Analyzing the Legitimacy of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam’s Rebellion Against the Sri Lankan State

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Analyzing the Legitimacy of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam’s Rebellion

Against the Sri Lankan State

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Rev. 5/12/13
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I. Introduction

In the 21st century, it is a well-established fact that no legitimate government of a state can functionally exist without the consent of the governed. The obverse of this is also true, that illegitimate governments can exist without the consent of the governed. This legitimacy is contingent upon whether or not the government has the consent of the people. In most societies, when a government no longer maintains that consent, the government steps down to allow the accession of the new preferred government, which is commonly decided by a popular vote of the governed. Simply put, the one who has the most votes wins. The problem that is caused by this form of decision-making is that many people (who are yet a minority) are no longer ruled by the government that they wished to consent to. Again, in modern countries, the governed often consents to the rule of this government, partly because rebellion against the government is allowed through protest, political action, and the vote, but occasionally, the minority does not consent to be governed. What happens when those being ruled take up arms in protest against the government? Does a government automatically lose its legitimacy, or is there more to governmental legitimacy than common consent?

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1 This paper does not purport to suggest a new decision making model.
It is the objective of this paper to examine the issue of governmental legitimacy by common consent of the people with relation to freedom fighting and terrorist activity. It will suggest an *a priori* model for analyzing legitimate rebellion. The lines between freedom fighting and terrorism are often blurred, and the distinction is oft seen as positionally relative. The current crisis in Sri Lanka will then be placed alongside this model to attempt to determine if the current government of Sri Lanka is legitimate, and whether or not the Sri Lankan Army or the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are either freedom fighters or terrorists. Based on those conclusions, the paper will then suggest how the international community should respond to the issue of the separatist movement in Sri Lanka.

**II. Typical Consent Model of Government/Social Contract Theory**

Any government that comes to power or maintains itself by the use of force is not legitimate. There is no end to who is therefore legitimate if power philosophy prevails. There will always be one who is stronger or cleverer. David Hume suggests a much more appropriate idea for government legitimacy:

“Man, born in a family, is compelled to maintain society, from necessity, from natural inclination, and from habit. The same creature, in his farther progress, is engaged to establish political society, in order to administer justice; without which there can be no peace among them, nor safety, nor mutual intercourse.... Men must, therefore, endeavour to palliate what they cannot cure. They must institute some persons, under the appellation of magistrates,
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whose peculiar office it is, to point out the decrees of equity, to punish transgressors, to correct fraud and violence, and to oblige men, however reluctant, to consult their own real and permanent interests. In a word, Obedience is a new duty which must be invented to support that of Justice” (David Hume, Of the Origin of Government).

Here, Hume clarifies the origins and expectations of legitimate government. For Hume, a government that maintains society, and administers justice by ensuring equality, punishing wrongdoers, and stopping fraud and violence displays legitimacy.

For America’s founding fathers, a government that ensures life, liberty, and the ability of men to pursue their desires, with respect to the rights of other men, displays legitimacy. This principle is delineated in the American Declaration of Independence, which says, “…all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed” (U.S. Declaration of Independence). So legitimacy, although varied in definition, always seems to contain aspects of preservation of human rights, security, and social maintenance.

Aristotle clarifies in his Politics (Book V, Chapter I) that democracy “arises out of the notion that those who are equal in any respect, are equal in all respects; because men are equally free, they claim to be absolutely equal.” It is this notion of equality that gives way to the idea of universal human rights.
“Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world…” (from Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Preamble; see Appendix A). This Declaration of Human Rights is used as a standard for determining how man should treat man. Since governments are merely the coming together of individuals to form a collective society, this standard of human rights can be used as a measure of rightness or wrongness as pertaining to justification of revolts or revolution against a government. This measure is of course fallible because of its subjectivity, for example, the socialist/communist idea of capitalism being a grave affront to man because it separates according to class.2

It is arguable that the defense of human rights has always been the motivation for any revolution. Aristotle declared “the universal and chief cause of the revolutionary impulse … [is] the desire of equality, when men think that they are equal to others who have more than themselves…. Inferiors revolt that they may be equal, and equals that they may be superior.” Under feudal systems, the sovereign (most often a king) held all property and the subjects were either given land by the king or allowed to use the king’s land. This system would now be considered a denial of the right to property and revolution justified. This is set forth by Thomas Hobbes, who denied the right of revolution

2 This paper will not include the communist/socialist paradigms in its consideration, as they are contrary in their ideas regarding property rights, as held by most nations in the world, in as much as they deny property rights to the people, thus being an illegitimate form of governance with respect to the human rights standard of the model.
except for the sake of self-preservation, states in his Second Treatise on Government;

_The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property; and the end why they choose and authorize a legislative, is, that there may be laws made, … to limit the power, and moderate the dominion of every part and member of the society. For since it can never be supposed to be the will of the society, that the legislative should have the power to destroy that, which everyone designs to secure, by entering into society… whenever the legislators endeavor to take away, and destroy the property of the people, or reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who thereupon absolved from any further obedience, and are left to the common refuge, which God has provided for all men, against force and violence. Whensoever therefore the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society… by this breach of trust they forfeit the power, the people the people had put into their hands, for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and, by the establishment of a new legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society… (Thomas Hobbes, ¶222).

The very first example of a Social Contract in writing is the Mayflower Compact of 1620 (see Appendix B). This voluntary agreement to work together for the benefit of all did meet with some resistance on the Mayflower, but not enough to keep it from being signed and agreed to by the majority. Those who
did not agree to it did not have to abide by it, but they did not reap the benefit of it either.

This idea still exists in modern society, that if one does not agree with the government or questions its legitimacy, they could opt out of the society by moving as is rather common these days (e.g. refugees). Also, one is able to “revolt” against the government by protest, voting, and using built-in political machinery. Often though, many remain within the government structure, rebelling against it, and yet still do reap the benefits of it (roads, healthcare, protection, police services, et cetera).

