the war victory, a weak and fragmented opposition, and a two-third's majority in parliament, is no longer beholden to its constituents. Instead, it has evolved into a semi-authoritarian populist regime with little tolerance for dissent. In this context, rising Sinhala nationalism and the concomitant disregard for Tamil rights means that members of this community are unable to even voice their needs and concerns, let alone express dissent and protest against restrictions imposed upon them.

This paper is not meant to be an exhaustive discourse on Sinhalization or Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology. Rather its purpose is to inform, educate and provide clear, convincing evidence that, with the explicit backing of the Mahinda Rajapaksa administration, State-sponsored Sinhalization has been increasing in Tamil majority areas in post-war Sri Lanka.

1 Introduction and Background

There is much historical evidence which suggests that Tamils and Sinhalese lived side by side peacefully, but the relationship has been volatile since the country gained independence in 1948. Shortly after independence, claims of favored treatment of Tamils by the British were made. Several pieces of anti-Tamil legislation were subsequently passed. The Citizenship Act of 1948 meant that approximately one million Tamils from India who had been brought to work in the plantations could not consider themselves “Sri Lankan.” The Citizenship Act of 1949 denied those same “stateless” people the right to vote. Under such hostile conditions, ethnic tension grew. This resulted in a number of anti-Tamil riots which took place over decades. After independence, the first island-wide riots that targeted Tamils occurred in 1956 with the Gal Oya riots in the Eastern Province. Ethnic riots against Tamils² also took place in 1958, 1977, 1981 and 1983, and intermittently from 1990 to 2009. In 2007, the State evicted all “non-resident” ethnic Tamils from Colombo. There are even accounts of police forcing people to board buses at gunpoint. All those evicted made it as far as a detention center in Vavuniya district before eventually being allowed to return to the capital.³ (Originally, the State intended to deport approximately 500 people to the districts of Vavuniya, Batticaloa and Trincomalee).⁴ In short, State-sponsored Sinhalization, and the simultaneous embrace of extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology, is a process that has steadily grown for generations.

As noted above, the Sri Lankan State has actively promoted a “Sinhala only” agenda through legislative processes. The 1956 Sinhala Only Act⁵ is perhaps the preeminent example of this. The enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (1979) and declaration of the “state of emergency”, which remained in place for most of the past forty years, supported the State’s relentless push for Sinhalization. With state-sponsored anti-Tamil policies, the police and the military became almost exclusively Sinhalese institutions, providing law enforcement authorities with ample opportunity to suppress the constitutional rights of Tamils. At its core, extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology adheres to the notion that Sri Lanka is a Sinhalese island and that Buddhism must be the State religion. As De Votta notes, “The ideology privileges Buddhist superordination, justifies subjugation of minorities, and suggests that those belonging to other ethnoreligious communities live in Sri Lanka only due to Sinhalese Buddhist sufferance.”⁶ According to such a worldview, Sri Lanka must remain a Sinhalese Buddhist State. Within such

²Significantly, the Jaffna Library, one of the most famous in South Asia, was burned down by Sinhalese on 31st May 1981. Due to the fire, an enormous amount of historical and cultural information was lost.

³“Lanka defends expulsion of Tamils,” *The Times of India*, 10 June 2007

<<http://www.asiantribune.com/index.php?q=node/6061>>

⁴“Lanka political parties slam government's degrading eviction of Tamils,” *Asia Tribune*, 8 June 2007

<<http://www.asiantribune.com/index.php?q=node/6061>>

⁵ This piece of legislation made Sinhala the country’s only official language. English and Tamil became inferior languages overnight.

⁶ Neil De Votta, “Policy Studies 40, Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalist Ideology: Implications for Politics and Conflict Resolution in Sri Lanka,” (Washington, DC: East West Center-Washington, 2007): 11.

<<http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/3496/ps040.pdf?sequence=1>>

a state, all laws, mores and institutions should promote Sinhala Buddhism. Those people who do not agree with the abovementioned principles are “enemies of the state.”⁷ As a corollary, Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology and the search for a political solution to the country’s ethnic conflict are mutually exclusive, under any circumstances.

So, in addition to promoting ideological intolerance, several legal instruments and State development plans have helped the State implement and promote its Extremist Sinhala Buddhist (ESB) ideology. Lastly, this paper should also speak to development practitioners in Sri Lanka, especially those working for international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), because it appears that many ongoing reconstruction and development in the Northern Province condone (or even encourage) Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology.

⁷Ibid., p. 11.

2 The Deliberate Settlement of Sinhalese People in Historically Tamil Areas

The Sri Lankan State has a long history of using reconstruction and development plans that encourage and/or help Sinhalese people to settle in historically Tamil areas.

Over the years “Land Development Schemes” have played a significant role in allowing the Sri Lankan State to justify state-sponsored Sinhalization. These lands were distributed in order to carry out various settlement plans, particularly in historically Tamil areas. There were many types of schemes including those related to: village expansion, youth development, agriculture, irrigation and fisheries. However, these schemes were less effective at fostering genuine development and more effective at settling Sinhalese people in historically Tamil areas. It is important to remember that funds for these projects did not just come from the State; they also came from foreign countries and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

Land schemes began in earnest after Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948 with D.S. Senanayake, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands from 1931-1947, leading the way. Land located near Pattipalai, Kaluwanchchikudy, Batticaloa was renamed as “Gal Oya.” At least as it relates to land, this constitutes the formal beginning of State-sponsored Sinhalization in the country’s Eastern Province. In the post-independence era, one of the first development projects inaugurated by the Government of Sri Lanka was the development of Gal Oya Valley, a part of Gal Oya basin.

At its inception, the Gal Oya project was the “largest settlement and resettlement” program that had ever been attempted in Sri Lanka.⁸ Under this project, more than 80,000 Sinhalese people settled into predominantly Tamil areas from 1949 to 1952 and Sinhalese settlement continued in the 1960s.⁹ As Muggah notes:

Each Gal Oya colony benefited from the welfarist tradition accompanying colonization schemes in Sri Lanka. Every unit was provided with an educational facility, village hall, recreation centre, cooperative market and related extension services.¹⁰

Such a plan discriminated against ethnic Tamils, as they were largely excluded from these colony units.¹¹ The Gal Oya project is a paragon of the “development” policies that the State has always adhered to, one that favors Sinhalese people and infringes upon the constitutional rights of ethnic Tamils.¹² The State’s plan for its Mahaweli Development and Irrigation Programme was even more “ambitious.”

⁸Robert Muggah, *Relocation Failures in Sri Lanka* (London, New York: Zed Books, 2008), 84.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 86.

The “Mahaweli plan” set the tone for the highly exclusionary development policies that continue today. Though initially designed as a thirty-year plan, President Jayawardene announced the state’s intention to “accelerate” the plan to a five-year project.¹³ The “irrigation plan” was supposed to settle over 700,000 people within six years.¹⁴

Using Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology as a guide, the Mahaweli plan aimed to dilute Tamil majorities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, defeat the notion of Eelam and start a significant naval buildup in the area.¹⁵

Two thirds of Mahaweli plan land was situated in the country’s North and East and sought to give the Sinhalese-dominated State the chance to take “advantage of land and water resources which exist in these areas.”¹⁶ Indeed, for extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideologues in the early 1980s, the subjugation of ethnic Tamils in Colombo through the Sinhala only language policy and the introduction of SRI (number plates in Sinhala) were insufficient. Sinhalese people needed to actually settle in the Northern and Eastern Province; that was the best way to stifle calls for a separate state and/or greater political representation for Tamils in Sri Lanka.¹⁷

The implementation of this project did two things. First, donors benefited from the plan’s economic success (the project’s benefit-cost ratio was 1.57), thus enabling certain debts to be repaid. Second, and more importantly, the plan drastically altered the ethnic composition of the country’s North and East, giving the Sri Lankan State more authority to arbitrarily redraw provincial and district boundary lines.¹⁸ As Gunaratne says, “The history of man has been inexorably linked with land and water.” Gunaratne, himself a State functionary who worked in the Ministry of Mahaweli Development, goes on to claim that the State thought that implementing the Mahaweli plan would crush the Tamil separatist movement.¹⁹

Consequently, by the early 2000s, Tamil majorities were diluted in the districts of Ampara, Batticaloa, Mannar and Trincomalee. Aside from taking electoral power away from Tamils and other minorities, the plan had the added benefit of contesting “the Tamil speaking contiguity” between the country’s North and East, something that extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideologues ardently desired.²⁰ Ostensibly, the Mahaweli plan was an irrigation plan, although there was something more sinister behind this initiative. The State overtly supported Sinhalization in historically Tamil areas.²¹

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Malinga H. Gunaratne, *For a Sovereign State* (Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 1988), iii-xviii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁸ Muggah (2008): 88.

¹⁹ Gunaratne (1988): xiii-xviii.

²⁰ Muggah (2008): 84.

Introduced in 1987, the 13th Amendment to Sri Lanka's constitution called for devolution of power to provincial councils. Nonetheless, the amendment is yet to be fully implemented, meaning that land policy is still crafted by the central government in Colombo. Relatedly, Provincial Governors hold sweeping powers. According to this 13th amendment to the constitution, governors are appointed by the President for (normally) five-year terms.²² In addition, by designating water as a service that will not be devolved, the State can use access to water to ensure future settlement in certain areas. Like the projects cited above, the State is able to steer people to particular towns and regions in the name of "development," thereby seeking to legitimize State-sponsored Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology.

Importantly, in order to implement the Mahaweli project, the State relied heavily on "foreign consultants," including some at the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).²³ Hence, donors from the West and international development organizations financed this project. Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideologues insisted that, aside from addressing the question of Sinhalese landlessness, such a project was necessary to "ensure the integrity of the national ethnic ratio." With the escalation of the ethnic conflict into civil war in 1983, such intolerant thinking ossified, even at the highest levels of the State.²⁴

More recently, the Mahaweli plan has been extended. Since the end of the civil war, the Sri Lankan State has planned to settle Sinhalese people on 1,700 hectares of land, based on the "Givulu-Oya" irrigation plan in Nedunkerni, Vavuniya North, Vavuniya. This project has now been extended to the Northern Province. Yet the Vavuniya North Divisional Secretariat, community members and other government officials in that area were unfamiliar with the extension of this project when it first began.²⁵

In March 2010, 4.5 million Sri Lankan rupees were allocated to the development of Kokkchankulam, Vavuniya North, Vavuniya under the Mahaweli plan. In order to encourage Sinhalese settlement in the area, the name of Kokkchankulam was given a Sinhalese name, "Kalapovasewa." 165 Sinhalese families have been settled²⁶ on 200 acres of paddy fields and lands in this area, which includes a water tank; this has been done with the assistance of Sri Lankan military personnel. Additionally, the Tamil name "Kokkchankulam" has even been removed from the Vavuniya District Secretariat's annual report of 2010 and 2011²⁷ and the water tank has been listed as a tank which was abandoned in 1983.

²² Constitution of Sri Lanka, Article 154G (2).

²³ Muggah (2008): 108.

²⁴ Ibid., pgs. 110-118.

²⁵ TSA interview with a Grama Sevaka in Vavuniya, 12 November 2011.

²⁶ Temporary land certificates were distributed for these 165 Sinhalese families by Vavuniya North (Sinhala Unit) Divisional Secretariat.

²⁷ This statistical book is released annually by the District Secretariat in Vavuniya, Sri Lanka.

The importance the State has always given to controlling the country's water supply is illustrated by a comment made by Deputy Irrigation and Water Resources Management Minister S M Chandrasena in 2010:

I must thank the President for allocating thrice the amount of funds than 2010 for the irrigation sector next year. The Mahaweli Authority which is 30 years old is now under our Ministry. The renovations and maintenance of canals and irrigation systems under the Mahaweli systems were in a poor condition.²⁸

The State's decision in January of 2012²⁹ to bring water to Jaffna district through the Iranamadu tank in Kilinochchi district fits in nicely with this philosophy. As long as the State, including the Water Resource Board, continues to restore and renovate existing tanks associated with the Mahaweli plan, the State can control people's access to water from Colombo, and steer settlement projects as it sees fit.

2.1 Strategic Sinhalese Settlement

As noted, the State has been relentlessly settling Sinhalese people in predominantly Tamil areas since the end of the civil war. The mass displacement of Tamils during the civil war has facilitated this process; Sinhalese people are still moving into historically Tamil communities with the support of the Sri Lankan Army and other State actors. This has had a significant physical and psychological impact on thousands of displaced Tamils, especially those living in "border towns," where Sinhalese and Tamil communities had previously lived next to each other. Briefly, the following incidents provide more specific evidence of these strategic settlements.

The villages of Kokkilai and Kokkuthoduvaai (both coastal areas) are located on the border between the districts of Mullaitivu and Trincomalee. Community members (nearly all of whom are Tamil) in both areas have been struggling with displacement, resettlement and land infringement for a long time. In 1960, twenty-one families lived in these coastal areas and most people earned a living through fishing. During the armed conflict, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) gained control of these areas, for the first time, between 1984-1985. At that point, some Sinhalese families were evicted from their homes. Shortly after the civilwar ended in 2009, the State resettled thirty-seven families in these areas.³⁰ This group of Sinhalese people came from Anuradhapura in the North Central Province. Reportedly, they are related to a group of Sinhalese who had previously lived in the area. The State has said that they are compelled to settle people in these locations because of Sri Lanka's large population increase. However, community members are reluctant to accept a rationale they view as, at best, dubious. In September 2011, forty-five Sinhalese families from Anuradhapura were settled in temporary

²⁸"Network of irrigation projects in progress," *Daily News*, 22 November 2010 <<http://www.dailynews.lk/2010/11/22/fea03.asp>>.

²⁹"Drinking water from Iranamadu Tank and a sewerage system for Jaffna at Rs. 41 billion," *Asia Tribune*, 3 January 2012 <<http://www.asiantribune.com/news/2012/01/02/drinking-water-iranamadu-tank-and-sewerage-system-jaffna-rs-41-billion>>.

shelters in Kokkilai East, Mullaitivu. The Grama Niladhari (GN) led the settlement process by registering Sinhalese peoples' details shortly after they arrived in Kokkilai East. This early registration will allow Sinhalese people to get permanent lands more quickly. Many Tamil people living in the area reported that the GN clearly favors Sinhalese people when it comes to the provision of land. As the State consolidates power and legitimizes State-backed Sinhalese, even local State officials have been compelled to favor Sinhalese people over ethnic Tamils.

In 1983, shortly after the civil war officially began, Tamils in Kokkilai West, Mulliyavalai, Karunatankerny, Mugathuvaram, Thennamaravady, Munthirigaikulam, Akkaraiveli, Kaliyanapuram and Mariyamunai were forcibly chased from their homes by State security forces. Since 2010, the State has resettled a number of Tamils in the previously mentioned locations, but the fundamental needs of these people still have not been met, giving people a strong disincentive to remain in the area. Like elsewhere in the country, the resettlement process for Tamils is nowhere near complete, in spite of the claims made by State authorities.³¹

³¹TSA interview with community members in Mullaitivu, 18 October 2011.

