



## LTTE Peace Secretariat News Bulletin



April - May 2005



*The ltte political wing leader with the South African Deputy President, Mr. Jacob Zuma, on 11 April 2005*

### European visit by the LTTE Delegation

An LTTE delegation lead by the head of LTTE Political Wing, Mr. S P Tamilselvan, visited Norway, Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Ireland, South Africa and Netherlands. They held discussions with the Foreign Ministers of these countries and high-ranking officials in the departments of International Development and Human Rights. In these discussions Mr. Tamilselvan explained to everyone about setting up a joint structure for tsunami relief work, and about the failure by the government to fulfill the articles in the CFA relating to bringing normalcy in the lives of people affected by war and resettling the people displaced by war.

Mr. Tamilselvan also explained to all, the High Security Zones (HSZ) created by the Sri Lankan military that are blocking the resettlement of people, the frustration of the Tamil people because they are unable to reap the benefits of the CFA, and the deteriorating living standards of the people due to war and the Tsunami. He also pointed out that in violation of article 1.8 of CFA the Sri Lankan military is aiding and abetting the armed groups to operate. He also told them that the joint structure that should be set up to carry out humanitarian work would also enhance the peace efforts.

All those who met the LTTE delegation informed them that the joint structure to be set up to carry out post-tsunami humanitarian assistance must be a catalyst to restart the peace talks. They also praised the LTTE for honoring the Cease Fire Agreement.

### Peace process, Cease Fire Agreement and the frustration

**The** Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) signed between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in 2002 is the key instrument that paved the way for the peace process in Sri Lanka aimed at resolving the decades old conflict. To date, i.e. a lapse of three years, this document remains the most contested in the Sinhala polity for its perceived 'sell out' to the Tamils. But what is the collective thinking of the Tamil people on whether the CFA has really delivered the envisaged peace dividend, normalcy? An emphatic no, is the collective answer.

The Tamil people greeted the CFA with euphoria because it envisaged, among other things, normalcy, the basic peace dividend. What is meant by the term 'normalcy' for the Tamil people who suffered immensely in the hands of an occupying military, was the freedom of movement without military constraints and unfettered access to resettle in the natural habitats they were driven away from. Military operations displaced hundreds of thousands Tamil people overnight. Some of the displaced found refuge in countries that provided them asylum and safety. There still remain a sizeable chunk of this unfortunate lot, designated Internally Displaced People (IDP's) and languishing in refugee camps or with relatives and friends in areas not under military control.

These people are unable to resettle in their own lands in spite of the clear provision in the CFA that stipulates that the occupying military should vacate public buildings and private properties within stipulated time frames, maximum being 160 days. There is an adamant military that is 'sitting' over their habitats, classifying them as High Security Zones (HSZ). Those responsible for the

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### *Norway*

The LTTE political delegation met with the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Jan Peterson, Norwegian Special Envoy, Eric Solheim, and the State Secretary for International Development in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Leiv Lunde



### *Sweden*

"Post tsunami management cannot be isolated from the Sri Lankan Peace Process and the cease-fire agreement, for any disaster management needs a peaceful environment and in the Sri Lankan context, it is absolutely essential that the parties endeavor to maintain the status quo in these two matters" said Ms. Carin Jamtin, Minister for Development, Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in a meeting with the LTTE Political delegation led by Mr. S.P. Tamilselvan on 15th March 2005.



- The delegation also met with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and discussed the post-tsunami rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. Present at this meeting were SIDA's Assistant Director General for Asia Department, Jan Bjerninger, Country Manager-Asia Department, Samuel Egero, Katarina Zinn from the Division for Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management, Ola Hallgren, Advisor to Director General's office.



### *Berlin*

The LTTE delegation met with German Economic Cooperation and Development Minister Ms. Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Head of South Asia Section of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bernd Borchardt, and the German Ambassador in Colombo, Mr. Juergen Weerth. Discussions centered round post-tsunami reconstruction and development, Joint Mechanism for post-tsunami management and the tsunami impact on the peace process. Also present at this discussion was the Norwegian Ambassador in Berlin, Mr. Bjorn Tore Godal.