III. Rebellion Model

Revolutions, such as the Peasants’ Revolt in Germany in the 15th century, and Cromwell’s rebellion in the 17th century in England, and the 18th

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3 **Peasant’s War** - (1524-1526) German revolt in which the peasantry and the lower classes of the towns rose up against their feudal overlords. It was caused by the growing economic, religious, and judicial oppression to which the lower classes of Germany were subjected by the nobles and clergy. The peasants’ demands included the right to choose their own ministers, the abolition of serfdom, the right to fish and kill wild game, the abolition of many kinds of feudal dues, and the guarantee of fair treatment in courts presided over by the feudal nobles. By the end of 1525, after both sides had committed atrocities and thousands were killed, the nobles in the Swabian League succeeded in putting down the rebellion everywhere in Germany; the revolt continued into the following year in Austria. The peasants of Germany won no concessions by their revolt; in Austria the nobles abolished a few of the evils that brought it about. (see Works Cited for “Peasants War”)

4 **Cromwell, Oliver** (1599-1658), leader in the English Revolution (1640-1660) and the first commoner to rule England. Cromwell governed as Lord Protector from 1653 to 1658 under England’s only written constitution, the Instrument of Government. During the English Civil War (1642-1648), Cromwell rose from obscurity on the basis of his devout Calvinism, natural military genius, and forceful personality. These characteristics helped him hold together the competing groups that had overthrown King Charles I in the first phase of the civil war. Cromwell conquered Ireland and Scotland, made England a feared military power in Europe, and expanded its overseas empire. He refused to rule without constitutional authority. His civilian
century American\(^5\) and French\(^6\) revolutions all were focused on securing the ability of people to lead and govern themselves, based on the principle of equality that, no one person automatically had the right to lead without the blessing of those who were led. Historically, revolutions have mostly been violent, but this is not always the case. The bloodless Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England unseated a king without violence, and Gandhi’s non-violent revolution in India, against Great Britain succeeded without war. So, it is not necessary that a revolution be violent to succeed.

According to Aristotle, “Revolutions are effected in two ways, by force [violence] and by fraud [non-violent deception]” (author’s brackets). But Aristotle agrees that fraud still does damage the will of those who are deceived. In this day and age, there has evolved a third form of revolution, the vote [non-violent and non-deceptive]. Modern governments have that built in mechanism to bring about change in the system through a system of voting, where those

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\(^5\) American Revolution (1775-1783), conflict between 13 British colonies in North America and their parent country, Great Britain. It was made up of two related events: the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and the formation of the American government as laid out by the Constitution of the United States in 1787. First, the war achieved independence from Great Britain by the colonies. Second, the newly created United States of America established a republican form of government, in which power resided with the people. (see Works Cited for “American Revolution”)

\(^6\) French Revolution, major transformation of the society and political system of France, lasting from 1789 to 1799. During the course of the Revolution, France was temporarily transformed from an absolute monarchy, where the king monopolized power, to a republic of theoretically free and equal citizens. The effects of the French Revolution were widespread, both inside and outside of France, and the Revolution ranks as one of the most important events in the history of Europe. (see Works Cited for “French Revolution”)
subject to the authority of a government can cause a change in that government, openly, non-violently and (supposedly) without trickery, though it has been said that “he who counts the votes wins”. It is this form of government that is referenced at the beginning of this paper, which is based on a system of majority rule. It is this majority rule that the minority may not elect to be part of, as it does not represent their will, and that minority could choose to revolt.

III. A. Non-Violent Revolts – legitimate and illegitimate

The first form of revolt discussed is the non-violent, lawful rebellion or revolution. This rebellion operates within the government laws constraining it. In democratic society, this includes taking advantage of the afforded human rights, such as freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and freedom of speech and expression. Practice of these rights would include gathering to formulate political strategy, creating flyers, etc. for information dissemination, picketing, rallying, gain assistance from human rights groups, and withdrawal of support of institutions, among other things. This form of rebellion operates with respect to the human rights of others and can succeed in gaining a following that could defeat the elected government politically at the next opportunity. It also can attempt to convince the current government to change its actions through court

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*According the Bazhanov (1992) "You know, comrades," says Stalin, "that I think in regard to this: I consider it completely unimportant who in the party will vote, or how; but what is extraordinarily important is this — who will count the votes, and how."*
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proceedings, injunctions, and via the media. This is the most appropriate form of
rebellion against a state or idea, but it is also the most difficult, as it takes time
and effort and results can be slow in coming. This form of rebellion is always
legitimate as it operates with respect to both human rights and the law of the
state in authority over it.

The second form of rebellion is non-violent, yet unlawful. This seems to be
a rather strange combination, but would be characterized by someone wishing to
protest the government by withholding payment of taxes, or someone who
surreptitiously plans a coup by non-violent means. A person who refuses to pay
taxes is often enough using the services the taxes are used to pay for, such as
police services, roadways, etc. This form of rebellion operates outside the
parameters of law. In this instance, the laws being broken are not laws designed
to take away human rights, such as a law forbidding the right to assemble
would.

III. B. Violent Revolts -legitimate and illegitimate

The third form of rebellion is that which is both violent and lawful. This
term might make the idea difficult to follow, because “lawful” is not meant in
reference to the laws of the nation, but as to the laws or principles of human
rights. This method uses violence after attempts at non-violent, lawful and
unlawful rebellion have failed, whether due to 1) a pervasive lack of
understanding of rightfulness, 2) a lack of ability to exercise the previously delineated human rights, or 3) as deemed necessary for self-preservation. This is the sort of rebellion that John Locke in his *Concerning Civil Government* refers to as being put in “the state of war.“ He states that “[T]he use of force without authority always puts him that uses it into a state of war as the aggressor, and renders him liable to be treated accordingly.” Locke continues saying that “using force where he has no right to get me into his power, let his pretense be what it will, I have no reason to suppose that he who would take away my liberty would not, when he had me in his power, take away everything else. And, therefore, it is lawful for me to treat him as one who has put himself into a state of war with me –i.e. kill him if I can.“ (Locke).

An example of revolution that is both violent and lawful where there was a 1) general lack of understanding of rightfulness would be Nazi Germany. If the German people, in the 1930s-1940s had risen up in revolt against the Nazi policies of genocide and oppression, that would have been “lawful” as far as human rights would be concerned, but according to German law of the time, such actions would likely have been deemed traitorous.

An example of violent yet lawful revolution where there is a 2) lack of ability to exercise human rights would be that of the American Revolution. Great Britain was no longer the commonly accepted authority over the colonialists in America (although some still did). The colonialists viewed Britain’s rule as violent (e.g. The Boston Massacre), tyrannical (e.g. that King
George III was unrestrained by any law or genuine interest in the colonials other than economic) and unjust (e.g. taxation without representation). Pauline Maier clarifies the unjustness of Britain’s rule over the colonies, saying,

"The question was never the immediate amount of taxation that the British were asking of the colonists. The question was whether the British had the right to do it at all. We're talking about people [the American colonists] with enormous sensitivity to the dangers of power. If you conceded the right to Parliament to tax and if there was no check on it, no limit, it could go on indefinitely. You could be bled white. The power to tax was the power to destroy" (Maier).

Thus one rallying cry became “No taxation without representation.”