3 Reconstruction and Development in the Northern Province

Today, in the Northern Province, there is evidence that under the purview of the Presidential Task Force (PTF) and the Ministry of Defence (MOD) the same strategy, one that favors the ethnic majority at the expense of Tamils, is being utilized. Just as State-planned policies fomented Sinhalization and strategic Sinhalese settlement in the past (under the auspices of Gal Oya, the Mahaweli plan, and other initiatives), the State is now able to initiate similar objectives which are coordinated by PTF.

Created in May of 2009, this opaque nineteen-member body regulates all reconstruction and development activities in the Northern Province. The PTF, which includes not even a single Tamil or woman member, ensures that all reconstruction and development projects are vetted and approved by the Sri Lankan State. Even though a “Special Government Gazette notification” was issued in May of 2009,³² there does not appear to be any existing legal framework that supports the PTF. The PTF holds extensive powers yet the legality of such a body remains dubious. According to the Sri Lankan State:

“Mainly the Task Force is subjected to coordinate activities of the security agencies of the Government in support of resettlement, rehabilitation and development and to liaise with all organizations in the public and private sectors and civil society organizations for the proper implementation of programs and projects.”³³

Through the PTF, the Sri Lankan State has deliberately created a non-transparent, ever-changing, burdensome regulatory framework, generally encouraging projects related to tangible outputs like infrastructure (“hardware”), while rarely approving projects on psychosocial counseling, trainings in emotional wellness or human rights education (“software”). The PTF has also limited the access of some humanitarian and development agencies to the North---further underscoring the central government’s questionable approach towards post-war development in the Northern Province.³⁴ While many times hardware projects are approved, software projects are frequently rejected. This invariably means that many Tamils in the Northern Province do not have access to services (like counseling) that they need the most. As Darini Rajasingham-Senanayake has noted:

“The military mindset that has led to the concentration of power at the centre in Colombo under the Presidential Task Force for Reconstruction in the North and East headed by Basil Rajapaksa, the president's brother, is counter-productive to locally owned and equitable economic development, public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurship by the local business community in peace time. Central government control of development policy-making and the lack of fiscal

³²“Sri Lanka President appoints Task Force for Resettlement, Development and Security in the Northern Province,” *Asia Tribune*, 14 May 2009 <<http://www.asiantribune.com/node/17527>>.

³³“Sri Lanka: President Appoints New Task Force to Rebuild North,” *Reliefweb*, 14 May 2009 <<http://reliefweb.int/node/308858>>.

³⁴Bhavani Fonseka and Mirak Raheem, *Land in the Northern Province* (Colombo: Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2011), 28-29.

devolution means that the regions, provinces and local people lack ownership or control and are often denied the benefits of economic development done in their name.³⁵

While the analytical foundation underpinning the PTF is consistent with decades of State planning, the creation of the PTF can also be traced directly to the final phases of the civil war. Ever since that time, the State has waged a massive diplomatic campaign to avoid international scrutiny of its security forces' attacks on civilians and the extra-judicial killing of surrendered LTTE members and combatants. In July of 2010, UN's Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, appointed a panel of three experts to probe alleged violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law during the final phase of the war. After the Sri Lankan State denied permission to the panel to conduct its own investigations in Sri Lanka, the panel called for written submissions of evidence of war crimes from sources within the country.³⁶ The Sri Lankan State likely suspected that NGOs operating in the former theaters of combat would convey evidence of war crimes to UN investigators. According to one employee of a national NGO operating in Sri Lanka, restrictions have been placed on the UN "because they were accusing them (the State) of mass murder."³⁷

Consequently, the State's clear suspicion of NGOs has translated into an ever more burdensome system of regulations since the end of the ethnic conflict. Aside from establishing the PTF shortly after civil war ended, the central government also brought the NGO Secretariat, another body which must also approve of project plans within the purview of the Ministry of Defence.

Consequently, the rules and regulations surrounding the PTF encourage development practitioners to implement projects which do not always reflect the needs of community members living in the Northern Province. By creating the PTF, the State has successfully established (though to a lesser extent) a climate of fear amongst international development practitioners as many foreign staff fear deportation and the possibility of losing employment if do not adhere to the rules of the PTF or the NGO Secretariat. The need to gain PTF permission for projects has meant that some development organizations have been willing to "lower the bar" and/or craft projects that they know will be approved by the PTF, including State-sponsored settlements.³⁸

Quite recently, the Presidential Task force has been explicitly encouraging development agencies to focus on certain issues and "areas" that the State believes are most important. This is evidenced by a December 22, 2011 letter written by Mr. S.B. Divaratne, Secretary to the PTF. The letter explicitly calls for humanitarian and aid agencies to help (mostly) Sinhalese people

³⁵ Darini Rajasingham, "One Year After Terrorism: Sri Lanka Needs to Demilitarise Reconstruction and Development for Sustainable Peace," *Strategic Analysis* 35:4, September 2010.

³⁶ "UN panel of experts call for submissions." *BBC Sinhala*, 10 October 2010
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/sinhala/news/story/2010/10/101020_unpan.shtml>.

³⁷ TSA interview with national NGO in Vavuniya, 8 January 2011.

³⁸ TSA interviews with diplomats, national and international NGOs in Colombo, Vavuniya and Jaffna, January-March 2011.

“return” to the historically Tamil district of Mullaitivu. Mr. Divaratne mentions that this is a group of Sinhalese who were a part of the state’s Weli Oya project decades ago. Unsurprisingly, this project area falls under the “Mahaweli zone.”³⁹ The day before Mr. Divaratne issued the abovementioned letter, he sent another letter outlining the State’s priorities vis-à-vis development policy for the coming year in which the State has asked “UN agencies and NGOs” to focus on less recent cases of displacement in the Northern Province, including Sinhala families displaced from the Province in 1980s with LTTE attacks on civilians.” In an obvious move to placate the international community and human rights activists, the letter also emphasized the need to help Muslim families who were compelled to leave the Province in 1990.”⁴⁰

State-sponsored settlement of Sinhalese in historically Tamil areas is such a well-established practice of State policy which has been normalized that it may, at times, be overlooked (or ignored) by the general populace and even the international community. As mentioned above, in the past, prominent international aid organizations, including USAID and UNDP and the FAO to name a few, have actively promoted the State’s policy of Sinhalization in the form of both technical and financial assistance. In post-war Sri Lanka, history is repeating itself; ethnic Tamils are being excluded from the development process, especially in the Northern Province. Distressingly, when international NGOs cooperate with such policies, State-backed extremist Sinhala Buddhist objectives are legitimized, strengthened and allowed to grow.

3.1 Joint Plan for Assistance – Northern Province – 2012

Looking ahead, the “Joint Plan for Assistance- Northern Province-2012” is a collaborative effort drafted by the State, the United Nations, INGOs and NGOs. This is a worrisome “development” document that looks like more of the same from the Sri Lankan State as it glosses over the myriad problems associated with resettlement in the North.

According to this plan, “The Government places a high priority on accelerated economic growth to help people living in the Northern Province regain a sense of normalcy and stability in the aftermath of the conflict.”⁴¹ As per the JPA, monitoring of development projects will continue to be overseen by the State, especially the Presidential Task Force. The plan says that:

Cross-sectoral monitoring and reporting of the projects in the JPA will take place through the online Who-What-Where (3W) database, managed by the PTF with the technical support provided by OCHA. In addition to existing national monitoring mechanisms, the 3W will also track project implementation on the ground (Annex I).⁴²

³⁹ Please refer to Annex IV for a copy of this PTF letter.

⁴⁰ Please refer to Annex V for a copy of this PTF letter.

⁴¹ Government of Sri Lanka, United Nations & Partners, *Joint Plan for Assistance – Northern Province 2012* (2012):3 <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/srilanka_hpsl/docs/2012_JPA_21_February_2012-FINAL.pdf>.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The State's use of such a tool should raise red flags for both national and international development practitioners. As the Annex of the plan itself clearly states, "3W" is a tool which was designed to coordinate information during emergencies. In Sri Lanka the UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) used 3W after the 2004 tsunami. Yet, the tool has remained in place since that time. Since Sri Lanka is experiencing no such natural disaster, one feels compelled to ask the following: *What is the rationale behind using 3W, three years after the civil war and eight years after the tsunami?*

The most plausible explanation seems to be that the State enjoys the extensive monitoring and reporting requirements (for all NGOs) that are associated with such data collection. Although the State can claim that it wants to streamline the monitoring process by engaging OCHA to set-up such a tool, it appears to be merely another means used by the State to maintain a firm grip on all reconstruction and development projects in the Northern Province, thereby ensuring that projects and processes can be used and/or manipulated to promote Sinhalization in all five districts in the Northern Province. The fact the UN and other NGOs fully support this initiative is discouraging, as they are indirectly, yet undeniably, contributing to the State's deeply flawed and divisive development model in the North.

4 Widespread Name Changing in the North, East and Hill Country

Since 1958, the names of ancient Tamil villages and streets have surreptitiously been given Sinhalese names. Usually, State authorities have done this without even informing local administrative authorities. Since the end of the civil war, these incidents have occurred more rapidly in the North, East and Hill Country. Despite strong opposition from Tamils this practice continues unabated. Such opposition does not always appear publicly because people are reluctant to protest about issues like this, fearing that State security personnel will attempt to intimidate them, or worse.⁴³ Since 2006, nearly 100 village names have been changed from a Tamil name to Sinhalese ones. While it is not possible to obtain more precise numbers, much of this renaming has occurred since the end of the civil war. Please refer to *Annex I* for more information.

⁴³TSA interviews with community members in the Vanni, June-December 2011.

5 The Link between Sinhalization and Military Settlements

The military can hardly be viewed as an impartial actor in the country's North, East and Hill Country. When it comes to land rights during the civil war, military personnel, who have also exercised civil administrative functions, have a long and indisputable history of favoring Sinhalese groups. The expansion of the military's presence in predominantly Tamil areas has done little to quell the anxieties of ethnic Tamils.⁴⁴ Some people fear even greater military expansion in certain areas, including the building of new bases.⁴⁵ The State's defense budget will exceed \$2 billion (USD) this year, a nearly seven percent increase from the previous year.⁴⁶ The State's justification for such spending, citing national security concerns, is unconvincing nearly three years after the end of the armed conflict. The State also recently announced that security forces and the police who have a third child would be paid a 100,000 rupee incentive, thereby cementing the special position enjoyed by the military in post-war Sri Lanka. Since the military is almost exclusively Sinhalese, this is disturbing and discriminatory.⁴⁷ It is worth noting that while members of the armed forces are being provided a financial incentive to expand their families, Tamil women in the Hill Country are being paid 500 rupees to undergo an irreversible sterilization procedure.⁴⁸

More recently, the military's foray into civilian affairs has been widespread. For instance, the military is involved in a diverse array of initiatives, from tourism to urban planning. Military personnel have even constructed numerous restaurants and cafés along the A9 road. Soldiers are also engaged in cultivation and selling vegetables and other produces in the North and East. All of this has a direct (and very negative) impact on community members living in the North and East, where unemployment is running at over 20%.⁴⁹ Hence, Sri Lanka's institutionalized militarization continues to be problematic for Tamils living in the North, East and Hill Country. According to one source, "Out of a total land mass of 65,619 sq km, the Tamils inhabited 18,880 sq km of land in the north and east, but after May 2009, the defence forces have occupied more than 7,000 sq km of Tamil land."⁵⁰

Decades ago, Sri Lankan military personnel set up permanent army camps and/or High Security Zones (HSZs) on land owned and occupied by Tamils in the North, East and Hill Country. In

⁴⁴Fonseka and Raheem (2011): 31.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶"Sri Lanka tipped to raise defence spending," *LankaNewspapers.com*, 21 November 2011

<<http://www.lankanewspapers.com/news/2011/11/72672.html>>.

⁴⁷"Sri Lanka military extending its influence over civilian affairs, things are not looking good for democratic accountability," *transCurrents*, 28 January 2011

<http://transcurrents.com/tc/2011/01/sri_lanka_military_extending_i.html>.

⁴⁸"Women as Objects of Control: An Examination of Health, Reproductive Health, and Coerced Sterilization in Sri Lanka's Plantation Sector," Home for Human Rights, (2011).

⁴⁹The Tamil National Alliance, "Sri Lanka Status Report: North and East," (October 2011):ii-4.

⁵⁰"Exclusive: Erasing the cultural leftover of Tamils to convert Sri Lanka into Sinhala country," *The Weekend Leader*, 11 March 2012 <<http://www.theweekendleader.com/Causes/615/Exclusive:-Inside-Lanka.html>>.

doing so, some temples and public places were either destroyed or infringed upon. This greatly disrupted the lives of thousands of Tamils and also led to mass displacement. The civil war has been over for nearly three years, but the military's presence in predominantly Tamil areas appears to be getting stronger. Many community members have opined that "national security" is not the reason for such high levels of militarization in the North and East.⁵¹ The incidents recounted below are representative of this disturbing trend.

In 2011, the State built 12,000 houses in Aanaivilunthan (Kilinochchi) Murukandy (Mullaitivu), Kokkavil and Palaly, Thellipalai (Jaffna) with the help of development assistance from China and is preparing to settle military families in these areas.⁵² The government is also building homes for Sri Lankan Navy families on 1,500 hectares of land in the Mankeni, in the Vahari area of Batticaloa district in the Eastern Province. Land belonging to the Sri Lanka Cashew Cooperation was also expropriated by the military in 2008.⁵³ The State has already built houses in this area, but the planned settlement of Sinhalese families to this area is still pending.⁵⁴

In 2010, the State expropriated Wattagoda Estate in Nuwara Eliya district.⁵⁵ However, people working on the estate were unaware of the takeover. In early 2010, a Member of Parliament from Nuwara Eliya, Minister Muththu Sivalingam, arranged a meeting with President Rajapaksa to discuss the possible expropriation of Wattagoda Estate. During the meeting, President Rajapaksa confirmed⁵⁶ that an army camp would eventually be constructed in the area. The minister retorted that community members would not appreciate an additional army camp in the area. Nonetheless, President Rajapaksa simply said that the proposed military camp will be built without any inconvenience to civilians in that area. Due to Sri Lanka's "Grease Devil/Mystery Man" phenomenon last year, the military's presence in Nuwara Eliya increased drastically. Even though "Mystery Man" attacks have not been reported for months, the military's presence in the district remains strong.⁵⁷

Twenty acres of abandoned land from Recardon Colony in Nallathanni, Nuwara Eliya was recently expropriated by the Sri Lankan Army and the area was fenced off in January 2012. Army personnel have said they intend to create parking spaces in that space for people who are coming to visit Adam's Peak, a famous tourist attraction. Soldiers also indicated that they plan to cultivate chilies on the land.⁵⁸

⁵¹TSA interviews with community members in Ampara, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Jaffna, August-November 2011.

⁵²TSA interviews with community members in Jaffna, January 2012.