### *Brussels*

"Peace Process would be strengthened by mutual confidence building through a joint mechanism with the participation of all parties in the post-tsunami reconstruction activities" said Herve Jouanjan, Deputy Director General of External Relations at the EU Commission in Brussels 17 March 2005 in a meeting with the LTTE Political team led by Mr. S.P. Tamilselvan.



### Geneva

LTTE Political team led by Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan met with Ms. Ingrid Massage of the Amnesty International in Geneva on 21 March 2005. Mr.Tamilselvan briefed her on the conditions prevailing in the tsunami affected Northeast coast and the denial of access to their homes to people displaced from the Jaffna peninsula due to war.



“Maintaining the integrity of the Cease Fire Agreement (CFA), working hard to deliver the basic peace dividend, and normalcy, are as important as structuring a Joint Mechanism to effectively address the humanitarian crisis in the post-tsunami scenario” said Ambassador Thomas Greminger, Head of Political Affairs Division IV, Human Security, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, addressing the LTTE Political Team led by Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan on 22nd March 2005.



### Austria

“Political circumspection, wisdom and responsibility are demonstrated well by the LTTE by being flexible in accepting Norway’s text in totality for a Joint Mechanism with the Government of Sri Lanka for post-tsunami management” said Mr.Franz Horlberger, Head of the Department for Humanitarian Assistance, NGO Co-Financing and Business Development, Austrian Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs in a meeting with the LTTE political team led by Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan 24 March 2005 at the Ministry complex in Vienna.

- The delegation met with Prof.Johan Galtung in Stadtschlaining, Austria at the Institute for Integrative Conflict Transformation and Peace-building (IICP) on Sunday 27 March 2005.



### Finland

The Political Delegation of the LTTE led by the Head of the Political Wing Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan met with Mr.Erkki Tuomioja, Minister for Foreign Affairs on 30 March 2005 at the Fireplace Cabinet, Merikasarmi building.

- The delegation met with Ms.Ulla Anttila, MP, and Chairperson of the International Unit, Human Rights Group on 31 March 2005 at the Finnish Parliament complex in Helsinki.





### *Rome*

The LTTE Political Delegation led by Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan, that arrived in Rome late afternoon on Thursday, had a meeting with Mr.Claudio Pacifico, Director General, Asia Oceania, Pacific and Antarctic on 1 April 2005 at the Foreign Ministry Complex.



### *Netherland*

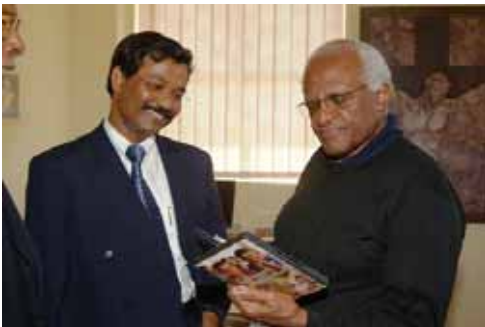
The LTTE Political Delegation led by Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan, in its first leg in Netherlands, met with Professor Dr.Ir.Georg Freks of the Social Sciences Group, Wageningen on 6 April 2005. They met the Netherland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 7 April 2005. At this meeting Mr. Herman A. Schaper, Deputy Director General for Political Affairs, expressed condolences for the victims of tsunami tidal surge.



### *South Africa*

The LTTE Political Delegation led by Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan, Head of the Political Wing arrived in Pretoria on 8 April 2005 on its first leg of the visit to South Africa. The delegation was received by Mr.Ibrahim Ibrahim, Senior Advisor to the Vice President.

- The delegation met with the South African Deputy President, Mr.Jacob Zuma, on 11 April 2005. At the outset, the Deputy President expressed condolences for the tsunami victims on behalf of the People of South Africa and invited the Head of Delegation to brief him on the current political situation in the context of the stalled peace process and the status of the Cease Fire Agreement (CFA).



- The Political Delegation met with Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town on 12 April 2005.