A final example of violent yet lawful rebellion is in an instance where it might be necessary to preserve ones life. If, for example, a representative of a government, whether police, military, or another, comes to attempt to take the life of a citizen unjustly, that citizen has the right to use any force as is reasonably necessary under the circumstances, to preserve his or her life. This principle also holds true in private life as well, in that the attacker does not need to be an agent of government before violence is used to preserve ones life.

The fourth form of revolution is its violent yet unlawful form. Revolutions that take this form are normally characterized by one of two realities, either that those fighting are seeking to institute a paradigm shift in the mode of government, such as the communist revolutions or the Muslim overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, or they are seeking to break apart an
existing state, in whole or in part, to form a new one, such as the IRA in Northern Ireland. Other examples of this could be the Palestinian Liberation Movement in the Middle East and the Basque separatists (ETA) in Spain and France.

III. C. Terrorism Defined and Applied

What makes these movements and organizations unlawful are not so much their goals, but the means they employ through which they seek to further their goals. The fact that these groups seek self-rule is not the problem, but the use of tactics that violate the civil and human rights of other people is what causes one to question the methodological legitimacy of the group. There is a tendency to assign the grievances of these groups legitimacy based solely upon the tactics that are employed, and although there is assuredly something to be said for that, it is not appropriate. Groups normally employ these sorts of tactics that violate human rights of others because they see no alternative or embrace its effectiveness. And although this does not give any more legitimacy to their cause, it is perhaps more understandable.

These “tactics” are normally referred to as terrorism. The reason that terrorism is employed so readily and made into the operational mandates of many organizations is due to four reasons: Terrorism is an inexpensive method of warfare that can achieve relatively effective results, giving it a low cost/high yield potential; By utilizing the psychology of fear, terrorism can artificially
inflate the perceived strength and power projection of a group among a wide number of people; By involving acts that are designed to attract maximum publicity, terrorism can project even the most far flung group (and its cause) to the forefront of regional, national or even global attention; Terrorist groups involve comparatively little personal risk to the perpetrators and far less than the more conventional forms of organized violence (Rajeswari).

Terrorism is often defined, yet few actually use one single definition. The definition used for this paper is similar to the U.S. Department Of Defense definition of terrorism, which is the “calculated use of violence or the threat of violence, [occasionally in seemingly indiscriminate manners,] to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological." This definition takes into account that terrorists generally calculate the effectiveness of an attack by the potential psychological impact. Terrorists by definition operate in a violent, non-legitimate modality. They have a general lack of respect for people’s human and civil rights with exception of their own, and they always use a form of violence, either actual physical violence, or threatened physical (psychological) violence.

III. D. Determining the Legitimacy of a Cause
Legitimacy of a cause, or in this sense, a “movement” against the current government, is separate from any tactics used. A cause can be understood as legitimate if it seeks to right wrongs, or promote human or civil rights (including religious rights). A movement is legitimate, therefore, if it seeks to secure equal rights for a group that is normally mistreated or viewed as “second-class citizens,” such as the civil rights and women’s rights movements in the United States. Legitimacy of the cause is not negated by terrorist methods. The methods are illegitimate and, therefore, must be stopped, but the cause may need hearing.

As previously stated, organizations often do not immediately start using terrorist tactics, but try other methods of rebelling against government initially. However, when their requests or demands are not heeded, they turn to this method of coercion. For example, during the 1960 Civil Rights movement in the United States, if groups of blacks decided to wage armed revolt against the government, their plight for equality, although legitimate, would have been marred by their use of violence or terrorist tactics, and therefore would not have won the ears of the rest of the country as readily as they did. The same situation would likely have occurred in India, had Mohandas Gandhi decided to lead an armed revolt against Great Britain. A state of war would likely have ensued with the British goal being to put down the violence with violence. Instead, the non-violent movement succeeded in winning India her independence. A situation similar to
both of these scenarios exists today in the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka\(^8\).

**IV. Application of the Model to the Sri Lankan Situation**

The issues in Sri Lanka are recent in history. The Tamil and Sinhalese people lived in general harmony for hundreds of years. It is uncertain when either ethnic group arrived on the island of Ceylon, but what is certain, is that Theravada Buddhism arrived on the island around 300 BC, and the majority of people became Buddhist. Then, in 1505 AD, the Portuguese arrive and establish trade there. They found three kingdoms on Ceylon. The northeastern kingdom at Jaffna was Tamil; the southern kingdoms of Kotte and Kandy were Sinhalese. They found that the three kingdoms lived in relative peace and harmony, even though the Tamils tended to be Hindu and the Sinhalese tended to be Buddhist. Following the Portuguese arrival, in 1658 the Dutch drove out the Portuguese and also began trading. Then, the Dutch ceded the island to the British in 1796, and Ceylon becomes the first Crown Colony of Great Britain. Finally after just less than 450 years of colonization, on 4 February 1948, Ceylon gains its independence from the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

In Sri Lanka, the majority ethnic group is Sinhalese, while the Tamils make up the largest minority on the island. Historically, the Tamils were adept at trade and business and many succeeded in growing wealthy. This fact caused

\(^8\) The proper name of Sri Lanka.
some resentment by the majority Sinhalese. Several laws were passed in the Sri Lankan Legislature after election of the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP) that began the rise of Sinhalese nationalism. The new government, led by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, immediately set out to change the political structure. “Sinhala became the sole official language (formally in force in 1963) and took measures for state support of the Buddhist faith and of Sinhalese culture. It wedded the new nationalism to a form of socialism, in which the state was given a powerful role in economic development and creation of economic equality” (Britannica.com). This nationalism, in combination with the new laws favoring the majority Sinhalese, basically had the effect of creating a second-class citizenry in Sri Lanka. This degradation did not sit well with the Tamils, as one can imagine, and they began to protest.

This protesting, in combination with the economic hardships in Sri Lanka due to progressive state control of the economy, found violence initially at the hand of the majority. This then lead to the beginning of the armed military struggle of the Tamils. Again reacting to the armed insurgency, in the mid to late 1970’s the Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed in Sri Lanka. This law basically allowed police to detain a Tamil who they suspected might be a terrorist or linked to a terrorist group. This ability, as one could imagine, lead to many reports of torture and abuse of power. Furthermore, this law was reportedly being used to extort the minority Tamils, et cetera.
Then enter the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a politico-terrorist group who begins by eliminating the opposition in the “freedom fighting” arena. After a massacre of Tamils by Sinhalese mobs in 1983, in response to the LTTE killing 13 Sri Lankan soldiers, there arose almost 35 separate militant Tamil groups, the strongest of which were Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO), the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), and the Peoples Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) (http://reality.lanka.com). By the end of 1986, the use of terrorist tactics and assassinations of other rebel leaders, this group of Tamil militants made Tamils afraid to join any group other than the LTTE in order to have their voices heard.

