

Footprints in Sand

MAM Report

Mandaitivu-Allapiddy-Mankumban (M-A-M)

Disappearances

25-08-90 & 23-09-90

15 years later

November 2005

Report by NESOHR



This report is the outcome of the efforts and struggles of the families who lost their children. They initiated this report and helped with the investigations.

We owe our thanks to them.

Contents

Foreword.....	iii
1. Introduction.....	1
2. The Base List.....	1
3. The Background.....	5
4. The Roundups.....	5
5. The Douglas connection	6
6. The Search – Inquiry No 1	8
7. The Court case – Inquiry No 2	9
8. The ICRC – Inquiry No 3.....	10
9. The Amnesty International – Inquiry No 4.....	11
10. The Family appeals – Inquiry No 5	12
11. The Commissions – Inquiry No 6	13
12. The Committee of Sri Lanka HRC – Inquiry No 7 ..	14
13. The Follow-ups – Inquiry No 8	15
14. Families of disappeared	16
15. M-A-M families affected in other circumstances ...	42
16. Affidavit of a Priest	45
17. Statement by a community leader	46
18. Thalaisyaddi	47
19. Others identified by the M-A-M Villagers	48
20. Young male workers in the M-A-M villages	50
21. Conclusion	51

Appendix

Appendix A: Families' evidence

- A1 Affidavit by mother of MT01, MT02, and MT03
- A2 Affidavit by father of AP18
- A3 Letter of the parish priest of PhilipNeri's church
- A4 Letter from the principal of one of the Schools

Appendix B: The search

- B1 Letters from the jail guard of CCMP
- B2 Newspaper report about M-A-M disappearances
- B3 Another newspaper report about a question in parliament

Appendix C: The court case

- C1 Newspaper report about the court case

Appendix D: The ICRC

- D1 Letter to ICRC by one family
- D2 A sample letter received by families from ICRC in 1995
- D3 Another letter from ICRC to the families
- D4 Letter from ICRC to the families in 2004

Appendix E: The Amnesty International

- E1 Newspaper report about an AI report
- E2 Two letters from Dutch AI member to one family

Appendix F: Families appeal to three different Presidents

- F1 A typical letter written to President Premadasa-1992
- F2 A letter written to President Chandrika-1994
- F3 A Presidential response in 1995
- F4 Letter to Joint Operations Commander
- F5 Letter from Operations head quarters

Appendix G: Commissions of inquiry

- G1 Letter from IRP Commission-1991
- G2 Letter from IRP Commission-1992
- G3 Letter from PCI-1995
- G4 PCI Form
- G5 Letter from PCI-98'
- G6 Letter from PCI-99;
- G7 Letter from PCI-99;

Appendix H: The follow-ups

- H1 Letter from SLHRC-2003

Foreword

Mandaitivu, Allaipiddy, and Mankumban (M-A-M) are three adjacent villages off the coast of Jaffna in the Northeast of Sri Lanka where at least 70 young men disappeared during the year 1990.

Our aim in writing this report is to find answers to the disappearances in the M-A-M villages. We ask the United Nations and the international community to help the parents who have been searching for these answers for the past fifteen years.

We believe that this Human Rights violation can be easily remedied in the current socio-political climate. We hope the international community will take up this appeal to find the answers on behalf of the parents involved.

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November 2005

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**He kept looking behind and
cried “amma, amma”**

1. Introduction

Between August 23rd 1990 and September 25th 1990, the Sri Lankan military detained hundreds of young men from the neighbouring villages of Mandaitivu, Allaipiddy, and Mankumban (M-A-M). At least seventy of those young men have not been heard from since.

From eight families more than one member has been taken. From one family three members has been taken.

The three villages, Mandaitivu, Allaipiddy and Mankumban, are situated just across the Dutch Fort in Jaffna. From here the Sri Lankan military launched its operations (see map on back cover). The majority of the people in the M-A-M villages were farmers, fishermen and toddy tappers. Prior to 1990 it was economically prosperous. Given that there were only about 800 families living in these three villages the impact of the incident on the villagers is substantial. The above two dates are engraved deeply in the psyche of the three villages.

For fifteen years the families have been searching for their loved ones. Eventually their search led them to us, at the NESOHR inquiry team. We spoke to 41 families who have lost 50 family members. From eight families more than one family member had been taken. In one family three family members had been taken.

2. The Base List

We were presented with a list of names of the disappeared that had been produced soon after the incident by the Assistant Government Agent (AGA) for the area concerned. In this list there is a total of 70 names. The original list was divided into three parts for the people from the three different villages. In the list we have marked these as MT01 to MT28 for the 28 names from Mandaitivu, AP01 to AP32 for the 32 names from Allaipiddy and MK01 to MK10 for 10 names from Mankumban. This adds to the original 70 names.

We were also presented with another list of 22 names. There were three new names in this list. We have included these three names in our list as AP33+, AP34+ and MK11+.

In addition when families told us about other members of their family who were affected we have added them to the list and marked with an “n” to indicate new. These are MT29n to MT32n; AP35n to AP39n; and MK12n

to MK13n.

Three people, MT12, AP31 and AP32, in the original AGA list of 70 names disappeared in different circumstances and we have marked them with a “-”. We have also marked those families whom we have not been able to meet with a “*”.

Base List of M-A-M disappearances in 1990 with additions of serious violations in the same families

Notes on the markers in the following base list

- + *Those who should be but not in the AGA list*
- n** *Family members not in the list and seriously affected;*
- * *This commission has not contacted these families;*

MT = Mandaitivu; AP = Allaipiddy; MK = Mankumban

ID.No	Same family	Name	Age at Disapp	Ward No	Date of Disapp	Place of Disapp
01.	MT01 f1	S Vijeyaratnam	23	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
02.	MT02 f1	S Sugirtharatnam	19	3	23-09-90	MK Schl
03.	MT03 f1	S Premaratnam	16	3	23-09-90	MK Schl
04.	MT04	T Iruthayarasa	26	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
05.	MT05	S Selvanayakam	26	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
06.	MT06	C Vimalathas	20	4	25-08-90	MK Schl
07.	MT07 f2	Anthony Robert	19	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
08.	MT29n f2	V Balaraja	39	4	xx-02-91	Vavuniya
09.	MT08	K Peterpaul	17	3	25-08-90	MK Schl
10.	MT09	S Suwakeempillai	30	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
11.	MT10	A Alagaraja	19	4	23-09-90	Philipneri
12.	MT11*	P Sathyapalan	34	7	23-09-90	MK Schl
13.	MT12-	Charles A Annathas	27	5	13-11-90	At Sea
14.	MT13 f3	Alampin Robert	18	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
15.	MT30n f3	Anton Asillas	25	4	25-08090	Shot dead
16.	MT14	Wilfred Thevarasa	26	5	23-09-90	MK Schl