⁵³TSA interviews with human rights activists in Colombo, May 2009.

⁵⁴TSA interviews human rights activists in Colombo, January 2012.

⁵⁵TSA interview with community members in Nuwara Eliya, January 2011.

⁵⁶TSA interview with official working at the Ministry of Economic Development in Colombo, July 2010.

⁵⁷TSA interview with community members in Nuwara Eliya, February 2012.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

In addition, the State established a military training camp in the Mathavanai, in the Thambarakanduwa area of Polonnaruwa in the North Central Province in January 2008. Initially, this land was designated as grazing land; the Sri Lankan government has also changed the name of this area to “Malamandy.” Through this process the Sri Lankan Army’s presence became more prominent and Tamils’ freedom of movement was restricted.⁵⁹

As noted, de Facto High Security Zones⁶⁰ are still an issue in post-war Sri Lanka. Sampur East, Sampur West, Navaretnapuram, Kadatkarachenai and Konitivu are all villages in the Sampur area of Trincomalee district. Before their displacement in 2006, more than 1,300 families had been living in these places.⁶¹ Since the end of the war, instead of helping displaced Tamils return home, the government has decided to build a coal power plant in this area which will cover approximately 10,000 acres of land.

In order to build this power plant, property belonging to the Sampur Hospital, Post Office, Fisheries Society, Cooperative Society and Agriculture Service Center will be infringed upon. Additionally, the State has expropriated a number of places of worship including Sampur Bathrakaly Ambal, Vinayakar, Nagathambiran, Konitivu Badabathrakaly, Pillayar and Sudaikuda Mariyamman, which will all be razed in order for the State to construct its coal power plant.⁶² Also in 2011, the Government Agent, District Secretariat and some Navy officers forced community members to move from their original location in Sampur to a number of other locations including Koravan Vettuvan Malai, Vembadythottam, Ganesapuram, and Seethanaveli.⁶³ These are not anomalous events; they are part of a more methodical plan to evict Tamils from the North, East and Hill Country.

High Security Zones in Jaffna also pose enormous challenges for people seeking to rebuild their lives. During the war, HSZs accounted for approximately 16% of land on the peninsula, more than any other district.⁶⁴ Aside from clearly being illegal,⁶⁵ these zones prevent civilians from returning home. It is not even certain when or if all HSZs will be dismantled. There have even been reports of military personnel acquiring new land in Jaffna to construct military bases.⁶⁶ The Sri Lankan Army continues to occupy the following areas, all of which should be denoted as de facto High Security Zones: An area around Thellipalai; Kollankalatty; an area surrounding the Palaly airport; Kankesanthurai; an area beginning at the Ponnalai Junction and extending to coastal areas in Thondamanaru (including Mathakal, Keerimalai, Mayilitty and Vasavilan). In

⁵⁹TSA interview with community members in Trincomalee, February 2012.

⁶⁰ Since the Emergency Regulations expired at the end of August 2011, “official” HSZs no longer exist.

⁶¹The exact number of families evicted in 2006 is as follows: Sampur East - 368 (families); Sampur East – 436; Navaretnapuram – 240; Kadatkarachenai – 84; Kunithivu – 204.

⁶²TSA interviews with community members in Trincomalee, December 2011.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Fonseka and Raheem (2011): 153.

⁶⁵ The Government of Sri Lanka has yet to issue a single gazette regarding High Security Zones in Jaffna.

⁶⁶ Fonseka and Raheem (2011): 153.

other locations, although the military has left civilians remain ambivalent about returning, largely out of fear.⁶⁷

In Mathakal, Sundilipai, Jaffna community members had relied on fishing for generations, but that has been limited due to people being forcibly evicted from their homes and the creation of a HSZ. The Buddhist temple in Mathakal was also constructed on private property by the Sri Lankan Army. This temple was officially opened by Shiranthi Rajapaksa, the wife of the President on February 9, 2011.⁶⁸

In Valikamam North, Valikamam, Jaffna, Pradeshiya Saba officers and a public health officer gave people permission to build toilets and in November 2011, community members began construction, but Sri Lankan Navy personnel visited the site and stopped this initiative. Evidently military personnel were not happy about civilians returning to these areas. (This area used to be a HSZ).⁶⁹

In January 2012, community members obtained permission from the Sri Lankan Navy to clean an area in Keerimalai and were engaged in this *Shramadana* activity (community service in the form of cleaning public spaces) on January 14. As community members began to burn garbage, Navy personnel rushed to the scene, proceeded to attack community members and demanded that they stop burning garbage. As a result of this unwarranted attack, five community members were injured. The Chairman of the Pradeshiya Saba (PS) in Valikamam North was attacked with a plastic pipe; he was attacked both before and after he was identified as the Chairman. Later, he lodged a complaint with the Ilavalai Police. As of the writing of this report, the police have still not conducted any investigations.⁷⁰ The day after the attack, the Sri Lankan Navy created roadblocks in Valikamam North (in the area where the assaults occurred) and checked people from morning to afternoon.⁷¹

Over the years, many families were displaced in Batticaloa district from villages in the following Divisional Secretariat Divisions: Manmunai South Eruvilpattu, Eravurpattu, Koralaipattu South and Koralaipattu North. This occurred as a result of the conflict between Tamils and Muslims in 1985 and also a result of Sri Lankan military operations in 1990, during the civil war. These families have still not been resettled. The Sri Lankan Navy encroached upon their lands and installed military camps there many years ago. Later, the navy officially declared these areas to be High Security Zones. The people who have been displaced from these areas have not received support from the State and are still living with relatives or friends. Even though these initial

⁶⁷TSA interview with community member in Jaffna, December 2012.

⁶⁸TSA interview with a community member in Batticaloa, 15 February 2012.

⁶⁹TSA interview with a community member in Jaffna, 15 December 2011.

⁷⁰TSA interview with a government official in Jaffna, 4 February 2012.

⁷¹TSA interviews with a community member in Jaffna, 28 January 2012.

displacements occurred more than twenty years ago, numerous resettlement problems remain unresolved.

From 1990 to 2011, a Sri Lankan Army camp was situated in Kannakipuram. After 2010, the police also established security posts there and displaced twenty-five families who are now living with friends and relatives in Kannakipuram, Aalayaivembu, Akkaraipattu. These people have already filed complaints with Sri Lanka's Human Rights Commission, parliamentarians and the District Secretariat in Vellaveli. Nevertheless, to date, no action had been taken by any State authority.

From 1990 to 2010, a Special Task Force (STF) camp was situated in Katturai Puchi. In 2010, the STF dismantled this camp, but community members were unable to resettle in their former homes as, at the time of writing this report, demining in the area is still ongoing. Some displaced people were forced to relocate to distant locations, like Colombo, Puttalam District and elsewhere. Understandably, these people have been demanding that the State properly resettle them as soon as possible.

Also, ten families from Thumbankerny, Thikkodai who were displaced are yet to be resettled because an army camp in this area is still operational. These community members are also living with friends and relatives.⁷² Another Sri Lankan Army Camp is located in Valaikal, a border village between Batticaloa and Ampara districts and community members from Valaikal have been unable to return home. This group has not filed a formal complaint with any State organizations about this matter.⁷³

Since 1985, Eravur (4th and 5th Kurichi), Batticaloa were declared as High Security Zones; they are still de facto HSZs. Even though the State has refused to resettle Tamils in these areas, an Arabic college is being built in this location with funding provided by the Government of Iraq. Community members have voiced concerns about this and wondered how the Urban Council could allow this in one of Sri Lanka's de facto High Security Zones (and historically Tamil areas). Fewer people understand why a Middle Eastern country has been given permission to do this while community members (mostly Tamils) from these areas are still waiting for an official resettlement date to be announced.⁷⁴ The implementation of this project is being coordinated by the Urban Council Chairman in Eravur, Mr. Ali Zahir Moulana.⁷⁵

Further, when travelling from Killinochchi to Mullaitivu, certain lands belonging to Tamils have been marked as land that is "Reserved for Military." In these locations, military personnel do not allow landowners to enter or use the land to derive an income. In many of these locations, soldiers have constructed Buddhist symbols and/or Buddhist shrines along the highway. For

⁷²TSA interviews with community members in Colombo, 5 January 2012.

⁷³TSA interview with community member in Batticaloa, 20 February 2012.

⁷⁴This information was reported by community members living in Sri Lanka.

⁷⁵TSA interviews with community members in Batticaloa, 15 January 2012.

example, military personnel are currently occupying land belonging to a Tamil on Mullaitivu Road at the Kandawalai Junction⁷⁶ in Paranthan, Killinochchi despite the owner's request to regain possession of his land. Military personnel have even built a small Buddhist shrine and a Bodhi tree in that location at which soldiers are currently worshipping.⁷⁷

“There are around 148 mini military camps (military check-posts and small camps) and fourteen major camps are situated along A39 and A9 between Mankulam and Paranthan Junction via Puthukudiyaruppu covering a distance of approximately 132kms.”

In February of 2012, women from nine villages in Mannar raised concerns about the State's decision to build an army camp in Tharavankottai, Mannar Town, Mannar. 564 women signed a petition which was addressed to Tamil National Alliance (TNA) parliamentarians, the Justice Minister, the Lands Commissioner and the Mannar District Secretariat. The women cited security concerns and an invasion of privacy as the principal reason behind the petition.⁷⁸

Please refer to *Annex II* for more information on Army Camps in Killinochchi and Mullaitivu.

⁷⁶ This land is located approximately 800 meters from Kandawalai Junction.

⁷⁷ TSA interview with community member in Killinochchi, 14 February 2012.

⁷⁸ “Land Allocation for Army Upsets Women,” *The Sunday Leader*, 19 February 2012

<<http://www.thesundayleader.lk/2012/02/19/land-allocation-for-army-upsets-mannar-women>>.

6 Changing Boundaries and Destroying Tamil Identity, Historical Ruins and Archeological Remains

6.1 Boundary Changes

The State is purposely redrawing boundaries in Tamil border villages in the country's North, East and Hill Country. This is yet another part of extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology and lands belonging to Tamils are being incorporated into predominantly Sinhalese districts. For example, in Trincomalee, a Pradeshiya Sabha member has raised the issue of the State's plan to include Tamil villages in a Sinhalese division of Trincomalee. Boundary changes are being undertaken to reduce the representation of Tamils in various areas. The aim is to dilute Tamil majority administrative areas to change the demography and thereby the number of parliamentary representatives the community can elect.⁷⁹

For example, the village of Thennaimaravadi and a few villages in Pulmodai were abruptly included in Pathavisripura Division, Trincomalee in 2010. For community members living in these places, it remains unclear why such redistricting is necessary.⁸⁰ Sometimes, village name changing and redistricting go hand-in-hand. Contemporaneous name changing and redistricting have occurred earlier in Batticaloa since 1985. For example, the border villages of Manampitty, Polonnaruwa (now Velikanda), Pillaiyarady, Manmunai North, Batticaloa (now Ilukkupam), Manampitty, Polonnaruwa (now Manampittya), Soruvil, Thamparakanuwa, Polonnaruwa (now Soruvila) and Muthukal, Thamparakanuwa, Polonnaruwa (now Muthugala) were all Tamil villages, but now they all have Sinhalese names and are a part of Polonnaruwa District.⁸¹ Other village name changes and examples of redistricting⁸² have recently occurred in Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Anuradhapura and elsewhere.

6.2 Sinhalese Infringement of Grazing Land

Pasture lands (belonging to Tamils) which are demarcated for cattle grazing in Batticaloa district are being occupied by Sinhalese people. These lands are colloquially known as "Periyamathavanai" and are located in Thamparakanuwa, Polonnaruwa.⁸³ These Sinhalese settlers have come from Dehiyathakandiya, Monoragala District.⁸⁴ Periyamathavanai grazing land lies on the border of Monoragala and Batticaloa districts.

There are approximately 1,800 square acres of land in Periyamathavanai. Out of these 1,800 acres, thirty Sinhalese families are occupying about 500 acres of land, which they are using for

⁷⁹TSA interviews with community members in Trincomalee, 25 January 2012.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹TSA interviews with community members in Batticaloa, 20 February 2012.

⁸² To be clear, "redistricting" refers to the act of the government selecting Tamil villages (in mostly Tamil Districts) and "moving" them so that they fall under the administrative district that is largely Sinhalese.

⁸³ This area in Polonnaruwa District is also known as Malamandy.

⁸⁴TSA interviews with community members in Batticaloa, 20 February 2012.

cultivation. The Sinhalese settlers are cultivating brown beans, chilies and other vegetables. In addition, Sinhalese settlers are not letting cattle belonging to Tamils cross into the area that they have infringed upon. When cattle do wander into this area, they are frequently shot and killed. Over a number of years, more than 80,000 cattle have died in Batticaloa due to incidents like this one.⁸⁵

Some Tamil cattle owners are currently seeking legal assistance to stop this illegal Sinhalese occupation.⁸⁶ Regrettably, State officers from the Department of Agriculture or Veterinary Officers from the Department of Health, among others who could have taken action to resolve this issue have chosen to ignore it.

6.3 The Destruction of Hindu Temples

During the civil war more than 350 Hindu Temples in the country's North and East were demolished.⁸⁷ The actual number of Hindu Temples destroyed in, almost certainly, much greater than list provided in this monograph. In other cases, army personnel continue to occupy Hindu temples, some of which are located in de facto HSZs. This invariably leads to fewer Tamils frequenting these religious sites, mostly out of fear.

Relatedly, the State has been building Buddhist shrines and other religious monuments where some of these Hindu temples existed.⁸⁸ Shortly after May 2009, the construction of Buddhist shrines and/or religious monuments in the North and East began in earnest. Again, most often military personnel are building these Buddhist shrines⁸⁹, a process which can be witnessed when travelling along Sri Lanka's A9 road. Military personnel can also be seen planting Bodhi trees to augur the construction of a Buddhist shrine. Historically, those trees had been planted after Buddhist shrines had already been constructed, but not anymore. *In post-war Sri Lanka, proselytizing has been outsourced to the military.*

In the Hill Country there is a historical Tamil site in Ratnapura called Sivanolipathamalai (Adam's Peak). This is a famous holy site for Hindus and many used to engage in religious rituals there every year. Since 1900, the site has welcomed people who spoke English, Sinhala and Tamil. However, in the 1970s, the site was given an exclusively Sinhalese name and is now called 'Sri Pada.' Right now, importance is only given to Buddhism and the location has been officially denoted as a Buddhist holy site by the State. The administration of this site is managed by Buddhist monks and Hindu rituals are no longer permitted in Sri Pada.⁹⁰ State authorities have even created a new DS Division to administer the site.

⁸⁵TSA interviews with community members in Batticaloa, 20 February 2012.

⁸⁶TSA interviews with community members in Batticaloa, 20 February 2012.

⁸⁷ Please refer to Annex III of this report for more information on the destruction of Hindu Temples.

⁸⁸ Please refer to Annex III of this report.

⁸⁹TSA interviews with community members in Jaffna and Kilinochchi, September 2011.