Finally, in July of 1987, the Indo Lankan Peace Accords were signed to bring about peace in Sri Lanka. All other Tamil militant groups abided by the treaty and since 1990 have fought almost immediately with a direct assault by the LTTE in October against the LTTE with the Sri Lankan Government. The Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF), which the treaty set up, was faced of 1987 until the IPKF was withdrawn in March 1990.

Throughout its history, the LTTE has used tactics that have rightfully been defined as terrorist tactics. A cursory examination of Appendix C will show that the LTTE has targeted civilians, politicians, diplomats, and heads of state. The

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9 One major reason that this treaty was signed was because much of the drug smuggling and weapons used to support the war in Sri Lanka came through India’s region of Tamil Nadu, an area with nearly 50 million Tamils, many of who had been training many of the insurgent Tamil groups militarily.
LTTE has the dubious distinction of being the only group to have ever successfully assassinated two heads of state; Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, in 1991, and Ranasinghe Premadasa, President of Sri Lanka, in 1993. Not too long ago, the current President, Chandrika Kumaratunga, barely escaped with her life from a bombing, but lost an eye to the LTTE. Velupillai Prabakharan, the leader of the LTTE, has denied the fact that they are terrorists, yet makes every LTTE fighter wear a cyanide tablet around his/her neck to commit suicide if captured so as not to reveal information (eelamweb.com).

Looking at the reasons for the rebellion, the Tamil people desire equality. It was not given to them, so now the LTTE makes up much of the voice of the Tamil people (as it is the only representative that it allows to live – reference Appendix C, part 2). The armed struggle is now for a separate homeland because it seems to the LTTE that equality in a Sri Lankan state is impossible. Their complaints cross the gamut of human rights abuses and denials. The FAQ section of the LTTE website states that “When the British left in 1948, the 20% Tamils were left with 80% Sinhalese within a unitary country where the decisions were taken by democratic parliament system. Under this system, racially polarised Sinhalese and Tamils were ruled by the constant majority of Sinhalese against the democratic wishes of Tamils as Tamils were the constant minority.” It continues: “It was a permanent Sinhala majority, which through a series of legislative and administrative acts, ranging from disenfranchisement, and standardisation of University admissions, to discriminatory language and
employment policies, and state sponsored colonisation of the homelands of the Tamil people, sough to establish its hegemony over people of Tamil Eelam.”

The accusations delineated above seem to hold true to fact. The Sri Lankan government has historically taken away rights and abused the human rights of the Tamil people. Revolt, according to the developed model, is legitimate. Initially, there were attempts at operating within the system, but without rights afforded to Tamils, it made the “fight” difficult. The resort to armed conflict is also legitimate, according to the proposed model. But the use of terrorist tactics is not. The Geneva and Hague Conventions delineate the rules of war, and expressly forbid the targeting of non-combatants, which is specifically what terrorists do. The Conventions also delineate that combatants must wear uniforms, which the terrorists do not do.

A secondary problem that has added to the illegitimacy of the LTTE is methods of gaining funding. Although there are some legitimate LTTE fundraising organizations, “LLOYD’S LIST (Lloydslist.com), one of the world’s most respected shipping news publications, has shown how the LTTE uses legitimate shipping as a cover for transporting armaments, drugs and illegal immigrants, all of which help fuel the war in Lanka” (Hindustan Times). The LTTE supposedly received more than 10 million Rupees per month ($110,000 US) from the global drug trade that it is involved in 2000, according to a former Tamil militant (Sri Lanka Current Affairs).
What has, in effect, happened is that the illegitimate method of revolt has cast a shadow of illegitimacy on the entire cause; whereas, if more conventional tactics had been used, there would be no shadow. The world community would likely have seen the situation in Sri Lanka as a civil war, rather than a terrorist insurgency, and this would definitely have been better than the current view by many nations; the LTTE is a terrorist organization and has been proscribed (prohibited) in Sri Lanka, India, the US. The UK, and Canada among others are currently looking at banning the LTTE and its fundraising organizations.

The LTTE’s use of terrorist tactics has illegitimately and immorally elevated their pursuit of rights (which should be afforded them) above the rights of other people in Sri Lanka; hence, taking away their legitimacy and criminalizing their actions. Then, when a voice arises among the Sinhalese talking of moderation, they are immediately marked as sympathizers, sellouts, or betrayers. This obviously makes it very difficult to have any political movement from within Sri Lanka, possibly leaving the issue in the hands of the international community to give assistance to the Sri Lankan government, assisting them in pursuing a moderate political road giving credence to human rights, whatever ones ethnicity.

V. Suggestions for Response to the International Community
The United Nations (UN) has a certain level of moral authority, and therefore it is imperative that it is responsive to human rights, but as its political entity is based on the legitimacy of member states (and hence their governments), it cannot be seen as attacking the governments that give the UN its legitimacy. The UN has the requisite moral authority to “call a spade a spade,” but in doing so, if criticizing a member state’s policy or practice, it must offer suggestions or solutions that it would find acceptable in light of its moral obligations. Some possible suggestions for the UN or international community follow:

1) Support the Sri Lankan Government. This is the only way that other nations will be able to be certain that they also have legitimacy in the UN’s eyes. This is also the legitimate democratically elected government of Sri Lanka.

2) Use international political pressure to encourage that the Sri Lankan government begin broad-based reforms to ensure civil and human rights for Tamils.

3) Recommend that Sri Lanka end the harassment of Tamils by police and security forces in the south, by either amending or repealing or giving more specific guidelines for use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

4) Do not give international recognition or credence to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam or their fundraising organizations. Their tactics
are illegitimate, and they do no necessarily represent the will of the Tamil people as a national group. The LTTE merely gained a larger voice by elimination of all competition for Tamil representation through assassinations, bombings, and outright intimidation.

5) Eliminate the “sellout” and “sympathizer” epithets by silencing the loudest voices of separatism, the Sinhalese Buddhist monks. This could be efficiently accomplished by having someone of high political, moral, and spiritual standing such as the Dalai Lama speak against the separatism they advocate. It would be difficult for them to label him negatively because of his standing within the realm of Buddhism.

The negative moral impact that terrorism has on the cause using it outweighs the benefits of using it. The fact that terrorist methods elevate one person’s rights above another’s is a throwback to the slavery era and to the old “divine right of kings” mentality (except with no claim to regal heritage to “legitimize” it). This being the case, terrorism is an illegitimate form of protest against a government, and the international community in any form should not support it.
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Appendix A

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,
Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12.
No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

**Article 13.**

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

**Article 14.**

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

**Article 15.**

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

**Article 16.**

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

**Article 17.**
(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-
operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

**Article 23.**

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

**Article 24.**

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

**Article 25.**

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

**Article 26.**

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made
generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29.