17.	MT15		P Kanthalingam	24	2	25-08-90	MT Kovil
18.	MT16		S Aravinthan	20	7	26-08-90	MT Kovil
19.	MT17		R Suthaharan	20	7	25-08-90	PhilipNei
20.	MT18	f4	T Sathanantharasa	20	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
21.	MT26	f4	M Thavaseelan	24	2	25-08-90	MT
22.	MT19*		T Balarathnam	20	1	06-09-90	AP
23.	MT20		S Vijibalan	21	2	06-09-90	AP
24.	MT21*		T Saddanatharpaillai	28	1	26-08-90	MT
25.	MT22		R Vipulananthar	30	2	25-08-90	AP
26.	MT23*		S Sathyaseelan	29	2	25-08-90	MT
27.	MT24		S Ratman Jeyaseelan	23	3	25-08-90	AP
28.	MT25	f5	N Kuhanantharasa	24	1	06-09-90	AP
29.	MT31n	f5	N Satchithanantharasa	24	1	xx-xx-86	Beaten
30.	MT27	f6	S Anpalakan	19	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
31.	MT32n	f6	Thaveethu Benjamin	25	3	xx-10-92	Shot
32.	MT28		T Raveenthiran	21	8	23-09-90	MK Schl
33.	AP01*		S Sivapalan	19	1	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
34.	AP02*		S Sivakumar	19	1	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
35.	AP03		S Lingeswaran	21	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
36.	AP04	f7	T Gnanenthiran	20	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
37.	AP25	f7	T Arulnesan	22	3	23-09-90	MK Schl
38.	AP05*		R Muruhananthan	21	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
39.	AP06		P Pathmarasa	20	1	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
40.	AP07*		R Raveenthiran	20	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
41.	AP08	f8	Michael Sylvister	32	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
42.	AP09	f8	Anthony Arokyarasa	23	1	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
43.	AP10		Yesuthasa		3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
44.	AP11*		S Sivabalasingam	28	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
45.	AP12		K Piramatheeswaran	22	1	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
46.	AP13		K Balasingam	30	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
47.	AP14		A Jeyaseelan	23	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
48.	AP15*		S Raveenthiran	22	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
49.	AP16*		M Sinthanthurai	35	2	30-08-90	PhilipNeri
50.	AP17		Nobert Ramesh	19	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
51.	AP18		S Selvanathan	21	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
52.	AP19		S Sivaruban	16	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri

53.	AP20		S Ranjithkumar	15	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
54.	AP21		K Rasasekaram	21	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
55.	AP22	f9	Pathinathar Dias	22	2	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
56.	AP35n	f9	Pathinathar Senyute	27	2	xx-05-90	Near Fort
57.	AP23*		T Santhalingam	20	1	23-09-90	MK Schl
58.	AP24*		T Simon	20	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
59.	AP26		Y Edward	21	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
60.	AP27	f10	T Selvaratnam	25	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
61.	AP28	f10	T Arokyanathan	23	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
62.	AP29		Madutheen Antonit	21	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
63.	AP30*		S Mahendran	20	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
64.	AP31-	f11	V Anton Arulthas	26	2		Nochikadu
65.	AP32-	f11	V Donbosco	19	2		Nochikadu
66.	AP33+*		N Yesuthas	28	3	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
67.	AP34+	f12	George Sylvister	20	2	23-09-90	MK Schl
68.	AP36n	f12	S Thruhelvam				
69.	AP37n		Nicholas Dias Edwin	17	3	17-07-96	Araly
70.	AP38n		Michael Stanis	19	2		At Sea
71.	AP39n		P Varothayanathan	18	2	05-02-93	At sea
72.	MK01*		T Yogarasa	18	4	25-08-90	MK Mosq
73.	MK02*		T Rajkumar	32	4	26-08-90	MT Templ
74.	MK03*		P Jeyachandran	18	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
75.	MK04	f13	K Indrakumar	21	4	23-09-90	MK Schl
76.	MK05	f13	K Vijayakumar	19	4	23-09-90	MK Schl
77.	MK06	f14	T Suntharalingam	24	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
78.	MK12n	f14	T Rathakrishnan				Shot dead
79.	MK07	f15	Jeyakumar	22	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
80.	MK13n	f15	Uthayakuar				
81.	MK08*		S Arulnesan	28	4	25-08-90	PhilipNeri
82.	MK09*		P Thavam	18	4	23-09-90	MK Schl
83.	MK10*		N Ratnasingam	45	4	09-09-90	MK Schl
84.	MK11+*		P Sathyeswaran		4	23-09-90	MK Schl

3. The Background

The Tamil youth militancy over a period of 10 years prior to this incident has created many rebel groups. Besides the LTTE, there were, TELO, PLOTE, EPDP, EPRLF and EROS, as well as a few other smaller groups. LTTE by now has gained the recognition as the leading group.

By mid 1990 when the M-A-M disappearances happened, the civil war in Sri Lanka was coming close to a decade long. Just prior to this the Indian military intervention in the Northeast of Sri Lanka, that lasted three and a half years, has ended when the Indian military withdrew in the beginning of 1990.

During the Indian intervention and the subsequent war between the Indian military and the LTTE, all the other Tamil militant groups except a small splinter group from EROS were helping the Indian military against the LTTE. This cooperation of the other militant groups with the Indian forces has continued as cooperation with the Sri Lankan forces after the departure of the Indian military.

One particular militant group, the EPDP, and its leader Douglas Devananda figures prominently in the stories of families of M-A-M disappearances whom we have met. Douglas Devananda and his group EPDP subsequently became a political party. Douglas Devananda the only EPDP member in the current parliament is a coalition partner with the government. President Kumaratunge has appointed him as a Cabinet Minister for Ministry of Rehabilitation of Northeast. It is also worth noting the votes gained by EPDP in the last two parliamentary general elections in Appendix I.