### *Ireland*

Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan, Head of the LTTE Political Division, leading the Political Delegation, met with Mr.Conor Lenihan, Ireland's Minister for Economic Development and Deputy Foreign Minister, on 14 April 2005 in the Ministry office.



*Oh mother-sea, do not be so angry, our bond will not end just because we cried.  
Enough of this crying, life is not dead; our sad songs will soon end.*

**The** tsunami that hit the NorthEast region of Sri Lanka is the worst natural disaster experienced in living memory and it came at a time when the region was still struggling to recover from a two decades long war. The parallels between the war devastation and tsunami devastation are many. Both caused tragic loss of life; destroyed homes; displaced people; took away livelihoods; and destroyed environment, public sector infrastructure, and community life. There are also some notable differences. People displaced by war had time to gather some possessions to take with them but tsunami gave no such opportunity and people stood without clothes on their body. The world ignored the war in Northeast for a long time, bowing down to the Sri Lankan government's wishes. If not for the global interest in the tsunami, the tsunami devastation in the Northeast would have suffered the same fate.

The war had put the coastal community, especially the fishermen, at a severe disadvantage due to restrictions placed on their fishing. For example in 1983, the Jaffna fisheries industry produced 49,740 metric tonnes and it had dropped to 2,211 metric tonnes in the year 2000 revealing the magnitude of the war devastation. It climbed back to 21,206 in the year 2003, however, the tsunami has now completely destroyed the fishing infrastructure yet again. Most of the fishing vessels in the tsunami affected areas, whose numbers were already below adequate level, were destroyed. More than 60% of the people affected by the tsunami also came from this coastal community. The coastal community in the East is made predominantly of Tamils (58%) followed by Muslims (39%) and Sinhalese (3%). The coastal community affected in the North is predominantly Tamils with negligible population of other ethnic communities.

The tsunami relief work in Northeast of Sri Lanka was lead by the PDS (Planning and Development Secretariat) of the LTTE. Immediately after the tsunami PDS set up task forces, in the six districts that were affected, to coordinate the relief efforts. Each task force is made up of members of PDS and the political wing of LTTE, Government Agent of the district, INGO representatives, NGO representatives, NGO consortium chairperson, and civil society representatives. All relief work is channelled through this task force to avoid duplication and wastage, and to ensure equitable distribution of relief.

PDS conducted a needs analysis in January 2005 and identified three phases of relief and reconstruction. Phase one, the immediate relief work, is now in the past. Phase two of the relief work was to relocate people to temporary accommodation and hasten the return to normalcy in their life as far as feasible. Phase three is to rebuild with long term planning. Phase two of the relief work carried out over the last four months is almost coming to an end. The relief work is now ready to progress into phase three.

Some of the urgent actions taken during phase one beyond providing shelter, food, water and sanitation are caring for orphans, trauma counselling, and neighbourhood groups to ensure safety of women and children. These measures evolved further in phase two as people moved from welfare centres to temporary accommodations.

During the phase two, INGOs and NGOs undertook to build temporary shelters, sanitation facilities like toilets, bathrooms, wells and water supply, public halls, health tents, and preschools. These are now reaching completion. Trauma counselling services is coordinated by CHC (Centre for Health Care) an arm of the LTTE. PDS believes that the phase two has progressed well.

In its needs analysis PDS identified nineteen areas of focus for the relief work. These include resettlement, housing, health, education, transport infrastructure, livelihood development, fisheries, water and sanitation, public sector infrastructure and power. Within these focus areas there are many specific issues that had to be addressed.

More than 300,000 thousand houses were destroyed during the war and the tsunami has damaged more than 60,000 houses. There is a skill shortage in the building industry and training in building disaster proof houses is to be addressed in phase three.

Land needs to be resurveyed because part of the land may now be submerged and deed documents may have been lost. People would have lost their birth, marriage and death certificates and reissue of these certificates must be facilitated. Where

relocation to original homes is not possible due to severity of damage a participatory decision making process is adopted to determine reallocation of land for resettlement.