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30.
Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html
Appendix B

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

Composed by William Bradford
Adopted November 11, 1620

[This Compact, drawn up in the cabin of the Mayflower, was not a constitution, a document defining and limiting the functions of government. It was, however, the germ of popular government in America. Governor Bradford makes this reference to the circumstances under which the Compact was drawn up and signed:

"This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows, word for word."] In the name of God, Amen.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the 11 of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620. (Italics added for emphasis)

http://www.constitution.org/bcp/mayfcomp.txt
### General Atrocities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Incident in Brief</th>
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<tr>
<td>30/11/84</td>
<td>Dollar Farm</td>
<td>Vavuniya</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 33 Sinhalese settlers and injured several others.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30/11/84</td>
<td>Kent Farm</td>
<td>Vavuniya</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 29 Sinhalese settlers and injured several others.</td>
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<td>01/12/84</td>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 11 Sinhalese settlers and injured several others.</td>
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<td>14/05/85</td>
<td>Anuradhapura</td>
<td>Anuradhapura</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Armed terrorists invaded the town and shot dead 120 Sinhalese and injuring 85 others. This includes pilgrims who were inside the sacred Sri Maha Bodhi Premises.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 18 Sinhalese in the forests.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30/05/85</td>
<td>Mihindupura &amp; Dehiwatta</td>
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<td>Five Sinhalese settlers shot dead.</td>
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<td>13 Sinhalese settlers were shot dead.</td>
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<td>Thirukonamadu</td>
<td>Polonnaruwa</td>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 3 Sinhalese Buddhist priests and 3 Civilians at Ruhunu Somawathiya temple.</td>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 06 Sinhalese villagers.</td>
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<td>20/12/85</td>
<td>Mannar</td>
<td>Mannar</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Terrorists ab ducted 06 Madhu pilgrims and executed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25/05/86</td>
<td>Mahadivulwewa</td>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 20 Sinhalese and set fire to 20 houses.</td>
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<td>Armed terrorists shot dead 17 Sinhalese villages including Rev. Bakamune Subaddalanara Thero.</td>
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<td>Trincomalee</td>
<td>Trincomalee</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>Two bombs exploded in two CTB buses in front of the Bank of Ceylon and the other in close proximity to the SP office along Inner Harbour road almost simultaneously. 22 were killed due to the explosion. 75 others injured. When a CTB bus No 28 Sri 6899 was proceeding from Vavuniya to Anuradhapura with a load of passengers at Issenbessagala a bomb was exploded inside the bus killing 13 passengers and injuring 40 others.</td>
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<td>Bomb explosion in a vehicle by terrorists. Killed 16 Sinhalese</td>
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<td>Bomb explosion in a vehicle by terrorists. Killed 16 Sinhalese</td>
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<td>Ampara</td>
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<td>Morawewa</td>
<td>Trincomalee</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

Armed terrorists shot dead 15 Sinhalese.

Four armed terrorists had come in a jeep to Pavakkulam and killed 11 Civilians, including two Sinhalese and nine Tamils.

Terrorists exploded a land mine on a civilian bus killing 32 Sinhalese and injuring 02 others.

Some armed terrorists had entered block No4, Sugar Corporation Kantalai and 10 persons were shot to death (07 Sinhalese and two Muslims and 03 Tamils).

Armed Terrorists shot dead 12 Sinhalese villagers.

Armed terrorists killed 28 Sinhalese villagers by slashing their necks.

Terrorists exploded a land mine when troops were proceeding, killing 07 soldiers and 6 civilians.

Armed terrorists shot dead 26 Sinhalese villagers.

Armed terrorists shot dead 127 Sinhalese, including 31 Police and 5F personnel traveling in the bus.

Armed terrorists shot dead 15 Sinhalese villagers

Armed terrorists exploded a bomb, killing 120 civilians, 298 others were injured.

Armed terrorists shot dead 07 Sinhalese villagers.

Private van No. 38 Sri 496, proceeding from Horowpathana to Trincomalee, was blasted by a pressure mine, killing 14 civilians.

About 175 villagers had collected to discuss about a new temple. Terrorists had surrounded the temple and attacked them killing 08 villagers and a soldier. 06 were injured.

Terrorists shot dead 18 Sinhalese villagers.

Terrorists shot dead 27 Sinhalese.

Armed terrorists shot dead 25 Sinhalese.

Armed terrorists shot dead 25 Sinhalese.

Terrorists shot dead 10 Sinhalese villagers.

Armed terrorists shot dead 14 passengers traveling in 02 lorries.

Armed terrorists had stopped a private bus, taken out Sinhalese persons and killed 11 of them.

Bomb explosion inside a vehicle, opposite Zahira college, killing 23 persons and injuring 106. 29 vehicles damaged. Terrorists had attacked Devalagodella and Somawathiya villagers, killing 09 villagers.

Terrorists shot dead 10 villagers and burnt 15 houses.

Armed terrorists shot dead 10 villagers and burnt 15 houses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>02/03/88</td>
<td>Horowpathana</td>
<td>Anuradhapura</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>14/03/88</td>
<td>Kantalai</td>
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<td>Kivulkada</td>
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<td>Ampara</td>
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<td>Vavuniya</td>
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<td>Ampara</td>
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<td>Anuradhapura</td>
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<td>Pulmoddai</td>
<td>Welioya</td>
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<td>Avaranthalava</td>
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A group of armed terrorists had attacked a private bus at Suhadagama with small arms and grenade killing 19 passengers and injuring 09 others.

Armed terrorists shot dead 13 Sinhalese villagers at Galmityawa.

02 groups of terrorists entered the village and killed 07 Sinhalese villagers.

Terrorists hacked to death 13 Sinhalese villagers.

Armed terrorists had attacked the Sinhalese village and killed 06 villagers and 03 injuring 03 others.

Armed terrorists shot dead 13 Sinhalese villagers.

Terrorists attacked the village, killing 10 Muslim and 07 Tamils.

Armed terrorists killed 14 Sinhalese villagers.

Armed terrorists hacked to death 16 Sinhalese villagers.

Armed terrorists shot dead 07 Sinhalese and 04 Tamils.

Armed terrorists had killed 11 civilians by cutting their necks.

Armed terrorists shot dead 44 Sinhalese and set fire to 11 houses.

Armed terrorists shot dead 28 Sinhalese including two security forces personnel.

Armed terrorists hacked to death 11 Sinhalese.