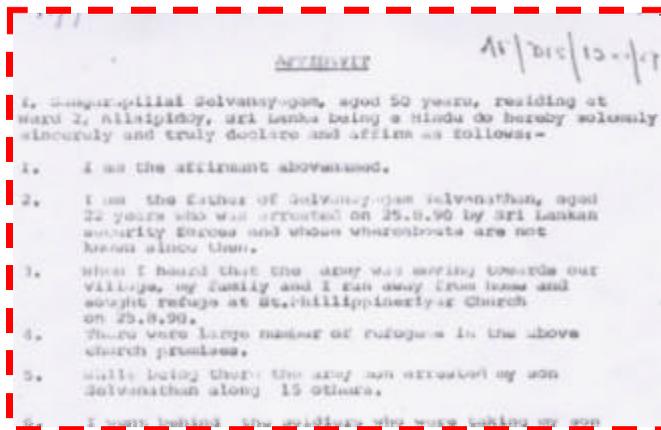
4. The Roundups

The two affidavits in Appendix A1 and A2 describe in precise detail the events surrounding the roundups. The affidavits refer to 28-08-90 and 23-09-90. Hundreds of families had taken refuge in churches, temples and mosques after instruction from the military. On 28-08-90 close to 500 young men between the ages of 15 and 45 were taken away from the PhilipNeri's church in Allaipiddy. This is the imagery created by the narratives of the families.

The entire village took refuge in the church. The army came and rounded up hundreds of able-bodied men and took them away, tied together. The women screamed and ran behind, begging the army to leave them. The army threatened the women with guns, shot over their heads and physically beat them back. Meanwhile, the army instructed the children to recite, “We do not want Tamileelam”.

Most of the men were later released little by little over a period of 10 days or so. Two young men from two different families that are also searching for another missing young man from the base list were shot dead by the army during this same period by the military. Please read the two cases in Section 13 one told by a sister Albosamma in case MT13 and another by brother Thanabalasingam in case MK06.

Again the army arrived early in the morning on 23-09-90 to a school and a Pillaiyar temple in Mankumban where the people were told to go. People were still asleep. The armed men hit the sleeping young men on the head and ordered them



to get up. Sisters gave their babies to their brothers to hold in the hope that it will save their brothers. The story repeats.

Less than two months after this second roundup the entire military camp disappeared from the villages together with around 70 young men.

5. The Douglas connection

All the families speak of the presence of Douglas Devananda and the late army commander Denzil Kobbekaduwa at the site. Families also speak of the assurance given by Douglas Devananda to the families that their children will be safe. The Jesuratnam family who are looking for three of their sons have the most detailed story to tell about the role of Douglas Devananda in this disappearance.

They met Douglas Devananda in the first week of June 1991. He got the particulars and then told them that he will go to Anuradhapura and will inform the family. The family went to Anuradhapura about ten times between 1991 and 1992 to meet Denzil Kobbekaduwa and succeeded in meeting him five times. When the family contacted Denzil Kobbekaduwa on 17th June 1991, he asked the family whether they have contacted Douglas Devananda about their children. Again on 13th May 1992 Kobbekaduwa told them that he would visit the islands of M-A-M and after that he will show the children to the family. They met Douglas again on 25th June 1992 when he assured them that he would speak to the family after a visit to the islands of M-A-M.

The family was called by the 1995 Presidential Commission of Inquiry. Theirs is the only family from the list that managed to attend the inquiry. This is because they were in Colombo and managed to get a date in Colombo. All the other families were displaced to Vanni during the period of the inquiry and were not contactable due to the communication and transport difficulties under the war situation. This family's inquiry was held on 12th June 1996. At the inquiry the three commissioners instructed the family to ask Douglas Devananda about their children. They also promised to inquire from Douglas Devananda and inform the family but the family did not hear anything from the Commissioners after that.

This family also claims that when they appealed through Miss Maheswari Velayutham to the Ministry of Rehabilitation she has told the family that one or two people are with EPDP and the rest are in army camps, working. Later in March 2004 she denied that she said this.

Below are some excerpts about the role of Douglas Devananda in this affair from what other families have told us.

S Ratman Jeyaseelan's (MT24) brother-in-law says,

My mother-in-law (Ratman's mother) and I went and spoke to Douglas Devananda. We asked him to release Rattu since he is a boy who does not have a father. Douglas said "He is a good child and we will not do anything to him. We are keeping him only to transport water". ... Rattu's van is sandalwood colour. After that whenever I see the van at a distance I run towards it. When I go there Douglas Devananda will be there. They will be transporting water. When Rattu's mother is there she will beg for Rattu's release. Douglas will say "Amma why do I need your boy. I will keep him until we capture the Fort and then I will release him".

S Lingeswaran's (AP03) brother Lingavasan says,

On the fourth day they broke the ration shop and took rice and other stuff and told us to cook and eat. Douglas Devananda came. He looked very young. He read the list and he released my second brother. One commander who was good to me inquired me and released me. My older brother was not released. Douglas said that they inquired everywhere and that they cannot find him”.

K Rasasekaram’s (AP21) father says,

“They took my younger son as well and released him on the fourth day. I asked Douglas when we were standing at the Allaipiddy junction. I told him that if he needs people for help I will come and to let my son go. They were giving welfare on the road. About 15 or 20 days after our children were taken he said that they are all there. We heard that they were taken to Manalaru”.

S Jeyakumar’s (MK07) sister Vimaladevi says,

“Douglas came. We begged and cried to him. He told us “Amma your boys are not with the army. We are keeping them. We will let them go soon”. His men then gave rice and other dry rations to us at the junction. We told them that we do not want anything and to just give us our children back. To this he consoled us by saying, “Amma did I not say that they are with me. Why are you still asking? I will relax when I give them back to you. I will give them before the 24th of next month”. We were confident that our boys would be released. So we took the rations and went back. This happened 2 or three times. ... Army was in the Fort. We heard that when those army came they killed all our boys. Once we asked Douglas at the junction about this and he said, “Amma I took the responsibility. They will not do anything to them. Do not worry”.