Destroyed hospitals and schools have to be rebuilt and those within 300 metres of coast need to be relocated. The trauma counselling service must be expanded.

Beyond these PDS has also formulated long term plans for strengthening communities through public sector infrastructure. These are awaiting the launch of phase three of the tsunami relief work. PDS says that its relief work in Amparai, where substantial Sinhala and Muslim population was also affected, has been inclusive and equitable.

The role of the Tamil Diaspora in the tsunami relief effort is immense and those at the ground level of the relief work never tire of mentioning this. Tamils living in Switzerland for example have funded the construction of an entire village and it has been named the “swiss” village.

Government of Sri Lanka has signed many agreements with INGOs, donor countries, and other donor organizations to rebuild damaged infrastructures. These agreements include estimates for the cost of rebuilding. For example Ministry of Education has estimated that the cost of rebuilding the schools in the Northeast to be 6.2 billion USD. PDS in its needs analysis has also made an initial estimate of 49 million USD for rebuilding damaged schools in Northeast. Similar disparity exists between the other agreements signed by the government with donor groups and that of the PDS estimates. ■

Details	South West of Sri Lanka		North East of Sri Lanka	
	Number	%	Number	%
Affected persons	224,530	27%	617,146	73%
Deaths	10,405	42%	14,289	58%
Missing	2,205	41%	3,124	59%
Injured	7,794	37%	13,065	63%
Schools	54	31%	122	69%
Roads (Gr a&B)	178 Km	31%	394Km	69%
Hospitals	40	43%	52	57%
Houses	35,757	37%	61,019	63%

*Summary of Damages to Human Life and Infrastructure in Sri Lanka*

## Protests by the People

People throughout the NorthEast region are holding protest marches putting forward various demands. Three years after the signing of the CFA,

- Normalcy has not returned to the lives of the people.
- People are unable to go back to their own homes.
- Fishermen are unable to fish freely in the sea.
- No economic opportunity has been created to improve the living standards of the people affected by war.
- LTTE cadres carrying out political work are being attacked using armed groups in violation of the CFA.

The demands put forward by the people in their protest marches have highlighted these issues. Here is a survey of these protest marches:

### Mullaitivu:



Thousands of people belonging to civilian based organizations, fishermen co-operative societies, teachers associations, student organizations, mothers front and many other groups took part in a protest march on 7 April 2005. This march demanded that the interim administration be handed over to the LTTE.

### Kilinochchi:



The protest march in Kilinochchi organized by several civilian based organizations put forwarded the requests that the interim administration be handed over to the LTTE and the attacks on civilians and LTTE cadres by armed groups with assistance from the military be brought to an end.

## Vavuniya



More than 8000 people took part in the protest march held in Vavuniya. TNA Members of Parliament also took part in this march. TNA Members of Parliament, Selvam Adaikalanathan and Sivasakthi Anandan spoke at this march.

## Jaffna



In the Jaffna peninsula several protest marches were held in Vadamaradchchi, Thenmaradchchi, and Valigamam on different days. Many thousands of people belonging to the consortium of NGOs, fishermen co-operative societies, teachers associations, and student organizations took part in these marches.



## **Joint structure caught in the net of political manoeuvres; Increasing contradictions within government**

**The** perception that the joint structure is equivalent to the birth of Tamileelam is growing. The political forces in the south of Sri Lanka and the regional political forces have joined up to propagate this view.

Yet, the reality is far from it. Joint structure is a plan for the rehabilitation of the people affected by the tsunami devastation. The issue that has created the most confusion is the proposal to care for a specific area from the coastline. The proposal is that the LTTE will look after this area where it falls within their administrative region and the government will look after it where it falls in their administrative region.

Initially government created a lot of confusion about this proposal. This confusion has gradually changed into whether the funds for rehabilitation is to handed over to the LTTE, and finally to a distorted view that the joint structure is equivalent to the birth of Tamileelam. This view is now used as a strategy in the propaganda against the joint structure at the regional and international level.