Armed terrorists shot dead 34 Sinhalese villagers

Terrorists had attacked Track No 13 and 06 Sinhalese were killed and another 07 were injured.

Armed terrorists shot dead 37 Sinhalese villagers.

Five Sinhalese settlers shot dead by armed terrorists.

Terrorists had killed 08 persons and hang them on trees.

Armed terrorists hacked to death 08 Sinhalese.

Terrorists hacked to death 09 Sinhalese villagers who were cutting firewood.

Armed terrorists hacked and shot to death 19 Sinhalese villagers and set fire to 30 house.

Unidentified gunmen killed 10 Tamil civilians.

Terrorists opened fire at Muslims who were praying in 02 mosque (Jumma and Hussinis) killing 103 and 70 wounded. Terrorists Killed 17 Muslims Farmers Working in a Paddy Field.

Terrorists Killed 33 Muslims Farmers Working in a Paddy Field.

Private coach 60 Sri 228 proceeding From Morawewa To Horowpathana with a load of Passengers were Attacked by Terrorists.

Terrorists Attacked Div 3 and 6, Eravur, killing 116 Muslims and injured 20.

25 Civilians who were traveling in a lorry From Negambo to Kokkuvul were ambushed by terrorists, killing 14 of them.

A Muslim village adjoining a Sinhalese village was attacked by terrorists, killing 09 Muslims and 01 Sinhalese. 03 others were injured.
Terrorism, 39

19/09/90 Kothmale colony Anuradhapura 05 02 When some persons were traveling in a tractor, terrorists attacked them killing 05 and injuring 02 others.

19/09/90 Vellamundal 23 Terrorists killed 23 Sinhalese and set fire to 11 houses at the fishing village.

21/09/90 Pudukudiruppu Ampara 15 11 Terrorists attacked the village, killing 15 and injuring 11.

24/09/90 Gajabapura Welioya 04 Armed terrorists set fire to 05 houses and killed 04 Sinhalese.

30/09/90 Mahaoya Ampara 09 Terrorists hacked to death 09 Sinhalese Villagers.

02/10/90 Vahalkada / Padaviya Welioya 07 Armed terrorists shot dead 07 Sinhalese villagers and set fire to 39 houses.

11/10/90 Arugambay Ampara 09 02 Terrorists shot dead 09 Muslims who were cutting firewood.

23/10/90 Thanthirimale Anuradhapura 08 Armed Terrorists killed 08 Sinhalese Villagers and 02 home guards.

27/10/90 Thanthirimale Anuradhapura 05 Armed Terrorists killed 05 Sinhalese

01/11/90 Helambawewa, Sinhapatra Welioya 10 Terrorists attacked the Village and killed 10 Sinhalese.

23/01/91 Bogamuyaya Ampara 29 Armed Terrorists hacked to death 29 Sinhalese.

24/03/91 Fish Market, Akkarapiyattu Ampara 09 32 Terrorists exploded a bomb at Fish Market, killing 09 Muslims and injuring 32 others.

03/04/91 Keviliya Trincomalee 10 11 Terrorists on 02 boats surrendered 06 Vallams and opened fire at the fishermen. Some fishermen jumped into the sea, 04 Vallams were set on fire. 10 dead bodies and 11 injured were found .16 were missing.

14/04/91 Ethimalai Monaragala 17 01 Terrorists hacked to death 17 Sinhalese villagers and injuring 01 other. And they set fire to 06 houses.

20/04/91 Niyadaela Polonnaruwa 21 2 Terrorists attacked village and hacked and shot dead 21 people. 02 others were injured.

20/05/91 Malwatte/ Samanthurai Ampara 9 2 LTTE terrorists fired at a group of Muslims who were returning from the paddy field in a tractor. 09 Muslims were killed and 02 others were injured. LTTE terrorists exploded a bomb at Manmunai Ferry, killing 14 civilians.

12/06/91 Kokkadicholai Baticaloa 14 When a private Bus 50-9765, was proceeding towards Monaragala to Pottuvil with a load of passengers, exploded tow claymore mines and opened fire at the passengers. 16 civilians were killed and 08 civilians wounded. Terrorists carrying arms, had entered the Muslim village, forced and opened the co-operative stores and robbed goods. Then they cut and killed 09 Muslims and moved towards Mahaweli riverbank and cut to death another 09 persons and injured 03 others.

06/07/91 Puttur Polonnaruwa 18 03 09 Sinhala fishermen fishing at Karapola lake and the owner of the fisher who came there in his van (84-7071) were abducted by terrorists and 09 of them were killed.

06/07/91 Karapola Polonnaruwa 9 Terrorists had launched an attack on a Muslim village, killing 13 Muslims and injured 06 others.

19/09/91 Paliiyagodella Polonnaruwa 13 6 Private bus flying between Maha Oya and Ampara got caught to a land mine. Due to the explosion, 10 civilians were killed and 26 others were injured.

26/01/92 Arantalawa and Borapola Ampara 10 26 A bomb exploded in a private bus (30-7088) causing the death of 25 civilians, and injuring 33 civilians.

10/04/92 Ampara Town Ampara 25 33 A car bomb exploded, causing the death 08 civilians. 23 Civilians were injured.

10/04/92 Maradana Colombo 08 23 Terrorists attacked the Alichipothana village causing the death of 56 Muslims and injured 15.

29/04/92 Alichipothana Polonnaruwa 56 15 A group of terrorists stopped a private bus (60-9799), proceeding from Poattu to Pothuvil and opened fire, killing 14 civilians and 01 Policeman. 02 civilians and 01 Policeman were injured.

02/06/92 209th Mile post Ampara 14 2 LTTE terrorists attacked a civilian bus proceeding from Kathankudy towards Kalmunai, killing 19 Muslims and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>Welioya 15 09</td>
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<td>Palliyagodella</td>
<td>Polonnaruwa 172 83</td>
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<td>Rambewa</td>
<td>Anuradhapura 10 51</td>
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<td>16/03/94</td>
<td>Kudiramalai</td>
<td>Puttalama 17 3</td>
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<td>04/07/96</td>
<td>Explosion</td>
<td>Jaffna Town 12 50</td>
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Terrorists have shot the Colombo/Batticaloa train ordered the passengers to get down and opened fire at the Muslim passengers. 07 Muslims killed. They also exploded the engine of the train.

A bomb planted in a private bus at the bus stand, exploded, killing 09 civilians and injuring 34 others.

Whilst terrorists attacking the Konwewa detachment, fired and thrown grenades into the bunkers of the villagers, killing 15 civilians and injuring 09 others.