6. The Search – Inquiry No 1

The Jesuratnam family (MT01-MT03) made their own private inquiries through contacts in the various prisons. They received the two letters in Appendix B1 from two prison guards. A prison guard who was working in the Trincomalee CCMP jail wrote the first letter to another prison guard Pathmanathan. Pathmanathan wrote the second letter to Jesuratnam, attaching the first letter. The first letter lists the names of six young men in the base list and says that they with 80 others were in the CCMP jail on 14th August 1992. The courts released many of these men. However, these men were then taken to the Fort and then transported to Colombo by ship.

The second letter directs the Jesuratnam family to go to the Human rights Task Force office. Jesuratnam family says that they did go to this office. When they went Souza was the person in charge. After listening to the family and seeing the letters Souza contacted the CCMP jail in Trincomalee and confirmed that the six young men were indeed in this jail on the specified date.



The 1995 newspaper report in Appendix B2 repeats the story of the Trincomalee jail and says that the young men were taken to Manaluru army camp. The report quotes a human rights body as the source of the information.

The 1992 newspaper report in the Tamil daily Veerakesari in Appendix

B3 refers to a question and answer in parliament. It refers to the 70 names in the base list. In response to a question from the floor the then Prime Minister D B Wijetunge has said that everyone except six people who were taken in from the M-A-M villages have been released and the six are being kept in Vavuniya and Palaly military camps.

Also of importance is a comment made by the chief of all three forces Hamilton Vanasighe to the Jesuratnam family in Colombo. When Jesuratnam visited him looking for their three sons, Hamilton Vanasighe is supposed to have checked a list on the computer and told Jesuratnam that the names of their children will not in the army list.

7. The Court case – Inquiry No 2

Families received letters from the Free Legal Aid service offering aid if they wish to take the case to the courts. Most families were not in a position to even take up this offer because families needed to travel to Colombo to receive this.

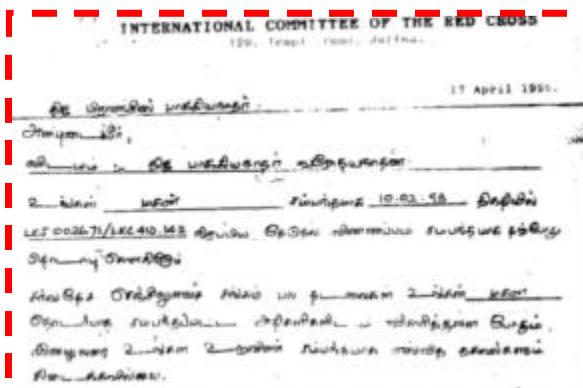
One family, parents of Suthaharan (MT17) took a case to the high courts in Colombo demanding their son be brought to the courts. This is what Suthaharan’s mother Vasanthaladchumy says dismissively about the court case.

“There were seven sittings of the courts on his case. After the last hearing they told me that they would write to us about the next stage. By this time it was 1994 and there was the change of government. We never heard from the courts after that. His court case identification is Court208/Case37”.

A newspaper report of the case filed by this family can be found in Appendix C1.

8. The ICRC – Inquiry No 3

The M-A-M disappearances perhaps is the first set of cases that would have been handled by ICRC in Sri Lanka because ICRC started their operations in Sri Lanka in 1990. All the families of M-A-M disappearances made entry with ICRC about their son’s disappearance. In the letter written by Suthaharan’s (MT17) family they point out to ICRC about one man who was taken in during 1990 and was missing for 11 years and then surfaced. See the letter in Appendix D1.



ICRC appeared to have initiated an inquiry or meeting in 1995. Some families had telegraphs to their address in Vanni where they were displaced asking them to attend the inquiry. They however, could not attend the inquiry in Vavuniya due to transport difficulties.

Also given in Appendix D2 and D3 are two typical letters written by ICRC to the families saying that they have not succeeded in locating their loved one.

ICRC has recently contacted all the families in their list with the standard letter in Appendix D4 asking their permission to publish the names of their missing loved one.

9. The Amnesty International – Inquiry No 4

ICRC appeared to have informed Amnesty International (AI) about the M-A-M disappearances. ICRC has also requested from the families photos of the disappeared persons to be sent to AI. Many families had with them letters sent by AI members from different western countries which also referred to the photos that were sent to them. The letters expressed sympathy and support and some assured the families that they will try and locate their missing loved one. Two letters from an AI member from Netherlands to Selvanayagam's (MT05) family is given in Appendix E2. Some other addresses from which similar letters were received by the M-A-M families are given below.

1. German AI member letter from, Ingrid Stiepher, Steigenster, 11a, 84585, Sulzbach, Rosenberg to Wilfred Thevarasa's (MT14) family.
2. Britain AI member letter from 34, Hillview road, Portchester, Fareham, Hampshire, P016 8DB to Ratman Jayaseelan's (MT24) family.
3. Dutch AI member letter from M Van Spanje-Bruning, Vierde Rompert 75, 5233 GA, Hertogenbosch to Kuhanantharasa's (MT25) family.
4. New Zealand AI member letter from Robert Jones, 110, Carlton Avenue, Wanganui to Lingeswaran's (AP03) family.

NESOHR inquiry team noticed the high expectations that the families placed on these letters that came from "overseas" assuring them that their loved one will be found. No doubt the AI members who wrote those letters also thought that they were doing a minimal service for the families in distress. Are the organizations in the middle, namely ICRC and AI doing a service, by putting the two innocent people in two distant places in contact with each other?

AI also seemed to have issued a report about the disappearance of five people. NESOHR has not been able to locate this report. However, a newspaper report in Appendix E1 refers to this AI report and lists the five names reported by AI. Why AI listed only five names remains a mystery.

This AI report identified five people who disappeared from the Allaipiddy Pillaiyar temple. Of these the first three names are in the base list used by NESOHR. The last two names, **Ramasamy Ravichandran**, and **Thirunavukkarasu Ravikumar**, are not in the base list.

It is clear that AI had full knowledge of the incident as early as 1991-92. During this period, Jaffna including the M-A-M areas was under LTTE control. Travel to Jaffna from Colombo was possible. The presence of ICRC that was in possession of the full details of the disappeared and contact information of the families would have made the preparation of such a report an easy task. Yet there appears to be no substantive report by AI on this incident. It is worth contemplating the reason for this.

10. The Family appeals – Inquiry No 5

Families wrote to the two presidents who held the office from 1990 to date. Nothing substantial was received from the Presidential office except an acknowledgement. During President Kumaratunge's period the responses referred to the upcoming commission of inquiry. Some samples of the responses are in Appendix F. President Premadasa met three parents in person in Vavuniya raising their hopes and this were reported in the newspapers.