⁹⁰"Perils on the Peak," *The Sunday Times*, 15 March 1998 <<http://www.sripada.org/perils.htm>>.

People believe in and worship Elf (a minor Hindu god) in Nuwara Eliya and Ratnapura, both of which are historically Tamil districts. Yet, Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideologues have established Buddhist symbols in places where Tamils temples were located. In some parts of Ratnapura district, Hindu temples and Gods are now referred to by Sinhalese names. This is not only occurring in the Hill Country; similar incidents have also occurred in the country's North and East.⁹¹

More specifically, the shape of "Om" (related to the Hindu religion) was placed at the entrance of the Kathirgamam Kanthan Temple a long time ago. But, in the early 1990s, this shape was removed along with statues of Hindu gods, Muragan, Valli and Theivanai. Stone pillars in a dilapidated cave known as Ravanan Kottai in Kathirgamam, Uva Province were converted into a Minar shape, a Buddhist cultural and religious symbol.

In 1995, the Sri Lankan Army established a camp at the Kantharodai Archaeological Research Centre in Kantharodai, Chunnakam, Jaffna. The following year, they built a temporary place of worship, but not a shrine, in that same location. Army personnel then placed a Buddhist statue there and named the place "Kathurugoda Temple." In 2002, they planted a Bodhi tree inside the Archaeological Research Centre.

In 2010, Sri Lankan soldiers collected some broken stones from abandoned houses in the area. Eventually, the soldiers used these stones to build a Buddhist religious building. They also built a Buddhist shrine inside that building. Next to the Bodhi tree they planted a sign written in Sinhala,⁹² which says the following:

"King Sangiliayn ruled Jaffna in the 16th century AD and the destruction of this Vihara was an act of cruelty by this king. Under his rule sixty Buddhist monks died in a place called Punguduthevu situated in Puwanga Boomi. Their ashes were buried in Katurugoda and a cemetery was built. Among those, it is believed that they discovered fifty-six tombs in 1917. Also, during the period of Thevanambiyatissa, a decorative standing stone pathway constructed from Dambakola Patuna to the north entrance of Anuradhapura. Katurugoda was in between these two places. According to a Chronicle named Janaprawa, Lord Buddha who resolved a dispute between King Sulotha and Mahoda rested at Katurugoda. The Buddhist statue and other archeological materials from here were removed and kept at Jaffna Museum."⁹³

The abovementioned army camp is situated on two acres of land and approximately fifteen soldiers are currently working there.⁹⁴

Furthermore, there is a famous temple in Hatton is known as the Manikka Pillayar Temple in Hatton town, Hatton. The street leading to that temple is known as Manikka Pillayar Street. In

⁹¹TSA interviews with community members in Ampara, Batticaloa, Jaffna and Nuwara Eliya, December 2011.

⁹² To be clear, a small sign in Sinhala was placed here in 1997, but soldier posted a large sign in 2010.

⁹³ Please refer to Annex VI for a complete translation of the sign written in Sinhala.

⁹⁴TSA interviews with community member in Jaffna, November 2011.

2011, the street's name was abruptly changed to the Young Men's Buddhist Association Street.⁹⁵ Tamil people living in the area have not appreciated this, but the new street name remains in place.⁹⁶

Hindu Tamils have been maintaining the Hot Spring Wells in Kanniya, Trincomalee, at which an ancient Hindu temple is located, for generations. This area has been a major tourist attraction for a very long time has always been within the purview of the State's Department of Archaeology since it was declared a sacred place for Hindus. Yet now, the site's history is being distorted by certain vested interests, including the Government Agent in Trincomalee, Major General TRD Silva and attempts are being made to turn this location into a place of worship for Buddhists. In the afternoon of 5 October 2010, the Government Agent even removed several sign board denoting the area's deep historical ties to ethnic Tamils from this location. At present, a Bodhi tree has been planted in the area and a Buddhist Temple is being constructed.

In Kachilaimadu, Sri Lankan Army personnel destroyed a statue of Pandaravaniyan,⁹⁷ a Tamil king. This incident happened in Kachilaimadu, Mullaitivu in April 2010.⁹⁸

In September 2011, the State built a small Buddhist statue that infringed upon three different properties: the Kokkilai Hospital, some privately held land and the local post office. In the future, the State has indicated that it plans to expand upon the newly constructed Buddha statue. State officials have said that they will eventually construct a Buddhist shrine in that location.

6.4 To the Victor Goes the Spoils: A Post-War Visit to Mullivaikal

Two Tamil women traveled to Puthukudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu on August 22, 2011. First, their vehicle was stopped by the Sri Lankan Army at the Oddusuddan checkpoint. This is another entrance to Puthukudiyiruppu which is still not open to the public. Both women were Tamil; their driver was Sinhalese.

The driver was asked several questions: *Where are you all coming from? What do you all do? Where do you think you are going?* The driver was then asked the following: *Are there any Tamils inside the vehicle?*

The driver said that no Tamils were in the vehicle. The driver was then told that *Tamils, including those residing in Mullaitivu, are not allowed to enter this area. The army is supposed to be very careful to make sure that no Tamils enter.*

Army members then asked three more times if there were any Tamils in the vehicle. The driver continued to respond that there were not any Tamils in the vehicle.

⁹⁵ This street is colloquially referred to as YMBA Street.

⁹⁶TSA interview with a community member in Nuwara Eliya, 18 December 2011.

⁹⁷Bandaravaniyan ruled the Vanni during the British colonial period.

⁹⁸TSA interviews with community members in Mullaitivu, June 2010.

After that, another soldier approached the car and asked two women to open the car door. The soldier looked inside the car and asked the two women the same questions that he had asked the driver. One of the two women speaks Sinhalese fluently so they had less chance of being identified as Tamils.

The slain LTTE leader Prabhakaran's house, other sectional leaders' houses and a larger pool used to train the LTTE's Sea tigers are all currently on exhibition that is open for viewing only for Sinhalese people.

Significantly, the State has been proudly discussing its defeat of the LTTE, a separatist movement that clearly did *not* speak for all Tamils. Yet, in doing so, the State has been deliberating misinterpreting Tamil history. For example, while the group of three was visiting, an army soldiers were busy explaining to tourists that the Vanni had always been a place where Sinhalese had lived until the LTTE gained control of the area during the ethnic conflict. This assertion is patently false. It has been widely accepted that, historically, the Vanni was occupied by Tamil kings, not Sinhalese people. The State is purposely distorting history.

In this area, many Tamils still have not been properly resettled by the State and they have no information whether they will ever be able to return home. It should be noted that almost all sign boards in this area are now written in Sinhala.

During the time of their visit, the two women did not speak a word of Tamil until they left Mullaitivu. The group was stopped at four more checkpoints where they were again questioned by the Sri Lankan Army. The same types of questions, like those mentioned above, were asked at all four check points.

The two women noticed that State security forces were cordial to all visitors. While the group was passing Vellam Mullivaikkal, Valaiyarmadam, Puthumathalan and Nandikadal, they saw thousands of vehicles---lorries, buses, motorbikes and bicycle---that had been abandoned by Tamils when they were displaced at the end of the war. Again, the owners have been unable to regain their possessions since State security personnel do not allow them to enter this area.

When travelling in this area, one can see clearly that most of the lands are explicitly marked, in Sinhala and/or English that, "this property is reserved for the military."

Civilians have not been resettled in Vellam Mullivaikal and Valaiyarmadam in Mullaitivu. However, houses have been built (in the jungle) in these locations. If Tamils are not being allowed to return home, why is the State building additional houses in these areas?

The Sri Lankan Army has not allowed many Tamils to return to their homes, but that does not mean that those lands are not being used. Army personnel are currently selling things like sand, artifacts to vehicles and timber to outsiders.⁹⁹

⁹⁹TSA interview with two people currently working for a national NGO in Colombo, 15 February 2012.

7 More Government-Sponsored Sinhalization: Deliberate attack on the collective identity of the Tamil People in Sri Lanka

Post-war Sri Lanka's politics is driven by majoritarian triumphalism. Even after almost three years after the end of the war the "culture war" is intensifying and the notion of "victor takes it all" seems to be the government's strategy. The present re-construction policy is being used to reconstruct the Tamil collective identity as well. After the civil war ended, certain Tamil traditions have been gradually changed by the State in the North and East. Again, the reason behind these changes is to destroy the specific socio-cultural values of Tamils.¹⁰⁰

To entertain and attract Tamil youth, the government and businessmen, in conjunction with the Sri Lankan military, have been organizing Sinhalese cultural music shows in historically Tamil areas. For example, traditional Tamil games such as "Kilithattu and Kapadi" were eliminated and the Avurudu Pageant (Aurudu Kumari) and climbing the grease pole were introduced at the New Year's celebration by the army in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu after the end of the war. Additionally, any event or social gathering must be reported to Sri Lankan military personnel, giving the Sinhalese-dominated military ample opportunity to promote and/or incorporate Sinhalese cultural activities into Tamil celebrations.¹⁰¹ Besides, it is likely that few people will attend such festivities if they know people will be under scrutiny and those who participate also do it for reasons such as not to antagonize the military. By involving themselves in (literally) all aspects of civilian affairs, the Sinhalese-dominated military is able to foster a culture of subjugation among Tamil communities. For many Tamils, the end of the civil war has brought with it the internalization of inferiority. People in these areas also feel that hosting Tamil cultural events they will be suspected of attempting to revive LTTE ideology. To clarify, the willful blending of cultures and ethnic groups is something that should be wholeheartedly encouraged, in Sri Lanka or anywhere else. Unfortunately, interethnic mixing of that nature is not happening on the rest of the island. Rather, led by the Sinhalese-dominated State, the ethnic majority is imposing its own culture upon Tamils.

It is no secret that many people living in the country's North and East are still marginalized and lack physical and financial security. The large number of female-headed households in the country's North and East has left many Tamil women in a precarious position. Due to this profound lack of security, many women may feel compelled to enter into exploitative relationships with Sinhalese men, including military personnel.¹⁰² Since in most cases Tamil women have entered such relationships under duress or dire need, this cannot be viewed as a positive development.

¹⁰⁰TSA interviews with community members in Ampara, Batticaloa, Nuwara Eliya, Jaffna and Vavuniya, July-December 2011.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

The Sri Lankan State tries to show that the country is experiencing genuine national reconciliation, but that assertion is disingenuous. The case of Panama is illustrative of this. Since 1958, only Tamils have lived in Panama. However, interethnic marriages began shortly after the State-sponsored Gal Oya¹⁰³ project was implemented and Panama has now become a Sinhalese village due to the large number of mixed marriages which have occurred there. The Tamil identity is weakened as a result of these relationships, while Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology is further legitimized.

In many instances widows and female headed household will maintain a sexual relationship with a soldier who is already married. This is done to alleviate women's well-founded security concerns. Women feel that if they regularly give sexual favors to one soldier, other soldiers will not harass them.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, uninvited army members attend social events and gathering like temple festivals and family ceremonies in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu frightens community members.

¹⁰³ The Gal Oya project allowed for many Sinhalese families to be resettled in Panama, a historically Tamil area. The village is now identified as Sinhalese.

¹⁰⁴ TSA interviews with community members in Ampara, Batticaloa, Trincomalee Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu November-December 2011.

8 Sinhala Takeover of Economic Activities in the North, East and Hill Country

Since the conclusion of the civil war, Tamils have been largely excluded from development projects in the country's North and East. Even though reconstruction and development activities continue in the North, East and Hill Country, much of this economic activity favors Sinhalese people and companies which are headquartered in southern Sri Lanka. Most often Sri Lanka military personnel facilitate the economic activities of Sinhala companies from the South and in doing so take on the role of civil administration. Recently, military personnel have been engaged in numerous activities including: the construction of Buddhist holy sites, the destruction of traditional buildings and community centers, looting iron from factories (like KKS cement factories); the looting of idols (like bronze statues and/or Hindu idols); the transporting of timber by military personnel in predominantly Tamil areas and the quarrying¹⁰⁵ of limestone and other minerals.

Many functioning Tamil-owned companies are located in the North and East, but building, street and irrigation activities are currently undertaken by Sinhalese with close connections to Sinhalese political leaders and military leaders, including the Rajapaksas. Senior Sri Lankan Army officers from the South help strengthen these relationships.

When it comes to giving tender, State officials are reluctant to provide tenders to Tamils. Essentially the tender process has become politicized and militarized; Tamils suffer as a result. Minorities also face grave difficulties in gaining employment.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned, some estimates put the rate of unemployment in the Northern Province at somewhere between 20 and 30 percent, even though the national average is less than 5 percent.¹⁰⁷

Since the end of the civil war, Sinhalese from southern Sri Lanka (many of whom are supported by the State) have come to the country's war-affected regions and many raw materials like trees, iron, gravel and sand. These raw materials are then resold in those same locations. Almost all sand mining and gravel quarrying initiatives in the districts of Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi are owned by Sinhalese people. Currently, very few Tamils are engaged in sand mining or gravel quarrying in either district.¹⁰⁸

Sometimes, the State is reluctant to renovate dilapidated factories which are located in the country's North, East or Hill Country---choosing to move production elsewhere. For example, a paper factory in Valaichenai,¹⁰⁹ Batticaloa was created in 1956. In 1990, the State decided to merge this factory with a paper factory in Embilipitiya, Ratnapura, a predominantly Sinhalese

¹⁰⁵TSA interviews with community members in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, November- December 2011.

¹⁰⁶ In Kangesanthurai and Keerimalai, limestone has been looted by military personnel. In Nagarkoyil, military personnel have stolen sand. This information was reported by human rights activists living in Sri Lanka.

¹⁰⁷The Tamil National Alliance, "Sri Lanka Status Report: North and East," (October 2011): ii.

¹⁰⁸TSA interviews with community members in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, January-February 2012.

¹⁰⁹ The paper factor is known as the Valaichenai Paper Factory.

district. As a result of this decision, three thousand Tamil employees at the factory in Valaichenai have been laid off since 2006.¹¹⁰ Even though Tamil communities might be in possession of raw materials, finished products are coming from outside those areas, meaning that people living in places like Jaffna and Batticaloa districts are forced to pay more for goods.

8.1 Fishing in Mullaitivu District

“In 2005, only one third of the sea area due to us was under our control. With the defeat of terrorism, Sri Lankans are now able to reap the benefits of the total sea area that the country is entitled to. I will take steps to further strengthen and activate the programme put forward under the Mahinda Chintana to make maximum use of these ocean resources.”¹¹¹

In Mullaitivu, from 1956 to 2010, the “Padugal” seashore boundary distribution has increased. (To clarify, the word “Padugal”¹¹² is Tamil for a type of boundary distribution on the seashore; essentially, this is a fishing permit. There is a customary law which states that such permits are passed down to generations.) There are two types of Padu-*Kattuvala* and Padu-*Karavalai*.

Before 1984, there were fifty-six Padugal for all areas from Kokkilai to Salai in Mullaitivu. At that time, only ten of those permits were owned by Sinhalese people.