About 200 to 300 armed terrorists attacked the Muslim village and had shot and hacked to death a total of 172 civilians (171 of them were Muslims, 12 Policemen and 08 Soldiers). A total of 83 others were injured.

Approximately 10 boats that had gone for fishing close to Kudiramalai Point were attacked killing 17 Sinhalese fishermen and injuring 03.

Approximately 10 boats that had gone for fishing close to Kudiramalai point were attacked by terrorists, killing 17 Sinhalese fishermen and injuring 03.

Terrorists attacked the fishing villagers killing 42 civilians.

Timing Device hidden in a cart was exploded, killing 21 civilians and injuring 44 civilians.

A group of armed terrorists have entered to the village and attacked the villagers, killing 16 civilians and injured 05. Terrorists have attacked at the troops in the area. Simultaneously, another 02 groups of armed terrorists have attacked the villagers, killing 36 civilians and injuring 12 civilians.

Terrorists have attacked the villagers and killed 19 civilians.

They also set fire to 02 huts where the civilians were living.

Terrorists opened fire and activated a vehicle bomb in front of the Central Bank building resulting the death of 86 civilians injuring 1338 and also damaged to several buildings.

Terrorists attacked to Kumarapuram detachment. 24 Tamil persons were killed and 28 civilians were wounded.

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Terrorists attacked on village. Army, Police and Home Guards rushed to the area and had confronted with terrorists. 07 civilians, 02 soldiers and 02 policemen were killed. 03 civilians and 01 soldier were injured. 10 terrorists were killed.

A group of terrorists attacked the village and killed 14 civilians.

A female LTTE suicide bomber exploded her self in front of the BMC Jaffna branch at Stanley road.
Terrorists fired Mortars at Sandiveli/Sittandi area. A large temple killing the Nayake Thera and injuring 105 others.

A group of terrorists attacked Mr. AHM Maharuf (minister of parliament Trincomalee district). Terrorists ambushed a group of police personnel proceeding from Thoppur Police station to the Phahala Thoppur Government dispensary and the bridge.

A group of terrorists attacked on the Police Post and Police dispensary and the bridge.

Terrorists attacked Gange Vadiya fishing village.

Two bombs placed inside a compartment at train plying from Colombo Fort to Aluthgama exploded at Dehiwala railway station. Another bomb was defused.

Terrorists attacked a SLTB bus plying from Ampara to Kandy. 11 civilians killed and 31 injured.

Terrorists attacked a Tractor, transporting civilians, into the jungle, to cut timber.

Terrorists abducted and killed 04 civilians whilst they were engaged in fishing.

A group of terrorists in a lorry with a load of explosives, exploded in the car park. Whilst entering the hotel complex they have fired at the security guard, and simultaneously launch a grenade attack to the Sambudh Parliam.

Terrorists exploded 02 claymore mine. 11 civilians killed and 31 injured.

Terrorists activated claymore mine on a civil bus. 01 civilian was killed and others escaped.

Terrorists lobbed 03 hand grenades. 01 Civilian was killed and another injured. Three lorries were destroyed.

A group of terrorists attacked Gange Vadiya fishing village.

Terrorists attacked Kudakpokuna. A civil vehicle was caught in a terrorist land mine.

A group of terrorists attacked Morawewa villagers.

Terrorists exploded 02 claymore mines.

Terrorists fired at the security guard, and simultaneously exploded in the car park.

A group of LTTE terrorists fired at civilians who were at Paddy fields. 01 civilian was killed and 05 others were injured.

Terrorists fired mortar bomb in to the village.

Terrorists fired mortar bomb in to the village.

Terrorists lobbed 02 grenades at Salusala building, killing a child and injuring three (03) civilian was killed and injuring others.

Terrorists lobbed 02 grenades in the car park. Whilst entering the hotel complex they have fired at the security guard, and simultaneously launch a grenade attack to the Sambudhuloka Buddhist temple killing the Nayake Thera and injuring 105 others.

Terrorists attacked at 233 Brigade. The Mortar Bombs fired by LTTE terrorists have fallen to populated areas (BCO Town/Kalladi), 04 civilians were killed and 13 were injured.

A foreign ship “M V Cordiality” at anchorage off Pulmudai and 13 were injured.

A group of terrorists fired at civilians who were at Chenkalady and 02 civilians were injured Mavadivembu.

A group of terrorists attacked Mr. AHM Maharuf (minister of parliament Trincomalee district). Terrorists ambushed a group of police personnel proceeding from Thoppur Police station to the Phahala Thoppur Government dispensary and the bridge.

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Terrorists fired at Miravodai village.

Terrorists fired five rounds of Mortars at Meeraodai village, injuring 12 civilians.

Terrorists attacked Morawewa villagers.

Terrorists fired at the security guard, and simultaneously exploded in the car park.

Terrorists lobbed 02 grenades in the car park. Whilst entering the hotel complex they have fired at the security guard, and simultaneously launch a grenade attack to the Sambudhuloka Buddhist temple killing the Nayake Thera and injuring 105 others.

Terrorists fired Mortars at Sittandi area. Due to the fire, 03 civilians were injured at Chenkalady and 02 civilians were injured Mavadivembu.

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Three civilians were killed by terrorists at her residence while having a discussion with another Counsel Member who also sustained injuries during the attack.

Jaffna Mayoress Mrs. Sarojini Yogeswaran was assassinated by terrorists while her convoy was returning from a town meeting. 05 civilians were killed and 26 were injured. The dead bodies of 04 terrorists and 05 dead bodies of civilians were recovered. Due to the explosion the entrance, Makara Thorana, Paththirippuwa and roof of the Dalanda Maligawa (Ran viyana) is damaged. Troops recovered 03 Suicide Jackets, 02 x T-56 weapons. Disposable RPG, 02 x Icom Radio sets, 10 x 40mm Grenade launchers cartridges. One civilian was killed by terrorists a month after being abducted by them.

05 civilians were kidnapped by a group of LTTE terrorists. Three civilians were wounded, when a group of LTTE terrorists attacked civilians while harvesting. 38 people including children were killed and 270 were injured. When a powerful vehicle (Nissan Mini bus) bomb exploded near Marandana Police station at noon. Within one hour of the attack Police were able to locate approximately 30 bodies. The dead included 02 policemen. The registered owner of the vehicle has been traced as Mrs Habumaina of 234, RC road Eravur. The bus had been driven by a person identified as a Tamil had knocked a vehicle belonging to the city at Sangaraja Mawatha. The public who had noticed this, signaled the policemen who were close by and he signed the driver to stop the vehicle and get sown. At this time the driver had tried to pay Rs. 1000/- to the driver of the jeep in which the bus had collided. The parties involved were not and policemen found that the driver of the bus was moving away without obeying his orders. He immediately followed the vehicle signaling the driver turned the bus to the center lane and his path was exploded which damaged 34 vehicles on both sides of the carriageway and caused extensive damage to the shops on both sides of the road. Eravur police arrested the owner of the bus, Kanapathipillai Sudaradeve and its conductor Thangarajah Pushpakanthan.