Typical letters written by parents to the three presidents are in Appendix F1 and F2. One response from the President's office is given in Appendix F3 and in other responses from the President's office in 1995 the upcoming commission of inquiry was promised.

Parents wrote tirelessly to the army commanders seeking the return of their sons. A sample letter to the army commander is in Appendix F4. A reply from the Operational Head Quarters to one family saying that the army did not take their son is in Appendix F5.

11. The Commissions – Inquiry No 6

In 1991 a Commission of Inquiry was initiated for the “Involuntary Removal of Persons”. The commission had given identification numbers starting with “IRP” for the cases they inquired into. One letter from this commission is in Appendix G1. This tells the family that the 1990

Jesuratnam family is the only family that did manage to attend an inquiry in Colombo where they were told to contact Douglas Devananda about their three missing children.

disappearance does not come under the terms of reference of this commission. Appendix G2 is a letter to one family from this commission requesting them to fill a form. There was no further communication from this commission to the families.

About 13 families mainly the Mandaitivu families went to Colombo in 1992 to attend an inquiry by the Civilian Data Service, Essential Services Commissioner, in Alfred House Garden. Families have not heard from this inquiry at all.

The next commission of inquiry was appointed in 1995 to specifically inquire the disappearances in Northeast. Appendix G3 is the typical letter and Appendix G4 is the form received by the families. However, as the war resumed almost all the parents in the M-A-M disappearance could not attend the hearings in Colombo. In fact most of them were displaced from their homes and were in Vanni (LTTE controlled area) when this hearing was conducted in Colombo. As mentioned in Section 4, Jesuratnam family is the only family that did manage to attend an inquiry in Colombo where they were told to contact Douglas Devananda about their three missing children.

Then in 1998 M C M Iqbal was given the job of completing this inquiry and two sample letters from him to the families are given in Appendix G5 and G6. Many families who were still in Vanni at this time could not attend even this inquiry. Those who did attend were all sent certificates like the one in Appendix G7. This certificate specifies that the person cannot be traced. This certificate states that it is issued to satisfy the requirement under the 1998, 58th, death certificate registration (temporary arrangement) law. This law was temporarily in place in order to facilitate the issue of death certificates for those people who have been missing for many years.

The law lapsed in December 2001. This is prior to the signing of the ceasefire agreement between the LTTE and the government. Thus the period during which this law was in force was 1998-2001. This was a period of very high intensity war and the government would have been aware that many civilians living in the LTTE administered regions were unable to make use of this temporary law that facilitated the issue of death certificates. Lawyers in Jaffna have told NESOHR that they have many cases of disappearances whose families are unable to obtain death certificate because the temporary law lapsed in 2001, when these families were still displaced in Vanni.

Accessibility to the reports by the Presidential Commissions of Inquiry into involuntary disappearances is highly limited. NESOHR encountered problems in getting access to these reports. This problem of accessibility was also noted in the report by UN Working Group on Involuntary Disappearances which visited Sri Lanka twice in the 1990's. The Working Group noted that these reports are not available in the libraries. NESOHR discovered that they are not available even in the SLHRC branch in Jaffna where large number of people have disappeared. Indeed when we contacted the Sri Lankan Human Rights Commission (SLHRC) branch in Jaffna to ask if they had the PCI reports on disappearances they said they did have the report. We made a special trip to Jaffna to view the report only to find that it was the very limited report by the SLHRC described below and not the PCI report mentioned in the UN Working Group report. One can see that even the officers at SLHRC were not sufficiently aware of the PCI reports to be able to distinguish between those reports and the SLHRC report.

12. The Committee of Sri Lanka HRC – Inquiry No 7

Sri Lanka Human Rights Commission (SLHRC) appointed a committee in December 2002 to investigate the disappearances in Jaffna during the period of 1990-1998. Although the period covered by this committee is claimed to be from 1990 to 1998 and the M-A-M disappearances was during this period, the mandate of the SLHRC committee was limited to inquire only into the disappearances in three lists. The Guardians and Parents of the disappeared people in North provided list one. The Displaced North Muslims Organization provided list two and list three is the list of

complaints received by the Jaffna branch of the Sri Lanka Human Rights Commission. Their report was published in October 2003.

A close look at the cases inquired into by the committee of SLHRC shows that it includes only some of those disappeared in period from 1996-1997. These cases were most likely mainly from the list provided by the Guardians and Parents of those Arrested and Disappeared. The list given by the Displaced North Muslims Organization includes Muslims disappeared in 1990. All other disappearances in Jaffna during this period from 1990-1998 are ignored by this committee's inquiry. Given this, the period specified in the committee's mandate appears to have been chosen for the sole purpose of including the disappearances of the Muslim people in Jaffna in 1990.

The NESOHR team investigating the M-A-M incident and the families concerned searched in vain for the names of their loved ones in this committee's report.

13. The Follow-ups – Inquiry No 8

Some families contacted the Sri Lanka Human Rights Commission (SLHRC) three years ago when they opened the office in Jaffna. They have some responses from SLHRC, but none has given any definitive answers to the families. One response is in Appendix H1.

The District Secretariat (Kachcheri) has sent forms to the families within the last three months asking what they would like. Many parents expressed anger for the way the question is posed to them.

14. Families of disappeared



S Vijeyaratnam, S Sugirtharatnam, and S Premaratnam (MT01, MT02, MT03) are children of Jesuratnam and Tharmarane. All three children were taken away on the two infamous days. Understandably the parents have pursued relentlessly to locate their three sons. They are the first family to approach NESOHR with the case and forced NESOHR to deal with it.

Vijeyaratnam their eldest son was aged 23, their second son Sugirtharatnam was aged 19 and their third son Premaratnam was aged 17 when they were taken away. Vijeyaratnam was awaiting the results of his application for University entrance and after his disappearance the letter admitting him to a course at Jaffna University arrived. Other two sons were still studying at St Patrick's School in Jaffna. The army on 25-08-90 took all three sons. The two younger sons were released the following day and taken again on the other infamous day of 23-09-90.