Now, in 2012, more than one hundred Sinhalese people are working in this same area; all of them have Padugal (fishing permits). Recently, it has been reported that the Minister of Fisheries has been discriminating against Tamils by not renewing their fishing permits. Currently, Sinhalese people obtain fishing permits easily in Mullaitivu with the assistance of the military as the renewal process is taking place at the Divisional Secretariat.

While Tamils in Mullaitivu have only been given temporary permits recently, the State gives Sinhalese people permanent permits with little hesitation. To be clear, many Tamils have applied for permanent permits, but those have not been granted by the State. Additionally, in Nanthikadal, adhering to the “pass system” is very important. (This area is located in one of Mullaitivu’s de facto High Security Zones). Yet only Tamils have to abide by this pass system. Sinhalese are free to fish in this area whenever they want. These Sinhalese people have been coming from Negombo, Puttalam and Chilaw.¹¹³

Relatedly, a de facto High Security Zone located from Selvapuram to Mulliyavaikkal in Mullaitivu is still under army control. Therefore, Tamils are not allowed to fish in this area. Nonetheless, Sinhalese people are currently fishing there without any trouble. These Sinhalese

¹¹⁰TSA interviews with community members in Batticaloa, December 2011.

¹¹¹Mahinda Rajapaksa, *Mahinda Chinthana Vision for the Future*, (Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 2005), 89. <<http://www.president.gov.lk/pdfs/MahindaChinthanaEnglish.pdf>>.

¹¹² Essentially, a Padu is a fishing license. Historically, there is a customary law that this is something that is passed down to generations. The word “Padu” is singular and the word “Padugal” is plural.

¹¹³TSA interviews with community members in Mullaitivu, January 2012.

people also come from Negombo, Puttalam and Chilaw.¹¹⁴ Again, Tamils have been trying to get Permanent Permits to be allowed to fish in Mullaitivu, but they have had little success. The Minister of Fisheries, Rajitha Senaratna, stated that those Sinhalese people have permanent permits but that they were chased away by the LTTE in 1984. The minister failed to mention that Tamils have been residing in the area for far longer than that and have permits.

As noted, Sampur, Trincomalee was declared as a High Security Zone/Special Economic Zone in 2007 and all the people from that area are still living in camps. Fishing is prohibited there. However, the State security forces have allowed people to use six Kattuvallai Padugal in Kadalkarichennai, Sampur. Approximately 25% of the fishermen from Muthur, Trincomalee are working as laborers with fisherman from Kadalkaraichennai. People from Muthur East, Sampur¹¹⁵ had 32 Kattuvalai Padugals and 2 Karavallai Padugals. Among this, Kadalkaraichenai was allotted 24 Kattuvalai Padugal and 1 Karavellai Padu was given. Prior to that, there were seven Sinhalese families in Sampur and recently the State has resettled around 35 families to that area.

Historically, in Muthur there was only one Fishermen's Federation. However, in 2010, the Ministry of Fisheries called a meeting of the Fisherman's Federation and announced they would establish federations along three ethnic lines. Now the Sinhalese Fishermen's Federation, the Muslim Fishermen's Federation and Tamil Fishermen's Federation are all operational.

In Nallur (one of Sampur's Tamil coastal villages), the Sri Lankan Navy has assigned a Kattuvalai Padu to a Muslim fisherman.

Recently, the Sri Lankan Navy has been pressuring people from Sampur to lease their Padugals to Sinhalese fishermen. Understandably, Tamil community members have wondered: "If Sinhalese people are allowed to use our permits to fish, then why can we not use our own permits to fish?"¹¹⁶ Tellingly, in Mullaitivu, not a single Tamil owns a multi-day boat since none of them have fishing permits.

8.2 Sri Lankan Navy Indiscretion in Kaddupulam Thiruvadinalai

Currently, there are about 115 fishermen fishing in the sea of Kazttupulam Thiruvadinalai, which is located on Chulipuram East, Chankanai DS Division, Jaffna. The Fishermen Society of this area is named Kengadevi Fishermen's Society. The group is entitled to fish along three kilometers of coastal belt. The Sri Lankan Navy created a High Security Zone in this area in 1995; Navy personnel have retained control over a large portion of the sea since that time. The fishermen were only allowed to fish in this area. Over the past three months, navy personnel have constructed numerous buildings along the Kazttupulam Thiruvadynillai seashore.

¹¹⁴TSA interviews with community members in Mullaitivu, January 2012.

¹¹⁵ This includes 11 Grama Sevaka Divisions in this area.

On March 13, 2012 Namal Rajapaksa, son of the president, visited this area and the fishermen of that area were not allowed to enter any part of abovementioned costal belt. That same day, Navy personnel ordered ten fishermen to remove their Kalankanni Nets (trap nets). As a result, ten families lost their livelihood. The fishermen also alluded to the fact that there are Sinhalese residing in the newly constructed two story building (a prefab building).

That same evening, at around 8 pm, Navy personnel visited the house of a community member and said that the Kalankanni stick and nets that are placed on the coastal belt near the buildings must be removed. Otherwise, Navy personnel said that they would remove them. There were ten Kalankanni nets and the fishermen removed all of them. As a result, the fishermen and their families have been badly affected.

On March 16, 2012 when the fishermen off Mathagal costal belt were fishing in the Thiruwadinilai area (adjacent to Kazttupulam Thiruvadynillai), Navy personnel chased them away.¹¹⁷ In addition, army personnel placed commando wires, a type of wire normally used by the security forces, for barrier fencing along the coast in the area. New buildings are being constructed on private lands belonging to people of that area. Civilians are currently living in fear. At the end of February, the Navy prevented the fishermen from fishing. This matter was reported to the DS in Chankanai. After that, civilians had been allowed to fish for twenty-five days without interruption.

¹¹⁷TSA interview with community members in Jaffna, 14 March 2012.

9 Planed Administrative Changes in Education

The Sri Lankan State continues to make prejudicial moves in the country's education sector. For instance, many Sri Lankan universities appear to be favoring Sinhalese university students in historically Tamil areas.¹¹⁸ At the end of 2011, the State appointed a Sinhalese person to hold the position with powers of Vice Chancellor at Eastern University, Batticaloa. However, the State cancelled this move after people protested against that appointment. State authorities appointed a Tamil as Vice Chancellor instead.¹¹⁹

At Jaffna University, the percentage of Sinhalese who were admitted (and subsequently enrolled) has increased significantly since 2010. For example, before the civil war ended, less than ten Sinhalese students were studying medicine in the Faculty of Medicine. However, starting in 2010, 50% of students (more than 100 people) admitted to study science and law have been Sinhalese. Consequently, lectures are being conducted in English---to accommodate both Sinhalese and Tamil students. Conversely, the lectures held at Moratuwa and Jayawardapura Universities are normally held in Sinhala¹²⁰ because mostly Sinhalese students are studying at these two schools.¹²¹ To be clear, both of these two public universities are located in the country's Southern Province, meaning that mostly Sinhalese students study there. Yet, in spite of the fact that numerous Tamil students attend both universities, the majority of lectures are carried out in Sinhala, as opposed to English, which creates obvious problems for Tamil students.

Recently, the State appointed a Sinhalese Professor to teach math at Jaffna University. This man will teach only in English. These types of appointments are creating serious tension in predominantly Tamil schools, particularly because the level of English knowledge is limited among the population of the North and East due to the lack of good English teachers in the schools. The State appears unwilling to appoint many Tamil teachers to predominantly Sinhalese universities, yet consistently appoints Sinhalese teachers to Tamil universities without hesitation.

In addition, Muslim teachers who work in some Tamils schools in Ratnapura district leave for two hours on Fridays to go worship. This means that Tamil students are losing eight hours of educational instruction per month where the State is not providing additional instructors to cover this. Also, in the Hill Country, there are currently five thousand Tamil students in the Nivithigala and Balangoda educational zones in Ratnapura district. There are seven thousand Tamil students in the Ratnapura educational zone and four thousand Tamil students in the Empilipitiya educational zone. Nevertheless there are still no Advanced level (secondary) schools for Tamil speakers in these areas. Moreover, there are no well trained teachers for Ordinary level subjects in these Tamil schools. Normally in the Hill Country, teachers in Sinhalese school O/Level and A/Level schools have graduate degrees. Yet, in Tamil schools in the same part of the country,

¹¹⁸ This has happened at the University of Jaffna – North, the University of Batticaloa and the University of South Eastern – Oluvil. This information was reported by human rights activists living in Sri Lanka.

¹¹⁹ TSA interview with community member in Batticaloa, January 2012.

¹²⁰ These are both public universities.

teachers are merely appointed---irrespective of how educated they are. (Consequently, many teachers who are hired for Tamil school are comparably less educated, usually not having attended proper training in Ratnapura and elsewhere in the Hill Country. Regarding training, teachers in Sinhalese school usually receive State-sponsored trainings before they start teaching. For some reason, newly hired Tamil teachers have not been receiving the same training in the Hill Country.

For the past twenty years Mannampity Tamil Vidyalayam (an O/Level school) in Polonnaruwa District) has been functioning without maths and science teachers. The same thing has happened at another O/Level school Pasara Tamil Vidyalayam, Pasara which is located in Badulla.

Recently, the State has noted that 25 per cent of Badulla District Tamil students have been given places to study Agriculture Technology at Uva University. Yet, paradoxically, the subject of Agriculture Technology is not provided in Advance level (secondary) Tamil schools in Badulla. Since Tamils are not receiving the requisite training before enrolling at the university, they are unable to pursue studies in Agriculture Technology at Uva University. Meaning that it is impossible for 25 per cent of Agriculture Technology students at Uvu University to be Tamil. (That number of Tamils are unable to get enough marks to enrol in these classes at the university level. This is a quota system).

10 The Recruitment of Sinhalese for Public Sector Jobs in the North, East and Hill Country

Regrettably, the Sri Lanka State favors Sinhalese people when it comes to public sector employment, especially when it comes to positions of power like those of Provincial Governor and Government Agent. Since the conclusion of the civil war, examples of such preferentialism are most prominent in the country's Northern Province, where the State recently appointed two people who held high level positions with the military to such positions.¹²²

In the Eastern Province, former military men hold a number of senior governmental positions, including the Governorship of the entire province.¹²³ The Government Agent of Trincomalee, the Provincial Council Secretariat and the Land Commissioner of the Eastern Province, among others, are all ex-military men.¹²⁴

Due to strategic decisions made by the State, far more Sinhalese people hold significant public sector positions in the country's North, East and Hill Country.¹²⁵ Due to this, sometimes Tamils are unable to perform basic activities (like filling out forms in State buildings) in their own language. Such discrimination invariably limits opportunities for ethnic Tamils.

¹²²G.A. Chandirsi, a former Sri Lankan Army General is the Governor of the Northern Province. TSA interview with community member in Jaffna, February 2012.

¹²³Former Rear Admiral Mohan Wijewickrama is the current Governor the Eastern Province. TSA interview with community member in Batticaloa, February 2012.

¹²⁴TSA interviews with community members in Ampara, Batticaloa and Trincomalee, January- March 2012.

¹²⁵TSA interview with community members in Batticaloa, Jaffna and Nuwara Eliya, January – March 2012.

11 Analysis

Since Sri Lanka gained independence, the State has systematically pursued a diverse array of anti-Tamil policies. The State's coordination and implementation of strategic Sinhalese settlements in historically Tamil areas lies at the heart of this agenda. The most recent manifestation of state-sponsored Sinhalization under the auspices of "development" has resulted in the creation of the highly opaque Presidential Task Force, a body managed by the Ministry of Defence and rife with Extremist Sinhala Buddhist underpinnings.

Relatedly, Sri Lanka's continued militarization brings with it a host of negative externalities. In the North and East, military personnel are not welcomed as "liberators." They are more accurately described as "occupiers" who continue to intimidate, harass and traumatize civilians in the country's war-torn regions. Feelings of suspicion and fear permeate these areas. Besides, HSZs serve as "second home" for at least tens of thousands of Sri Lanka's Sinhalese-dominated military force. Tellingly, the military's presence in some parts of the North and East is so strong, that military personnel are even performing duties previously carried out by Grama Sevakas and other local State officials. For instance, in Sri Lanka, when someone dies, a family member must immediately inform the local Grama Sevaka, in order to facilitate the application of a death certificate. Yet now, in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, community members must immediately inform the military.

Unfortunately, some national and international NGOs support the State's deeply flawed development model, meaning that non-state actors are indirectly, yet surely, contributing to State-sponsored Sinhalization.

The politics of land is still a combative issue in post-war Sri Lanka. By altering boundary lines, the State hopes to ensure that no DS Division will be under Tamil administration. The State is also ignoring unlawful actions, like land infringement, perpetrated by Sinhalese people. The State-sponsored name changing of villages is a relatively straightforward way to wipe out the history of Sri Lanka's ethnic Tamils. Furthermore, it appears that, as opposed to providing aid to war-affected minorities in the North, East and Hill Country, the State prefers to focus on the construction of historical monuments and the denigration of areas which are important to Tamils. Essentially, a plethora of State-sponsored policies encourage Sinhala Buddhists to settle in areas they otherwise would not.

At its core, Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology embraces intolerance, myopia and a lack of respect for Tamil rights.

Mahinda Rajapaksa is not a visionary; he is only the most recent embodiment of illiberal political leaders who seek to mobilize the masses through a racist brand of majoritarianism.

12 Conclusion

The Rajapaksa Administration shows little interest in national reconciliation or ensuring that Tamils are able to fully and freely exercise their rights; for the State, anti-Tamil policy continuity is paramount. The concerted effort to venerate Sinhalese Buddhist traditions and denigrate the historical and cultural significance of Tamils is disappointing and worrisome. President Rajapaksa and his allies should initiate a genuine process of reconciliation that is respectful of the cultures and traditions of all communities and views the members of all communities as citizens with equal rights. Instead of adequately addressing the root causes of the civil war, the State seems intent on championing Extremist Sinhala Buddhist ideology which has been promulgated since the nation's independence. The State's resounding defeat of the LTTE is incontrovertible. However, if Extremist Sinhala Buddhist policies continue to emanate from Colombo, another civil war may be unavoidable.