LTTE terrorists attacked a family, killing two and wounding two members. LTTE set a claymore mine in the center of Eravur town. The mine was exploded from a wall of a garage in view to target the convoy buses, which were returning. 01 Police constable was killed and 05 were injured, who were on duty at a bunker in the vicinity. 04 soldiers travelling in the bus were injured. 05 civilians were killed and 26 were injured. The garage caught fire due to the explosion. Mr. Madiveli Yogeshwaran complained to Security Forces that his son had been kidnapped by terrorists.

One civilian was killed when terrorists fired mortars to the village. One female was killed, three seriously wounded and 12 sustained minor injuries, when terrorists hurled hand grenades during new year shopping. One civilian was killed while one civilian and four soldiers were injured when terrorists hurled a hand grenade at troops.

Jaffna Mayoress Mrs. Sarojini Yogeswaran was assassinated by terrorists at her residence while having a discussion with another Counsel Member who also sustained injuries during the attack. Two civilians were killed when LTTE terrorists fired mortars to the village. Three civilians were killed by LTTE terrorists ambush.
One civilian was shot dead by LTTE terrorists in the area.

One civilian was killed by LTTE terrorists in the area.

A LTTE terrorist killed an elderly civilian.

Two civilians were killed when terrorists fired at the area while they were farming.

Terrorists killed one civilian.

11 civilians were injured when a bomb exploded near a bank, damaging the bank building, one van and two motor cycles.

One civilian was killed and two injured when terrorists fired at a transformer.

An explosion took place inside the Municipal commissioners office closer to Nallur Kovil. At the time of the explosion a meeting chaired by mayor of Jaffna town was in progress. Senior representatives from the Army, Police, Colombo, Jaffna and other organizations were also killed. A LTTE suicide bomber exploded a bomb in the Municipal building. The blast killed the Mayor of Jaffna and eight other government officials.

One female and three males believed to be members of the Municipality staff were also killed. Twelve civilians with minor injuries were evacuated to JAFFNA hospital for treatment. During the investigation it was revealed that the bomb had been placed on the ceiling of the Municipal building.

Further it was reported that another 03 reserve Police constables were also injured due to bomb explosion.

The Lion Air has suspend services to Rathmalana from the Jaffna peninsula after the loss of a Russian Build AN-24 air craft carrying 48 civilians and a six member cockpit and cabin crew including four foreigners. The SLAF scotched rumors and speculation that the aircraft had been hijacked by LTTE. It was 4 member cockpit crew was identified as Captain Matochko Antolot Lysaivanov Staffan, Navigator Kozlor Sergei and Flight Engineer Anapyieka Stashe.

Two civilians were killed and 22 injured when a hand grenade was hurled during a musical show.

58 unarmed civilians were killed and 02 injured when LTTE terrorists attacked the villagers with knives and swords.

24 civilians were killed and 150 civilians including President of Sri Lanka was wounded due to two suicide bombers blasted at Colombo and Ja-Ela political meetings.

28 civilians, 8 Policemen were killed and 47 civilians were injured when a group of suicide terrorists exploded bombs and opened fire at the busy Ayurveda roundabout.

8 civilians including 01 policeman were killed and 26 civilians were injured when a suicide terrorist exploded bomb at General Hospital/Eye hospital - town hall Colombo. A SLMC backed PA candidate, a police officer and twenty two others were reported killed and 44 persons wounded and most of them are in critical condition when an LTTE suicide bomber in a three-wheeler attacked an SLMC meeting in Mutur, Trincomalee district at about 7.00 p.m.

### Political Leaders Assassinated by the LTTE (1975-2000)
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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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<td>Alfred Duraiyappah</td>
<td>Former Mayor and MP for Jaffna</td>
<td>Killed on 27th July, 1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Thiagarajah</td>
<td>MP for Vaddukoddai (Jaffna)</td>
<td>25th May, 1981</td>
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<td>V. Dharmalingam</td>
<td>MP for Manipay (Jaffna)</td>
<td>03rd September, 1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>K. Alalasunderam</td>
<td>MP for Kopay (Jaffna)</td>
<td>03rd September, 1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sri Sabaratnam</td>
<td>Leader Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization</td>
<td>6th May, 1986</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Amirthalingam</td>
<td>Leader of the Opposition and Leader Tamil United Liberation Front</td>
<td>13th July 1989</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Yogeshwaran</td>
<td>MP for Jaffna</td>
<td>13th July 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Ganeshalingam</td>
<td>Provincial Minister for North &amp; East</td>
<td>28th January 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sam Sambimuttu</td>
<td>MP for Batticaloa</td>
<td>07th May 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>V. Yogasangari</td>
<td>MP for Jaffna</td>
<td>June, 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>K. Padmanaba</td>
<td>Leader Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front</td>
<td>June, 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>K. Kanagaratnam</td>
<td>MP for Eastern Province</td>
<td>15th July, 1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ranjan Wijerathne</td>
<td>Defence Minister &amp; Deputy Minister of Finance</td>
<td>01st March, 1991</td>
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<td>Rajiv Gandhi</td>
<td>Prime Minister of India</td>
<td>22nd May 1991</td>
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<td>Ranasinghe Premadasa</td>
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<td>01st May, 1993</td>
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<td>Gaminid Dissanayake</td>
<td>Presidential candidate &amp; MP for Nuwara Eliya</td>
<td>23rd October, 1994</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>A. Thangathurai</td>
<td>MP for Trincomalee</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; July, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mohammed Maharoof</td>
<td>MP for Trincomalee</td>
<td>20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; July, 1997</td>
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<td>S.P. Tharmalingam</td>
<td>SLFP Organizer for Jaffna</td>
<td>October, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. Sarojani Yogeswaran</td>
<td>TULF Mayor of Jaffna</td>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May, 1998</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Pon Sivapalan</td>
<td>TULF Mayor of Jaffna</td>
<td>11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; September, 1998</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam</td>
<td>TULF Minister of Parliament</td>
<td>29&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; July, 1999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atputharajah Nadarajah, Alias Ramesh</td>
<td>Eelam People’s Democratic Party (EPDP)</td>
<td>02&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Nov, 1999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. C.V. Gooneratne (MP, Cabinet Minister)</td>
<td>Industrial Development Minister</td>
<td>07&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; June, 2000</td>
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