The multiple displacement of the family is typical of all of the families we spoke to. The Jesuratnam family moved from the Allaipiddy Philip Neri's church, where their eldest son was taken and never returned, to Mankumban school where their other two sons were taken and never returned. With the rest of their family of one remaining boy and three girls they moved to the Chaddi church. From there they were displaced to Jaffna in May 1991. Then with the mass exodus in October 1995 they moved to Chavakachcheri and from there to Mulangavil in Vanni in a

week. From there they moved to Madu church in 2001. They returned to Mandaitivu in 2002.

T Iruthayarasa (MT04) was aged 26 when he was taken away. He is the son of Thiraviyarasa who is the brother of Jesuratnam mentioned above. Thus Iruthayarasa is the first cousin of the three boys mentioned above who have been taken away. His occupation was fishing. His sister contacted NESOHR. He is the only boy in the family and the distraught parents are living out their last days at the Madu church in Mannar.



S Selvanayagam (MT05) was 25 years old when he was taken away. He was fishing for his livelihood. His mother Reetamma met the NESOHR inquiry team. She had four children, two boys and two girls. The eldest daughter was already married at the time of this incident. Selvanayagam is the second eldest. His younger sister joined LTTE soon after Selvanayagam disappeared. His father died in 1997. Mother Reetamma says,

“They took my son-in-law as well and he was released the next day. He said that he saw Selvanayagam at the Aluminium factory drinking water (cries). Next day I went with the other parents to see the army. My husband is sickly, therefore I went everywhere to search and complain. Douglas Devananda was at the Aluminum factory. We pleaded, begged and screamed to let our children go. They said they are keeping our children in Mandaitivu. Douglas kept saying that he will release them tomorrow. In reality they had no plans to release our children.

My son was 25 when he disappeared and he looked like a prince. When he was young he got sick a lot and I took him everywhere for treatment. It would have been easier to bear it if my son died of illness.

I cried to the army that my son is the only one who can take care of my family. My son wanted to give his sister away in marriage and give her a good life. Once he went the entire family was broken and destroyed.

Once, when I was at the Urkavalthurai AGA office, to get widow's welfare, one girl who works there advised me to go to Douglas Devananda for good widow's welfare. I told her that I might put a white cloth at a street junction and accept the money passers by may put on the cloth but I will never go to Douglas. The girl did not say anything after that".

C Vimalathas (MT06) was aged 22 when he was taken away. He is also a cousin of the Jesuratnam boys mentioned above. He is the son of Varaprakasam Christopher and Indranee. His father Christopher says,



"Both my children Vijakumar and Vimalathas were taken by the army from Philipneri's church. Vimalathas came back the next day but Vijayakumar didn't. By then we have moved to Mankumban. I cried in front of mother Mary and waited. Vijayakumar came back on the 13th day. He kept asking his mother, "Amma we should not stay here. Let us go somewhere else". But there was no way of getting out of there and we did not have the means either. We did not even have a change of clothes. We left

everything and ran away. People collected clothes from homes and distributed to us. They also gave us some food items and we started cooking. On September 23rd Vikayakumar my eldest son is with me at the west end of school and Vimalathas is with his mother at the east end. Army came to the east end in the morning and knocked the boys who were sleeping on their head and said "getup getup" and took them away including my boy. All the mothers started crying out loud and screaming. Army warned them with the guns. Mothers got frightened and stayed behind in the Palmarah yard and were crying aloud.

My home is destroyed. Living is very hard. We complained to everyone who would listen to no avail. ICRC asked us to send photos to London. We got letters from London. It said that they would find our boys very soon. I was looking for a photo to give to you. My children have hidden it from us parent to save us the trauma of looking at the photos. (cries)".



Anthony Robert (MT07) was 19 when he was taken away. He was a student studying at St Charles Mahavidhyalam school in Jaffna. He has just sat his GCE OL test. Principal's letter is provided in Appendix A4. He was living with his parents and brother at the time of the incident. Both brothers were taken in from the PhilipNeri's church. Younger brother Jeyathan was released in a few days. Their father died in 1991 January a few months after the disappearance of his son. Their mother died recently. The eldest son of the family was working in

Colombo at the time of the incident. Eldest son's father-in-law **V Balaraja (MT29n)** disappeared while travelling from Jaffna to Vavuniya in February 1991. He is a businessman and he was going to Vavuniya to purchase stock. The last reported sighting of him was at the Madu temple in Mannar where he stayed before proceeding to Vavuniya.



K Peterpaul (MT08) was 17 years old when he disappeared. He was a student at St Patrick's school in Jaffna. His father Sebastia Iruthayanathar says,

"They said they will release him in a month. We have gone everywhere and we are exhausted. We got a letter saying my son is not in their detainee list and we must get the death certificate and obtain the compensation. I told them to get lost. We did not get any reply to all the complaints we lodged everywhere. We hoped that almighty will give our child back but we are losing hope now. We hear a lot of

stories about the whereabouts of our boys".



S Swakeempillai (MT09) was 30 years old when he was taken away. His wife Selineyutsa was three months pregnant at that time. She spoke to the NESOHR inquiry team. Swakeempillai was fishing for their living. His wife has survived and raised their daughter by selling food that she cooks at home.



Augustine Alagaraja (MT10) was 18 when he disappeared. He is the third child of Augustine and Amalaseeli. They have six children. Alagaraja was studying at school. His mother Amalaseeli says,

“When the army came in 1990 we were very scared. In 1986 they came in a boat and killed 31 people in Mandaitivu. At that time we all walked through sea and ran to Allaipiddy. We stayed in the church for two days before returning to Mandaitivu.

In 1990 we were first displaced and living in someone else’s backyard. We moved into the church later. August 1st is Sampethuruvar festival. We all decided to go back to Mandaitivu for it. Gunboats were constantly firing.

On 25th they took my second and third sons when we were staying at PhilipNeri’s church and released both of them on the next day. My eldest son was following classes in Jaffna at that time. On the third day I thought I would make rice kanchi and I called out to my children to come and drink it when the army came and said that they are going to move in and told us to move three miles further away. So we moved. They came looking for my son and called him. I gave my three year old son to him to hold. Army yelled at him to put the baby down. My son kept turning behind and

crying “amma amma” while they took him away. (cries). I told him not to be scared and that I will speak to the Father.

After this we stayed at the church and then went to Mandaitivu after a week come back and went again and again. We went through hell. We did not have decent food. We cry when we eat”.