13 Annexes

13.1 Village Name Changes

13.2 Army Camps

13.3 Hindu Temples Destroyed

13.4 Presidential Task Force (PTF) Letter, Weli Oya

13.5 Presidential Task Force (PTF) Letter, Development Priorities for 2012

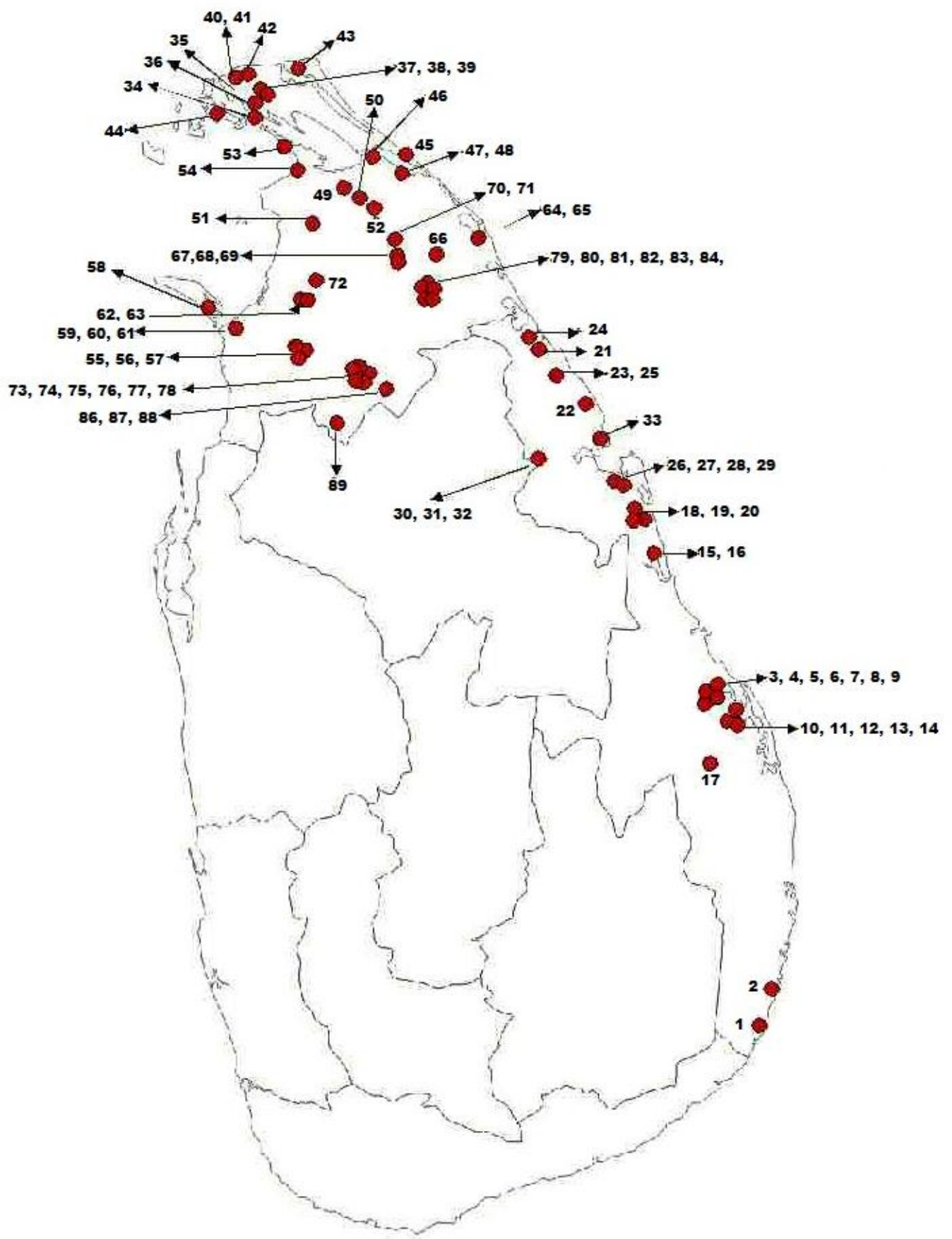
13.6 Reinterpreting History in Jaffna

13.7 Map of Sri Lanka




Tamil Village Names Which Have Been Changed to Sinhala Names

#	District	DS Division	Tamil Heritage name	New Sinhala Name
1	Ampara	Potthuvil	Potthuvil	Pothuvila
2	Ampara	ThiruKovil	ThiruKovil	Sirikovila
3	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Allioodai	Alioluva
4	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Tharavaikulam	Tharakkulam
5	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Kudumbimalai	Thoppigala
6	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Periyamathavanai	Malamandi
7	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Nedunkalvettai	Kevarmandi
8	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Ilukkupam	Rithithenna
9	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu South	Miyankallukulam	Miyangalkulama
10	Batticaloa	Eravur Pattu	Earanaikulam	Iralkulam
11	Batticaloa	Eravur Pattu	Iluppayadichchenai	Mejor Patthirana mawatta
12	Batticaloa	Eravur Pattu	PuluttumanOodai	Narakkamulla
13	Batticaloa	Eravur Pattu	Kopaveli	Gopawela
14	Batticaloa	Eravur Pattu	Pullumalai	Pullumala
15	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu North	Vagarai	Vagara
16	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu North	Omadiyamadhu	Ransrithenna
17	Batticaloa	Manmunai West/Vavunithivu	Thandiyadi	Koviyana Kendriyas
18	Trincomalee	Eechchchlampattu	Verugal	Veheragala
19	Trincomalee	Eechchchlampattu	Kottanchole	Kottansoliya
20	Trincomalee	Eechchchlampattu	Kallaru	Galara
21	Trincomalee	Kuchchaveli	Thiriyai	Thiriyaya
22	Trincomalee	Kuchchaveli	Nilaveli	Nilavaella
23	Trincomalee	Kuchchaveli	Kuccaveli	Kaeshavaella
24	Trincomalee	Kuchchaveli	Pulmottai	Puhulmotte
25	Trincomalee	Kuchchaveli	Alankulam	Gemburuweva
26	Trincomalee	Muthur	Mutthur	Mooduthara (Mudugama)
27	Trincomalee	Muthur	Kiliveddi	Kiliwetiya
28	Trincomalee	Muthur	Thoppur	Thupapura
29	Trincomalee	Muthur	Ilankaipattinam	Lankapattuna
30	Trincomalee	Morawawa	Muthaliyarkulam	Morawewa
31	Trincomalee	Morawawa	Pankulam	Panwewa
32	Trincomalee	Morawawa	Periyavilankulam	Mahathivulwewa
33	Trincomalee	Town and gradets	Andankulam	Andaweva
34	Jaffna	Jaffna	Colombothurai	Koloambathota
35	Jaffna	Chankanai	Vattukoddai	Battakote
36	Jaffna	Nallur	Kokuvil	Kokavila
37	Jaffna	Uduvil	Mallakam	Mallagama
38	Jaffna	Uduvil	Chunagam	Hunugama
39	Jaffna	Uduvil	Kantharodai	Kathurukoda
40	Jaffna	Sandilippai	Mathakal	Dambakolapttuna
41	Jaffna	Sandilippai	Manipay	Mampe
42	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Telippali	Telipola
43	Jaffna	Pointpetro	Paruththiththurai	Pethuruthoduva

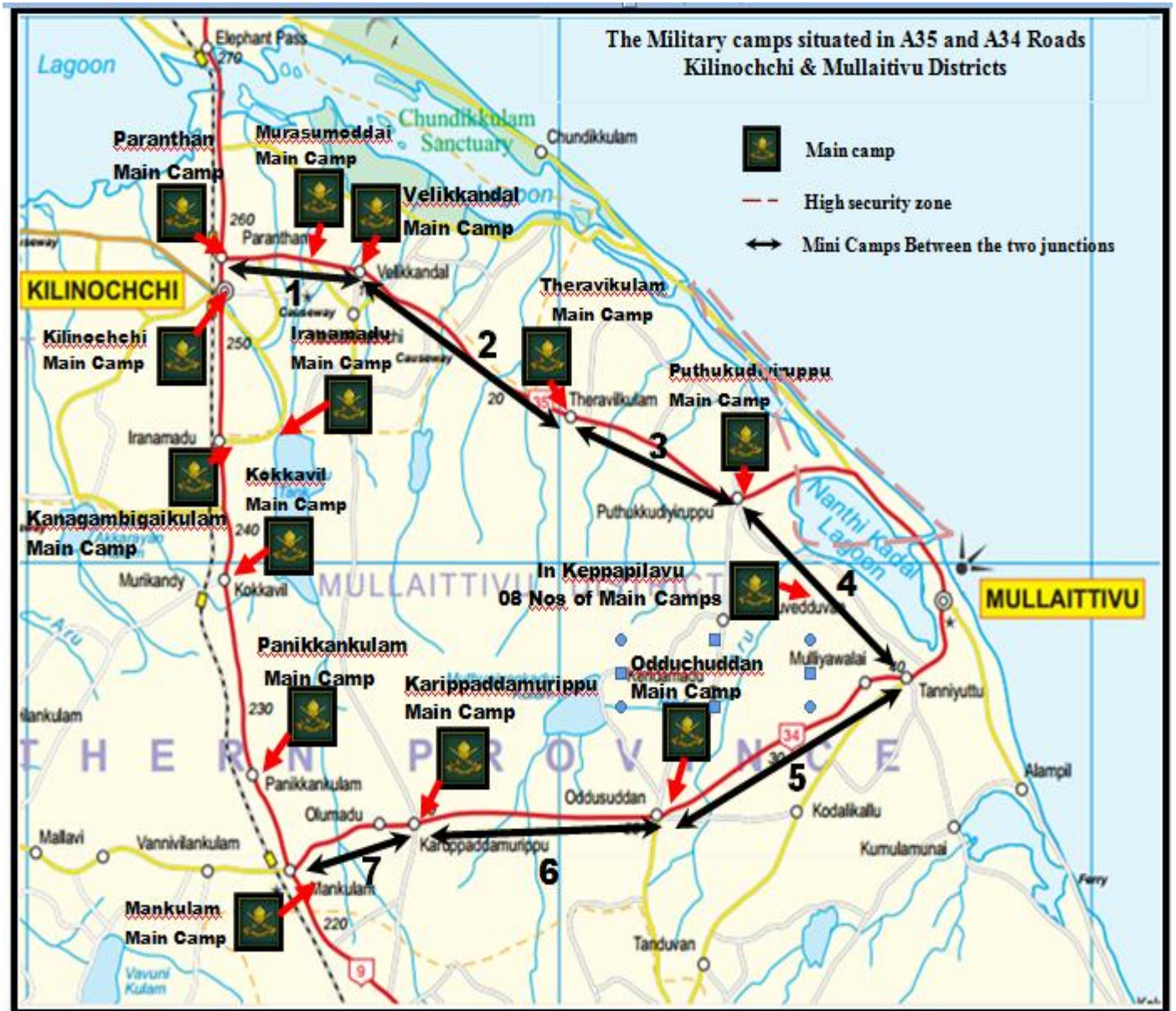
44	Jaffna	Valanai	Nainatheevu	Nagatheeba
45	Kilinochchi	Pachchilaipallai	Kaddaikadu	Gathekaduwa
46	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Aanaiyiravu	Alimandkaduwa
47	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Paranthan	Puranthaenna
48	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Velikkandal	Velikanda
49	Kilinochchi	Karachchi	Uruthirapuram	Gurusiripura
50	Kilinochchi	Karachchi	Kilinochchi	Granika
51	Kilinochchi	Karachchi	Vannerikulam	Vannanveava
52	Kilinochchi	Karachchi	Iranamadu	Ranamaduva
53	Kilinochchi	Punagary	Punagary	Punranna
54	Kilinochchi	Punagary	Kumulamunai	Batumuna
55	Mannar	Madhu	Silavatturai	Kiravathara
56	Mannar	Madhu	AruviAaru	Malvatuoya
57	Mannar	Madhu	Palambitti	Paelumpitiya
58	Mannar	Mannar	Mathottam	Manthota
59	Mannar	Manthai West	Vellankulam	Bellanvaeva
60	Mannar	Manthai West	Kalliyodai	Kalliyada
61	Mannar	Manthai West	Iluppaikadavai	Meepathoda
62	Mullaitivu	Manthai East	Aalankulam	Eranveeva
63	Mullaitivu	Manthai East	Mondumurippu	Mulmuraekiya
64	Mullaitivu	Maritimepattu	Vatrapalai	Yaathrapola
65	Mullaitivu	Maritimepattu	Mullaitivu	Mooladoova
66	Mullaitivu	Maritimepattu	Manalaru	Velioya
67	Mullaitivu	Odduchuddan	Katchchilamadu	Kakirimaduwa
68	Mullaitivu	Odduchuddan	Kokkavil	Kokkavila
69	Mullaitivu	Odduchuddan	Mankulam	Ma-Yu- Ravaeva
70	Mullaitivu	Puthukkudiyiruuppu	Ambalavanpokkanai	Uppulvanpokkana
71	Mullaitivu	Puthukkudiyiruuppu	Puthukkudiyiruppu	Aluthukulissa
72	Mullaitivu	Thunukkai	Thunukkai	Dunakaava
73	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Mundumurippu	Mulmuraekiya
74	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Vannimava
75	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Kovitkudiyiruppu	Govikulissa
76	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Periyachippikkulam	Mahasippivaveva
77	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Kokkuvelli	Kokkeliya
78	Vavuniya	Vavuniya	Veppankulam	Kokombaweva
79	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Kochchankulam	Kalposavewa
80	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Nedunkeny	Neadunkurana
81	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	kachchuranmottai	Kahambilmode
82	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Puliyankulam	Siyambalavaeva
83	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	PeriyalanKulam	Pareviaeva
84	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Puliyankulam	Kottiyaveva
85	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Pankulam	Panwewa
86	Vavuniya	Vavuniya South	Earapperiyakulam	Demahavaeva
87	Vavuniya	Vavuniya South	Iratperiyakulam	Iratperiyakulam
88	Vavuniya	Vavuniya South	Madukantha	Mandukoddi
89	Vavuniya	VengalaCheddikulam	Adappankulam	Adappankulam



SRI LANKA

-  National capital
-  Provincial capital
-  Town, village
-  Airports
-  Provincial boundary
-  Main road
-  Secondary road
-  Railroad





Number In Map	Between Junctions	Number of Mini Camps
1	Paranthan to Velikkandal	30
2	Velikkandal to Theravikulam	19
3	Theravikulam to Puthukkudiyiruppu	31
4	Puthukkudiyiruppu to Thanniyutru	10
5	Thanniyutru to Odduchuddan	28
6	Odduchuddan to Karippaddamurippu	24
7	Karippaddamurippu to Mankulam	6