The minor political parties, JVP and Hela Urumaya, have tried to get political mileage by distorting the joint structure proposal. JVP increased its parliamentary seats from 9 to 39 using its opposition to the ISGA proposal and the peace talks. It is now attempting to increase it further from 39 to 109 using its opposition to the joint structure. It has indeed achieved substantial success in this in recent times.

It has been preaching this to the Sinhala people at the recent May Day rallies and at meetings called to oppose the joint structure. While JVP makes its moves for its own political gain, the UNP is maintains its silence for its own political gain, and the President makes her moves with her own strategies behind it.

JVP has also succeeded in pushing this issue into the regional scene. It is proclaiming that the joint structure will be detrimental to India. JVP says that since Sri Lanka is a friend of India, it must protect India from the effects of the joint structure. This is fascinating politics.

JVP that evolved from leftist principles is unable see the inconsistency of their position in rejecting the joint structure and by wishing to protect India.

Even the President and Ranil Wicremasinghe are playing their part in rejecting the joint structure. They are outwardly proclaiming support to it but they are secretly rejecting it.

President's speeches and answers to questions regarding joint structure indicate her opposition to it. Her strategy is to pull a smoke screen by giving dates for implementing the joint structure and continuously shifting this date forward. Presently this time is set to be before the Kandy donor conference. Her strategy is to get the

aid money and then move the country to the next stage in her hidden strategy. She acted as if she was critical of JVP and soon she will try show that she is critical of India.

It is clear from her actions that she is not interested in moving forward with vision in setting up the joint structure. In fact her actions show that she is keen to prevent the implementation of it.

Ranil Wickemasinghe's position in this became clear when he rejected the invitation by the President to set up the joint structure. He is planning his strategy for the next election and is keen to gather the support of the Sinhala Buddhist voters. This is indeed paving the way for the growth of the JVP. Thus in due course it will become clear that the biggest gains in this are made by the JVP.

While the internal political forces are confused the regional and international forces are creating further confusion.

India has categorically stated that it will not accept the LTTE gaining greater power. It has since issued statements denying this. There is nothing new in issuing follow up statements of denial. That is politics. Statements by the Indian Minister of internal affairs and by the secretary of the Indian Ministry of foreign affairs clearly show that India rejects the joint structure. They have said this to Eric Solheim.

The Indian position regarding the joint structure is not conditional. Those who boast about sovereignty must consider this to be a challenge to it.

Finally the position of USA, the international power, regarding the joint structure is supportive. Its position expressed by the Ambassador has avoided criticising the government and has respected its own limits in commenting about another country. Its position although not practical recognises the reality at ground level. One view is that the Indian opposition will be beaten back by the USA's actions.

In reality India is confused about the change in the USA's position. But it also shows that USA has accepted that there is some justice behind the setting up of the joint structure.

It is now becoming a reflection of the competition between India and USA. USA has expressed support for joint structure without being critical of the government and while staying within its limits.

This can be also viewed as a USA strategy. It is beneficial to USA to make such moves without forcing a position on the government.

As far as the Tamil people are concerned, they must use this opportunity to show to the world the true colour of the Sinhala politicians through the joint structure issue. Tamils must bring out into the open the overriding question of how the politicians from the south Sri Lanka who are unable agree on a joint structure for rehabilitation can bring about a just solution to the ethnic problem.

There is confusion in India. The signal from the USA in support of the joint structure has paved way for the Indians to issue statements denying their opposition to it. USA's approach has created confusion in the Indian approach. Putting it in another way, in relation to Sri Lanka USA is beating India steadily and slowly. India's flexibility in going along with the USA's approach shows India is backing away.

Is this backing away a temporary step or a permanent one? This needs to be judged. Even if the government and its supporters are on India's side, the situation is that the country must go to the west for funds. Therefore India's position will come under greater pressure. Economic necessities can bring permanent changes. Countries like Sri Lanka are in the unfortunate position of having to shift to satisfy this necessity. Thus the USA's approach is most likely to succeed.