Alampin Robert (MT13) was 20 when he was taken away. On the same day of 25-08-90 when he was taken away his older brother. **Anton Asillas (MT30n) was shot dead by the military.** His sister Albosamma whose husband was also shot dead a few months prior to this incident says,

“When Robert was taken away his older brother Asillas has gone to our uncle’s house. When he was there, suddenly supersonic started bombing. My uncle’s family and my brother went and took refuge in a Pillaiyar temple. Supersonic started to bomb around the temple. So they ran into bunkers. Army suddenly appeared and rounded up everyone in the bunkers. They called away my uncle’s family. Next morning when we went to look at the bunker we saw my brother shot dead with his hands tied to the back.

My husband had a shop in 1989. On April 14th some people came in a white van and took him away. IPKF was there at that time. People came and told us that his body was in front of St Sebastian church in Karaveddy. We went and brought his body. After my husband died it was these two brothers who took care of me and my four children. Now they are also gone”

Wilfred Thevarasa (MT14) was 26 when he disappeared. His father is from Mandaitivu and his mother is from Mayiliddy, which is near the Palaly airport. The family lived in Mayiliddy. Thevarasa’s father Gnanaprakasam says,

“My son was doing farming. One day in 1986 after returning from a visit to the doctor Thevarasa was taken by force in a motorcycle by the EPRLF and he was made to join in their group. They kept him until April 1990, that is until the Indian military (IPKF) left. Soon LTTE took him in on suspicion. After inquiries he was released in 19 days. But they did not bring him home immediately. They kept him in Jaffna for some more days. Then they released him. This was sometime in September 1990.



I had a successful business owning a lorry, bullock cart, land for rice cultivation and a coconut plantation (voice breaks). In August 1990 I had just bought a new lorry and I was coming back with a full load from Vavuniya. There was a long queue of 144 vehicles waiting at the military checkpoint. I was 44th. But they let all the other vehicles go and made me stay. They damaged many of the vehicles in the queue including mine. They beat me. When they let me go I brought the lorry to Mayiliddy. I needed to

repair my lorry. My house is on the other side of the road from the Palaly airport. I stayed there on 13,14 and 15th of August 1990. During this time helicopter bombed the area and next door to me 9 people were killed. I have a lot of land along the airport run way. Now I have none for my use. At least give me a house to live in.

I went to Mandaitivu with my lorry. I left the lorry at a relative house. People in Mandaitivu have told me not to bring the lorry to Mandaitivu because once before when I went there with the lorry the army was shelling the place a lot more because the lorry was there. About 25 gunboats were constantly shelling. So I left the lorry with my licence, insurance and everything and went to Mandaitivu.

They were all at the PhilipNeri's church. Army told us to cook and eat. I went to collect some firewood. Water in the rice pot has not even started to boil and I saw people screaming and running. We all went on our knees in the church and were crying. The army came and divided the men and women and then divided the men into age groups. They tied them together with ropes and took them away. They took my sons and sons-in-law too and then released them in three days. Twenty-six people from the group that the army took away at first have not come back. Then we all displaced to Mankumban School. One morning army came and knocked our sleeping children on their head and told them to get up and took them away. Thevarasa was also taken away.

I have seen the army using my lorry for their purpose. I have a letter from Grama Sevaka saying that the army was using my lorry. I cannot find the lorry now. People said that if the military is using my lorry then I am entitled for compensation. I went to Kytes with the letter. But they refused to make an entry saying that the military is using it. They told me to say that my lorry is lost but I did not do that.

I sent my other son to go fishing although he was not used to it. Life was hard so I had to send him. He died in the sea in an accident with another boat.

When I go to bed at night I cannot bear it. My child asked for tea at 11.00 pm and went to bed. At 5.30 am in the morning they came and took him away”.

P Kanthalingam (MT15) was 24 years old when he was taken away. His family is from Vaddukkoddai. Kanthalingam and his father were living in Mandaitivu at that time. They were both working as toddy tappers. His parents died. His sister P Kala gave their information to NESOHR.



S Aravinthan (MT16) was 17 years old when he was taken away. He was a student at Mandaitivu Mahavidhyalaym. His father Sivaguru says,



“We were at the Mankumban School for one month. My wife met Douglas Devananda to ask for the release of Aravinthan. Devananda asked for a photo and we gave the only photo we had to him.

When we returned to Mandaitivu our hosue was destroyed and all our belongings were gone. The roofing of our house was by the

army used to build their security posts. I recovered them and repaired the roof of my house. In 1991 we displaced to Jaffna and then to Mallavi in 1995. One of our son was studying at Mallavi Mathyavidhyalaym. The school was bombed by the air force and several students died. After that my son refused to go to school”.



R Suthaharan (MT17) was 20 years old when he was taken away. He had just completed the GCE OL. He was in Negombo doing business. He came to Mandaitivu to attend a wedding when he get caught in the military operation and was taken away. His family went to Colombo immediately to initiate inquiries about his son. His mother Vasanthaladchumy says,

“We have five children and Suthaharan is the third. When they took the children away mothers who cried and ran behind were hit on the head with

the gun. Our house in Mandaitivu is burnt down.

We filed a case about our son’s disappearance. There were seven sittings of the courts on his case. After the last hearing they told me that they would write to us about the next stage. By this time it was 1994 and there was the change of government. We never heard from the courts after that. His court case identification is Court208/Case37”.



T Sathanantharasa (MT18) was 19 when he was taken away. He was working as a van driver. **M Thavaseelan (MT26)** is his cousin. He was 24 when he was taken away. There are two boys and three girls in Thavaseelan's family. The other boy in the family is in the Indian prison. Thavaseelan's mother Satkunabaladevi says,

"Thavaseelan was working in the Allaipiddy Aluminium factory. We were at the door of Vairavar (a Hindu idol in temple). The army came. They hit my son so hard his sarong fell down. My son was wearing a green shorts under his sarong. So the army said he was LTTE. The next day was Kodiyetram (first day of the festival season at temple). There was a lot of red paint on the ground. Every time there was shelling or bombing we were lying flat on the ground. So there was a lot a red paint on my son's body and his shirt. People explained this to the army but they did not understand. My three girls and I ran behind crying. They shot over our head and yelled in English ordering us to go inside. All my three girls have no life (not married). If my son is here he will earn and give us money. Our Mandaitivu home is there. It is close to the army camp. I am scared to go there with the three girls because of the army. I sent my other son to India after the disappearance of Thavaseelan. My sister is in India. The Indian police arrested him at the Indian airport and put him in jail. My sister has gone to see him. Apparently if we pay a lot of money they will release him. Where can I go for so much money? I got three letters from my son in jail."