Hindu Temples Which Have Been Destroyed Due to War

#	District	DS Division	Village	Name of Kovil (Temple)
1	Trincomalee	Moraweva	Panmathavachchi	Pillaiyar Kovil
2	Trincomalee	Muthur	Sampur	Paththini Amman Kovil
3	Trincomalee	Muthur	Meengama	Pillaiyar Kovil
4	Trincomalee	Muthur	Kalladi	Malai Neethi Amman Kovil
5	Trincomalee	Kinniya	Upparu	Murugankovil
6	Trincomalee	Kinniya	Upparu	AmmanKovil
7	Trincomalee	Muthur	Lankapattinam	Malaianmankovil
8	Trincomalee	Eachilampattu	Kalmalai	Ammankovil
9	Trincomalee	Town and gravets	Kappalthurai	Valiutrupillayarkovil
10	Trincomalee	Muthur	Ralkuli	Sithivinayagarkovil
11	Trincomalee	Muthur	Kilivetty	Muththumariamankovil
12	Trincomalee	Muthur	Mallikaithivu	Kangkuvelysivankovil
13	Trincomalee	Trincotown	Sambalthivu	Murugankovil
14	Trincomalee	Kinniya	Upparu	Konesarkovil
15	Trincomalee	Muthur	Ralkuli	Narayanankovil
16	Trincomalee	Muthur	Chenaiyoor	Nakathambirankovil
17	Trincomalee	Town and gravets	sivapuri	Aaladipillayarkovil
18	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Kattumurivu	Pillayar Kovil
19	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Kattumurivu	Kali Kovil
20	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Mavadiodai	Periyasami Kovil
21	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Kajuwaththai	Periyasami Kovil
22	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Alamkulam	Pillayar Kovil
23	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Vakarai	Pillayar Kovil
24	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Vattavan	Pillayar Kovil
25	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Panichangkerny	Periyasami Kovil
26	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Panichangkerny	Murugan Kovil
27	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Mangkerny	Pillayar Kovil
28	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Thonithattamadu	Pillayar Kovil
29	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Puchchakerny	Murugan Kovil
30	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Puchchakerny	Nagathampiran Kovil
31	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Puchchakerny	Pillayar Kovil
32	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Puchchakerny	Pathiniyamankovil
33	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Kathiravely	Veerakathippillayar Kovil
34	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Kathiravely	Pathirakaliyamankovil

35	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Palchenai	Kadatkarai Periyasamikovil
36	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Ampanthanavelly	Pillayar Kovil
37	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Kandalady	Pillayar Kovil
38	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-North	Komathalamadu	Pillayar Kovil
39	Batticaloa	Verugal	Illankaithurai Mugathuwaram	Kunchithapathamalai Balamurugan Kovil
40	Batticaloa	Verugal	Verugal Mugathuwaram	Kallady Neelyamman Kovil
41	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-South	Kudumbimalai	Kannakiyamman Kovil
42	Batticaloa	Koralaipattu-South	Kudumbimalai	Murugan Kovil
43	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Sinnawathai	Nagathampiran Kovil
44	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Sinnawathai	Pillayar Kovil
45	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Maalaiyarkattu	Pillayar Kovil
46	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Nediyawattai	Mariyaman Kovil
47	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Yanaikattiyaweli	Pillayar Kovil
48	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Palacholai	Karunaimalaipillayar Kovil
49	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Mavadimunmari	Vishnu Kovil
50	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Kakkachivettai	Sivamuthumariyamman Kovil
51	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Vilamthottam	Vyrawar Kovil
52	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Aliyarvettai	Pillayar Kovil
53	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	35th Kiraman	Sivamuthumariyamman Kovil
54	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	35th Kiraman	Padalakkallady Narayanar Kovil
55	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	37th Kiraman	Sivamuthumariyamman Kovil
56	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Palayadivettai	Puliyadipillayar Kovil
57	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Koolawadi	Pillayar Kovil
58	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	38th Kiramam	Kannakiyamman Kovil
59	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	40th Kiramam	Sivamuthumariyamman Kovil
60	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	13th Kiramam	Vilavettuvan Pillayar Kovil
61	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Thambalawaththai	Pillayar Kovil
62	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	14 Kiramam	Kannakiyamman Kovil
63	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	14 Kiramam	Pillayar Kovil
64	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Palamunai	Marunkaiyadipor Nagathampiran Kovil
65	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Mandoor	Vishnu Kovil
66	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Mandoor	Murugan Kovil
67	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Mandoor	Pillayar Kovil
68	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Mandoor	Mariyaman Kovil
69	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Mandoor	Koomavadi Pillayar Kovil
70	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Vethuchchenai	Pillayar Kovil

71	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Wellaweli	Sivamuthumariyamman Kovil
72	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Kallady	Pillayar Kovil
73	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Vivekananthapuram	Nakathampiran Kovil
74	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Nelikkadu	Murugan Kovil
75	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Thikkodai	Pillayar Kovil
76	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	39th Kiramam	Pillayar Kovil
77	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Thumpangkerny	Kannakiyamman Kovil
78	Batticaloa	Wellaweli	Suravanaiuuttu	Pillayar Kovil
79	Batticaloa	Pattipalai	Thanthamali	Murugan Kovil
80	Ampara	Alaiyadivembu	Akkaraipattu	Kali Kovil
81	Ampara	Kalmunai	Sainthamaruthu	Pillayar Kovil
82	Ampara	Kalmunai	Karawaku	Iyanar Kovil
83	Ampara	Kalmunai	Karawaku	Vishnu Kovil
84	Ampara	Ninthavur	Ninthavur	Kanthasuwami kovil
85	Ampara	Ninthavur	Attappalam	Pillayar Kovil
86	Ampara	Ninthavur	Ninthavur	Mariyaman Kovil
87	Ampara	Ninthavur	Muruweliyavayal	Pillayar Kovil
88	Ampara	Addalaichenai	Palamunai	Pillayar Kovil
89	Ampara	Addalaichenai	Meenodakattu	Pillayar Kovil
90	Ampara	Navithanvely	4th colony	Pillayar Kovil
91	Ampara	Navithanvely	4th colony	Kannakiyamman Kovil
92	Jaffna	Chankanai	Ponnalai	Vairavar Kovil
93	Jaffna	Chankanai	Chulipuram West	Vairavar Kovil
94	Jaffna	Chankanai	Culipuram East	Vairavar Kovil
95	Jaffna	Chankanai	Culipuram East	Murugan Kovil
96	Jaffna	Chankanai	Culipuram East	Paththirakali Kovil
97	Jaffna	Chankanai	Culipuram East	Valliyammai Kovil
98	Jaffna	Chankanai	Culipuram East	Parama Kovil
99	Jaffna	Sandilipay	Mathakal West	Sampilthurai Iyanar Kovil
100	Jaffna	Sandilipay	Mathakal West	Mathagal Nunasai Kovil
101	Jaffna	Chavakachcheri	Kaythaddu West	Inengithotta Kandaswamy Kovil
102	Jaffna	Nallur	Maniyamthottam	Nagar Thambiran Kovil
103	Jaffna	Chavakachcheri	Elutthumadduval South	Elutthumadduval Sivankovil
104	Jaffna	Chavakachcheri	Elutthumadduval South	Viluvilai Amman Kovil
105	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil East	Murugamoorthy kovil

106	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil East	Arulthiru Murugaiah Kovil
107	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil East	Pulavar odai Nagathampiran kovil
108	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil East	Kadduvairavar kovil
109	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil West	Gowthamthurai pillaiyar kovil
110	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil south	Narasingavairavar kovil
111	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil south	Murugaiah Kovil
112	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil south	Sudalippy Pillaiyar kovil
113	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil south	Periyathampiran kovil
114	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil south	Punnaiyadi Vairavar kovil
115	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Nagarkovil south	Poorviga Nagathampiran kovil
116	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu North	Thalayan Nagathampiran kovil
117	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu North	Mamunai Nagathampiran kovil
118	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu North	Murugan kovil
119	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu North	Veerapaththirar Kovil
120	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Nelliyan Karaikkudal Amman kovil
121	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Mawady pillaiyar kovil
122	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Chempiyanpattu pillaiyar kovil
123	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Palayantha Pillaiyar kovil
124	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Palayady Vairavar kovil
125	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Maniyavalai Amman Kovil
126	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Thoovil Amman Kovil
127	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Chempiyanpattu south	Annamar Kovil
128	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Maruthankeny	Kadatkarai pillaiyar kovil,
129	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Maruthankeny	Maruthangeni paramasivan Kathiresan kovil
130	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Maruthankeny	Maruthangeni pillaiyar kovil,
131	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Maruthankeny	Muththumari kovil,
132	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Maruthankeny	Vairavar kovil
133	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vaththirayan	Vadaliyady Pillaiyar kovil
134	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vaththirayan	Aalady pillaiyar kovil
135	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vaththirayan	Murugan Kovil
136	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vaththirayan	Vairavar kovil
137	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Inthampanai pillaiyar kovil
138	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Nagathampiran kovil
139	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Vempady Murugan kovil
140	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Sinna Murugan kovil

141	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Palaya muththumari kovil
142	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Puthu muththumari kovil
143	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Arathi amman kovil
144	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Uduthurai	Vempady Vairavar kovil
145	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Aliyawalai	Kodukkilai palayadi pillaiyar kovil
146	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Aliyawalai	Kodukkilai Veddumurugan kovil
147	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Aliyawalai	Aththiyadi pillaiyar kovil
148	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Aliyawalai	Alady Vairavar kovil
149	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Aliyawalai	Veerapaththirar kovil
150	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Aliyawalai	Sakthi kovil
151	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vettilaikeny	Vettilaikeny Sella Vinayagar kovil
152	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vettilaikeny	Unavaththu Kannakai Amman kovil
153	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Vettilaikeny	Mulliyam mandalai pillaiyar kovil
154	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Kudathanai Malikaithidal Kannakai amman kovil
155	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Velautham Kovil
156	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Mulakkappitty Iyanar Kovil
157	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Viravar Kovil
158	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Kaliamman kovil
159	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Madaththuvasal pillayar Kovil
160	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Vairavar Kovil
161	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Ajilady Pillayar Kovil
162	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Kalivayal Veerekaththipillayar kovil
163	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Aththippararu Vairavar kovil
164	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Aathi Veerapaththirar Kovil
165	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai	Thachan Thuvu Amman kovil
166	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai North	Kudathanainalampanai pillayarkovil
167	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai North	Kannakai Amman kovil
168	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai North	Andi Aadu Vairavar kovil
169	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai North	Murugan kovil
170	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai North	Vairavar kovil
171	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Kudathanai North	Pachchi amman kovil
172	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Potpathy	Sinnappillayar kovil
173	Jaffna	Velani	Punguduthevu	Balasubramaniam Mugal
174	Jaffna	Thellipalai	Kattuvan	Ganavairavar kovil
175	Jaffna	Thellipalai	Kattuvan	Rajarajeswary Amman kovil

176	Jaffna	Delft	Delft West	Chola Sivan kovil
177	Jaffna	Chavakachcheri	Karambaham	Karambaham Vairavar kovil
178	Jaffna	Chavakachcheri	Koddikamam	Murugamurthy kovil
179	Jaffna	Kayts	Annalathevu	Veerapathirar kovil
180	Jaffna	Kayts	Annalathevu(3 rd Ward)	Veerapathirar Kovil(3 rd ward)
181	Jaffna	Kayts	Annalathevu(3 rd Ward)	Vairavar kovil(3 rd ward)
182	Jaffna	Kayts	Annalathevu(Jetty)	Gowri Amman kovil(Jetty)
183	Jaffna	Kayts	Annalathevu(7 th Ward)	Varivarar Kovil(7 th ward)
184	Jaffna	Kayts	Annalathevu(7 th Ward)	Varivarar Kovil(5 th ward)
185	Jaffna	Nallur	Poombuhar	Iyanar Kovul
186	Jaffna	Maruthankeny	Pookaruppu	Gnana VariSannathimurugan kovil
187	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Keerimalai	Uchchimalai sivan Kovil
188	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Keerimalai	Keerimalia Muththumari amman
189	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Keerimalai	Kirushnar Kovil
190	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Maviddapuram	Sudalia Gnanavairavar
191	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Maviddapuram	Maviddapuram Kanthasamy Kovil
192	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Maviddapuram	Uoriyavaththai Kaaliyamman Kovil
193	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kollangkaddy	Veerakaththi pillaiyar Kovil
194	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS West	Maampiran Vairavar Kovil
195	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS West	Maangkollai Vairavar Kovil
196	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS West	Seementu Kuduthapan Vairavar Kovil
197	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Anantha pillaiyar Kovil
198	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Narasinga Vairavar Kovil
199	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Muththumari Amman Kovil
200	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Veerapaththirar Kovil
201	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Vairavar Kovil
202	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Kudset Pillaiyar Kovil
203	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS Centre	Muthali valavu Muththumari Kovil
204	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS South	Erajarajesgwary Amman Kovil
205	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS South	Kumara Kovil
206	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS South	Kaali Kovil
207	Jaffna	Thellippalai	KKS South	Kurunathasuvamy Kovil
208	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Thurkathevi Kovil
209	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Keniyadi Gnavairavar Kovil
210	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Thootharai Amman Kovil

211	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Vavunawaththai Kaaly Kovil
212	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Narasimma Vairavar Kovil
213	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Periyathampiran Kovil
214	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Kalvalavu Vairavasuvami Kovil
215	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	8th Post Murukavaththai vairavar Kovil
216	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	8th Post Perampalam Vairavar Kovil
217	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thurkapuram	Ampanaivayal Pattaiyamman Kovil
218	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Kurunatha suvamy Kovil
219	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Sivakaamy Ampal Ananthanadarajat Kovil
220	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Puvaneshwary Amman Kovil
221	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Arasanaaladi Vinayakar Kovil
222	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Periyakaladdy Gnanavairavar Kovil
223	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Kavanavaththai Gnanavairavar Kovil
224	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Kudawatthai Gnanavairavar Kovil
225	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	ShensalanaGnanavairavar Kovil
226	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Puthuththoodda Aathivairavar
227	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Puliyadi Vairavar
228	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Sulampaththai Vairavar Kovil
229	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thanthai Selvapuram	Kannivalavu pillaiyar Kovil
230	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Majiliddy South	Muththumari amman Kovil
231	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Majiliddy South	Thuraddajiddy Gnanavairavar Kovil
232	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Majiliddy South	Soolampaththai Veerapaththirar Kovil
233	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Varuththalaivilan	Maruthadi Vinayagar Kovil
234	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Varuththalaivilan	Kannagai Ampal Kovil
235	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Varuththalaivilan	Viththuvan Ganesha Iyarin Nenaivu Kovil
236	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Varuththalaivilan	Annamar Kovil
237	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy	Muththumari Ampal kovil
238	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy	Siththivinayagar Kovil
239	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Pillaiyar Kovil
240	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Muththumari Ampal Kovil
241	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Kali Kovil
242	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Murugan Kovil
243	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Annamar Kovil
244	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Poriyan vairavar Kovil
245	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Kurumpasiddy East	Ararththa vairavar Kovil

246	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan East	Ampal Kovil
247	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan East	Muththumari Ampal Kovil
248	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan West	Vsavilan West
249	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan West	Kannagi Amman Kovil
250	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan West	Murugan Kovil
251	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan West	Vinayagar Kovil
252	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Vsavilan West	Gnanavairavar Kovil
253	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Kannagi Amman kovil
254	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Paththirakali Amman kovil
255	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Parashakthi Amman kovil
256	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Kaddaikadu Vairavar Kovil
257	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Thevija Kollai Amman Kovil
258	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Poothavarayar Kovil
259	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Vdaperumparappu Pillaiyar Kovil
260	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Muththumari Ampal Kovil
261	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Puvaneswari Amman Kovil
262	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Maruthadi pillaiyar Kovil
263	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Kannagai Amman Kovil
264	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Sanguvaththai Manikapillaiyar Kovil
265	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Puthukinattu Vairavar kovil
266	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Majiluvak Kaddai pillaiyar Kovil
267	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Thoppu Pillayar Kovil
268	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Kondalady Vairavar Kovil
269	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Koththavathai Vairavar Kovil
270	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Muniyappar Kovil
271	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Majilijodai Vairavar Kovil
272	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Navalady Vairavar Kovil
273	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Thirupoorpechi Amman Kovil
274	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddy	Murugan Kovil
275	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thaiyiddi East	Siththi Vinayakar Kovil
276	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thaiyiddi East	Kanaiyavil Pillaiyar Kovil
277	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Majiliddi South	Pillaiyar Kovil
278	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thaiyiddi North	Thurkkai Amman Kovil
279	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thaiyiddi South	Kannakai Amman Kovil
280	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Thaiyiddi South	Thoothulidai Kannaki Amman Kovil