Thus the joint structure as can be seen is caught in the net of political manoeuvres. It is caught not only in the south Sri Lankan political net; it is also caught in the regional and international political nets. Instead of trying to get out of these nets, Tamil leadership and intellectuals must formulate alternate strategies to work from within it.

**Courtesy : eezhanadu daily 17.05.2005**

## “Death never destroys great men who had lived for lofty ideals”

Tamil people have lost today a highly principled man who deeply loved them and the Tamil Nation. A voice that echoed the freedom of the Tamil people and their homeland, Tamil Eelam had been silenced today. An eminent Tamil journalist had fallen victim to the enemy’s act of cowardice.

Humble and honest, Mr. Dharmaratnam Sivaram is a unique person. He is knowledgeable and is an expert in the field of journalism. As an internationally renowned journalist, Sivaram does not need any introduction.

Through his writings, he brought out the Tamil National question in the international arena with clarity and cohesion. Diligently and cleverly, he exposed to the international and diplomatic community, the false



“Death never destroys great men who had lived for lofty ideals,” said V Pirapaharan in a message released from Vanni Saturday April 30, 2005 conferring the “Maamanithar (Great Humanbeing)” award on journalist Dharmaratnam Sivaram. Mr Sivaram was abducted and murdered by unidentified persons

### **Full text of the message issued by Liberation Tigers conferring “Maamaniathar” award to Sivaram**

propaganda undertaken by the Sinhala regime. Positioning him in the Sinhala stronghold, Sivaram forthrightly told the outer world the injustices and the atrocities perpetrated by the Sinhala ruling elite on the Tamil Nation. Although facing danger and threats, Sivaram fought against injustice fearlessly with courage. Above all, he relentlessly worked to keep the Tamil people politically vigilant. The yeoman service rendered by him is eternally praiseworthy.

Respecting his love of the Nation and his love for freedom, I am proud to confer post-humously on Mr. Dharmaratnam Sivaram, the noble National Award of “Great Man”. Death never destroys great men who have lived for lofty ideals. They have an everlasting place in the history of our Nation. ■

(Page 01 cond...)

actions of the military, are also sitting lackadaisically on the problem and the Tamil citizens continue to languish. It is this lot that demonstrates in military occupied areas and responded violently by the military. Prohibition of military camps in densely populated areas is no taboo for the SL military. This is amply demonstrated by the violent reaction of the military, killing a civilian and injuring scores when they non-violently protested against new military check points in Batticaloa.

The other provision in the CFA that is thrown to the winds is the one that relates to the prohibition of activities by armed groups. It is no secret that the activities of armed groups, otherwise known as paramilitary responsible for killings of intellectuals, journalists and ordinary civilians, are rampant in military controlled areas and that the military intelligence units are keeping these groups for their 'penetration' programmes.

Public agitation against non-compliance of the provisions of the CFA, is on the increase and it is definitely not going to be conducive to the peace process. Loosing the peace constituency is a serious matter that would affect the peace process at large. The Tamil people, through historical experience in the

hands of the discriminate ruling elite in Colombo, banked their hopes on the CFA and the peace process only because of international support to the negotiations. The way things move in Colombo does not indicate an attitudinal change and conversely portends a serious threat to the CFA and the peace process. A simple Joint Mechanism to address post tsunami humanitarian delivery in the NorthEast is yet to see the light of the day though it is almost five months now since tsunami struck and a modality prepared by Norway having been accepted by the LTTE in its totality, demonstrating its commitment and flexibility. It is the considered opinion that the international community has a major role to play now. Adequate and meaningful pressure must be applied on the government to ensure first that it fulfils its obligations to the Tamil people, respecting their mandate of 2004. Steps need to be taken to institutionalise an interim set up that would enable the Tamil people to manage their affairs in reconstructing the war -ravaged region. Tsunami is in no way a paradigm shift vis-à-vis the war affected people whose hardships CFA was meant to alleviate. Much talk and proclaimed intent about Joint Mechanism may help designing politicians but is of no use to the people. Their patience is running out and the peace process becomes irrelevant when the main stake -holders, the people, loose patience and are pushed to the fringe of frustration. ■

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