281	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddiththurai North	Murukan Kovil
282	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Mayiliddiththurai North	Veeramanikkam Thevanthurai Kannaikai Amman Kovil
283	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly South	Nadarayar Kovil
284	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly South	Gnavairavar Kovil
285	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly South	Kaali Kovil
286	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly East	Vairavar temple
287	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly East	Kannakai Amman Kovil
288	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly East	Muthaliyar Vairavar Kovil
289	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly East	Paththirakaali Kovil
290	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly East	Periyathampiran Kovil
291	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly North	Raja Rajeshwary Amman Kovil
292	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly North	Palaly Amman Kovil
293	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly North	Vairavar Kovil
294	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly West	Thakana Toodai Pillaiyar Kovil
295	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly West	Koththiyal amman Kovil
296	Jaffna	Thellippalai	Palaly West	Annamaar Kovil
297	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Uthayanagar west	Nakathampiran Kovil
298	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Uthayanagar west	AmmanKovil
299	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Karaichi	Iyanar Kovil
300	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Ananthanagar	Kottaikattiya Ammankovil
301	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Thondamannagar	Pillayar Kovil
302	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Iranaimadu	Ammankovil
303	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Iranaimadu	Pillayar Kovil
304	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Parathipuram	AmmanKovil
305	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Parathipuram North	Murugan kovil
306	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Ponnagar central	Muthumariamman kovil
307	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Malayalapuram North	Parasakthivinayagar kovil
308	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Vinayagapuram	Kannakiyamman Kovil
309	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Vinayagapuram	Pillayar Kovil
310	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kirushnapuram	Sivan kovil
311	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kirushnapuram	Muthumariamman kovil
312	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kanakapuram	Pillayar Kovil
313	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Selvanagar	Muthumariamman kovil
314	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Puthumurippu	RamarKovil
315	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Ambalnagar	Kanakambikaiammankovil

316	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Thiruvaiyaru west	Vinayagar Kovil
317	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kanthikiramam	Thurkkaiyammankovil
318	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Vattakachi	Vyrawar Kovil
319	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Thethavadi	Pillayar Kovil
320	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Konagkulam	Pillayar Kovil
321	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Main Road	Vathakkalmadammurugankovil
322	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Pantrisuttan	Ammankovil
323	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Kombady	Ammankovil
324	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Madukkarai	Virumarkovil
325	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Main road	Kallangkattupillayarkovil
326	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Pantrisuttan	Kanniyarmadam
327	Kilinochchi	Kandawalai	Valikkandalsanthy	Murugankovil
328	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Inthupuram	Sivankovil
329	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Inthupuram	Ammankovil
330	Mullaithivu	Puthukudiiruppu	Manikkapuram	Pillayar Kovil
331	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Unionkulam	Muthumariamman kovil
332	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Unionkulam	Murugankovil
333	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Unionkulam	Manikkapillayar kovil
334	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kanthapuram	Murugankovil
335	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kanthapuram	Nakathampiran Kovil
336	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kanthapuram	Pillayar Kovil
337	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Kanthapuram	AmmanKovil
338	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Vanneri	IynarKovil
339	Kilinochchi	Thunukkai	Akkarayan	8th milepost pillayarkovil
340	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Vanneri	Murugankovil
341	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Vanneri	Pillayar Kovil
342	Kilinochchi	Poonakari	Jayapuram	Pillayar Kovil
343	Kilinochchi	Karaichi	Konavil	Pillayar Kovil
344	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Mangkulam	Ammankovil
345	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Mangkulam	Nagathampiran kovil
346	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Odduchuddan	Thanthonreeswarar Kovil
347	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Iththimadu	Nagathampiran kovil
348	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Othiyamali	Pillaiyar Kovil
349	Mullaithivu	Oddisuttan	Periyakulam	Pillaiyar Kovil
350	Vavuniya	Nedungkerny	Villaiyadi	Pillayar Kovil

351	Mannar	Manthai West	Vattakandal	Pillayar Kovil
352	Mannar	Manthai West	Sithikkandal	Sithyvinayagarkovil
353	Mannar	Manthai West	Vettaimurippu	Thurkkaiyamankovil
354	Mannar	Manthai West	Kurinchangkulam	Amparaivelkovil
355	Mannar	Manthai West	Parunthukadanthan	Valividusithyvinayagarkovil
356	Mannar	Manthai West	Pillayarpitty	Muthumariamankovil
357	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Rambaikkulam	Pillaiyar Kovil
358	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Marailuppai	Pillaiyar Kovil
359	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Paddikkudiyiruppu	Pillaiyar Kovil
360	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Paddikkudiyiruppu	Veerapaththirar Kovil
361	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Paddikkudiyiruppu	Amman kovil
362	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Unjalkaddi	Murugan Kovil
363	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Nedumkeny	Murugan Kovil
364	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Nedumkeny	Vilvaiyadi pillaiyar kovil
365	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Nedumkeny	Palaiya Kanthaswami Kovil
366	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Sivanagar	Iyanar Kovil
367	Vavuniya	Vavuniya North	Thaddaiyarmalai	Pillaiyar Kovil







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மீள் குடியேற்றம், அபிவிருத்தி, பாதுகாப்புக்கான சனாதிபதி செயலணி - வட மாகாணம்
Presidential Task Force for Resettlement, Development & Security -Northern Province

කාර්යාලය
அலுவலகம்
Office } 011-2478323-4

ඉ-තැපෑල
மின்-அஞ்சல்
e-mail } cges@sltnet.lk
sptf@sltnet.lk

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எனது இல.
My No } PTF/NP/2/1/3

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உமது இல.
Your No }

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திகதி
Date } 22. 12. 2011

Humanitarian and Livelihood Assistance for Returnees of Welioya Project.

I make use of this opportunity to thank you for the contributions you have made for resettlement of IDPs in Mullathivu District.

The Welioya Project is a part and parcel of Mullathivu district falling within the DS division of Maritimé pattu. The villages in Welioya were old villages occupied mainly by second and third generation of Padaviya settlers. As this area is within the greater Mahaweli zone, subsequently Welioya was gazette as system "L" of Mahaweli. Due to the ethnic conflict and the fact that villagers are mainly Sinhalese, administrative arrangements had been made to service Welioya project from Anuradhapura district. However, from 1984 onward there had been sporadic LTTE attacks and most of the settlers had abandoned the project and moved to Padaviya scheme to live with their relatives.

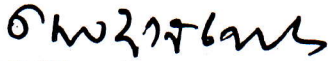
With the conclusion of the 30 years of conflict and establishment of law and order, people started to return and most of them are now back in their villages. The project area has been handed over to GA Mullathivu for administration, while the Residential Project Manager of Mahaweli and the AGA continue to carry out their functions.

As the people had been displaced for more than 20 years, they are encountering with severe hardships and difficulties in reestablishing their social and economic livelihoods. It has been reported that,

- 1 Many of the drinking water wells are contaminated and need urgent clearing.
- 2 There is a severe shortage of household items including lanterns, mats, pillows and kitchen utensils.
- 3 Their houses are damaged and the request is to provide temporary sheds as an immediate measure.
- 4 Department of education has opened up the schools but there are no pre schools.

- 5 They need livelihood assistance for agriculture, livestock and inland fisheries.
- 6 Department of Health requires assistance to maintain mobile clinics until the health facilities are rehabilitated.
- 7 Irrigation systems require extensive repairs due to long period of negligence and disuse.
- 8 All community buildings including cooperatives and community halls are damaged.

Under the circumstances, assistance of your organization is requested to address these issues on an urgent basis. Please acknowledge the receipt of this letter.



S.B. Divaratne
Secretary to the PTF

1. Hon Basil Rajapaksa. MP, Minister of Economic Development and Chairman of the Presidential Task Force for Resettlement, Development and Security in the Northern Province
2. Hon. Rishad Bathiudeen, Minister of Industries and Commerce and Chairman District Development Council.
3. Hon. Governor Northern Province
4. Government Agent Mullathivu – Please arrange with the Department of Agriculture to provide seed paddy for the cultivation of the first season under FAO assistance.
5. Security Forces Commander Mullathivu
6. District File Mullathivu



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மீள் குடியேற்றம், அபிவிருத்தி, பாதுகாப்புக்கான சனாதிபதி செயலணி - வட மாகாணம்
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அலுவலகம்
Office } 011-2478323-4

ඉ-තැපෑල
மின்-அஞ்சல்
e-mail } cges@sitnet.lk
sptf@sitnet.lk

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உமது இல.
Your No }

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திகதி
Date } 21. 12. 2011

Assistance of UN Agencies and NGOs in Resettlement activities in the North

The PTF on behalf of the GoSL is proud to announce that resettlement in the Northern Province has been a success story with regard to almost all the IDPs who were displaced from their villages during the last phase of the civil conflict (after April 2008). Except for 2002 families with 6,651 members at Manikfarm all the new IDPs are resettled and provided with necessary assistance to re-establish themselves and commence livelihood activities. Contributions of the UN Agencies and the NGOs, with the support of many Donor agencies, made it possible for the GoSL to achieve the high level of success.

It is also observed that during the period of the last two and half years the priority has been on the families displaced after April 2008 and accommodated at GoSL maintained welfare centers. In the process another around 55,000 families, who had been with host families, have returned to take up residence in their villages. These may be the people who were displaced from LTTE controlled area after the LTTE defeat in Jaffna and retreat to Killinochchi and Mullathivu in 1995.

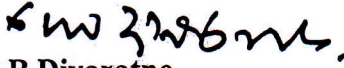
The displacement of people in the Northern Province has a long history running for 30 years. The number of people displaced is not properly recorded but must be in the range of 700,000 including the displacements within the Province and the districts. As 460,000 is already resettled, there could be a balance of 240,000 to be resettled of which around 50% could be refugees in India and European countries. Hence the number of IDPs yet to be resettled is around 120,000 of which 105,000 could be long term IDPs who were displaced from their villages prior to 1995 (protracted displacements). This include Sinhala families displaced from the Province in 1980s with LTTE attacks on civilians, both Sinhala and Tamil families displaced from the villages bordering Government controlled and LTTE controlled area in 1980s, Muslim families who were compelled to leave the Province in 1990, and the Tamil families displaced from the high security zones established in 1992.

Around 20,000 families with 70,000 members subjected to protracted displacement are included in the 460,000 people already resettled. However, more than 50% of them have not taken up permanent residence. They have neither received assistance for resettlement. GoSL has set up a target to resettle all the IDPs during the year 2012. Hence priorities for the year 2012 will be resettlement of the balance number of IDPs which include,

1. Families who were displaced prior to 1995 and encountering difficulties in their return to villages. (protracted displacement). Families recorded as returned but have neither taken up residence nor received assistance should also be included in this category.
2. Families still living in Manik farm welfare center as their villages are not yet demined and released. Families who are displaced from the same GN divisions but living with host families will also be given the same priority.
3. Families of the villages which are recently released for resettlement, mostly in Pachchilapallai, Puthukudiyirippu and Maritimepattu DS divisions.

You are therefore kindly requested to formulate your project proposals for the year 2012 taking into consideration the priorities identified above. The locations of such resettlements, specific needs of the locations and expectations of the people can be obtained from the District Secretaries.

Your assistance to resettle all the remaining IDPs in the next year, in order to achieve the target of no IDPs at the end of the year would be very much appreciated.


S.B. Divaratne
Secretary to the PTF

1. Hon Basil Rajapaksa. MP, Minister of Economic Development and Chairman of the Presidential Task Force for Resettlement, Development and Security in the Northern Province
2. Hon. Douglas Devananda, Minister of Traditional Industries and Small Enterprise Development & Chairman District Development Council.
3. Hon. Rishad Bathiudeen, Minister of Industries and Commerce and Chairman District Development Council.
4. Hon. Governor Northern Province
5. Government Agent Jaffna/Killinochchi/Mullathivu/Vavuniya/Mannar
6. Security Forces Commander Jaffna/Killinochchi/Mullathivu/Vanni
7. District Files Jaffna/Killinochchi/Mullathivu/Vavuniya/Mannar

ANNEX VI

Translation of the Sinhala Board posted at Kantharodai

Kathurukodai Ancient Buddhist Temple Unugama

Kathurugoda Vihara predates Lord Buddha's period and Dagobas can be found here. Mr. Paul E. Pries served as a Divisional Secretary in 1917 and the findings of an archeological survey during his tenure indicate the finding of a Buddha statue, colored tiles (terracotta) and coins that were traced to 1st Parakramabahu Malla Leelawathy and Puwanekabahu of the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwacivilization.

The name Kathurugodais mentioned in *Vihara* and *Pooja Bhoomi Namavaliya* which can be traced to the period of the Kandiyan Kingdom.

Reference to Kathurugodai can be found in a chronicle called Anthane Dem Lipiya, which can be traced back to the Portuguese period (9th century AD) which also states that this chronicle was discovered by a Chieftain appointed by King Cassiappa IV. In addition, the *Vihara* can also be traced back to 9th century AD.

King Sangiliayn ruled Jaffna in the 16th century AD and the destruction of this Vihara was an act of cruelty by this king. Under his rule sixty Buddhist monks died in a place called Punguduthevu situated in Puwanga Boomi. Their ashes were buried in Katurugoda and a cemetery was built. Among those, it is believed that they discovered fifty-six tombs in 1917. Also, during the period of Thevanambiyatissa, a decorative standing stone pathway was constructed from Dambakola Patuna to the north entrance of Anuradhapura. Katurugoda was in between these two places. According to a Chronicle named Janaprawa, Lord Buddha who resolved a dispute between King Sulotha and Mahoda rested at Katurugoda. The Buddhist statue and other archeological materials from here were removed and kept at Jaffna Museum.

The Archeological Department bought seven acres of land around Katurugoda in 1948, but Tamils living close to this area forcefully occupied the land belonging to the Archaeological Department. In 1965, the Archeological Department was in control of only three acres, eight roots and three perches. Later, a crossroad was constructed. Since that time, Tamils living in the neighborhood have been occupying the rest of the three acres.

It is our utmost duty to reclaim this place which is of significance in order to safeguard Sinhala Buddhist heritage for our future.

Sponsor: Sathumeya Communication Mathukama