Vijibalan (MT20) was 18 when he was taken away. He was studying at Mandaitivu Mahavidhyalayam school. His mother Santhanaludchumy says.

“We have 6 children and he is the fourth boy. Two boys were studying in Jaffna at the time of the incident. Two boys and the girl were with us. Army arrested both boys. Vijibalan was taken to Mandaitivu and the other boy was kept at the Aluminium factory. Their father who can speak English and Sinhalese went and explained to the army at the aluminium factory that our boy gets epilepsy and begged them to let him go. So they let him go. We never saw Vijibalan again. Vijibalan also would have thought that his father would somehow be able to get him released (voice breaks)”.



Vipulananthar (MT22) was 30 and was working as a cashier in a shop in Jaffna. His sister Rathidevi says,

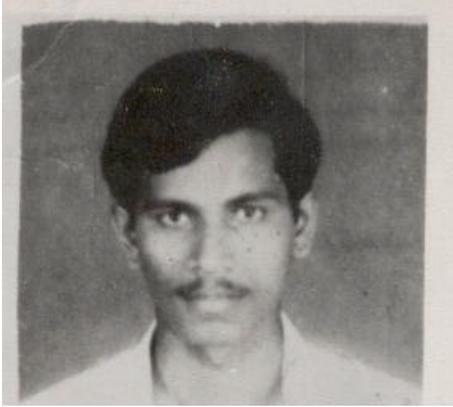
“There were just the two of us in the family, my brother and myself. Our father died long before the incident. He looked just like this photot when they took him away. Amma went everywhere that people told her to go including ICRC. She died in 1995 following our displacement to Vanni. I have the ICRC book that they gave when amma registered the disappearance of my brother. I also have

a letter from overseas written to amma. When the army came my brothers and a few others of his age ran to Allaipiddy and took refuge in the PhilipNeri’s church. Amma and I were at the Mandaitivu Pillaiyar temple. My cousins who were at the PhilipNeri church with my brother told us later that the army took my brother away”.

S Ratman Jeyaseelan (MT24) studied to be a priest but he had to leave because he did not do well enough at the GCE OL test. He was 23 when he was taken away. His sister Pathimasini says,

“Amma used to do everything to search for him. She is dead now. She filled every form that was given to her. We went to Madu after 1995. After that we were not able to continue with the search. When they took Rattu they divided the men into categories. They took many and released them.

They did not release 13 boys from Mandaitivu. They were all from one



extended family. The army said they would release them every time we asked. We also believed what they said and waited in front of the army camps. People who came from Mandaitivu later all said that the children are all there. There are three children in our family. Our father died early. I am the eldest. My other brother is married and left. Our mother and Rattu were staying with us.”

Brother-in-law continues,

“I loaned money to Rattu to buy a van. Ratu was earning by hiring out the van. He will bring part of his earning to his sister to pay back the loan. My mother-in-law and I went and spoke to Douglas Devananda. We asked him to release Rattu since he is a boy who does not have a father. Douglas said “He is a good child and we will not do anything to him. We are keeping him only to transport water”. The water in Mandaitivu is not good quality. So the army was transporting water from Allaipiddy to Mandaitivu in the vans belonging to people that the army has taken over. Rattu’s van was one of them. The army took over all the vehicles as soon as they arrived. We did not know this then.

We were in the church. They took almost 800 men. They took us 100 at a time and checked us and then released us. They kept 13 from Mandaitivu. Four or five of them were drivers. They said the number of our van (29 Sri 1029) and asked for its owner. Rattu got up. They kept back 72 people and there were 13 from our place. His van is sandalwood colour. After that whenever I see the van at a distance I ran towards it. When I go there Douglas Devananda will be there. They will be transporting water. When Rattu’s mother is there and she begs for Rattu’s release. Douglas will say “Amma why do I need your boy. I will keep him until we capture the fort and then I will release him”.

Fort was captured on a Wednesday by the Tigers. We went to the Aluminium factory. There was heavy fighting. They said to come tomorrow. When we went on Thursday there was no one. We looked for the boys but they were not there. One of the doors of our van was near the Aluminium factory. I think they removed the door to make it easy to carry

water. We did not go near it. One woman who went down was blown by landmine.

They kept the old people in the temple in Mandaitivu and fed them. One old man named Singarayar who is now dead said that he saw Rattu carting water. About five or six people in reasonable health who went to this temple with old people were killed by the army.”

Sister Pathimasini continues,

“We were in Madu church till 1999. Army came to Madu then and asked us to leave. We were then living in the backyards of other people. In 2003 we wanted to go back to Mandaitivu. They cancelled our refugee rations. UNHCR said that they would provide transport. We waited for one month but they did not give us transport. So we came on our own.”

Kuhanantharasa (MT25) disappeared from Allaipiddy on 6 September 1990 after being taken away by the army.



He was aged 24 then. Mother carries all the documents about both her sons neatly as if it were her children. She is unable to talk about it and starts crying the moment she attempts. It was therefore difficult to get precise information from her. **Satchithanantharasa (MT31n)** her elder son was taken by the army in mid 1986 during the incident when the army that arrived in boats killed 31 people. Suntharam says,

“Military took Sachithananthan in 1986 to Palaly. They beat him and broke his leg. They left him with another person in the forest. They crawled to Kondavil. People came and told us. His father went and brought him home. He remained an invalid for the rest of his life. He died in 1999 an invalid. Our home is in the high security zone. We are living in the backyard of my sister.

I am carrying these things as if they are my children. (cries). I am a cursed one who has lost both my sons. We got letters from overseas.”



S Anpalakan (MT27) was 18 when he was taken away. His mother Lavaronsiyamma and his father together with two more parents of those disappeared from Mandaitivu met late President Premadasa in 1995 when he came to Vavuniya. This was reported in the Tamil dailies. Premadasa has told them that he will inquire into their cases. Lavaronsiyamma's son-in-law **Thaveethu Benjamin (MT32n)** was killed in the Kilali sea in October 1992. Benjamin was operating the boats that carried passengers across the sea during this period when the road route was closed. His co-

worker was arrested by the army and was kept in Palaly and released. Lavaronsiyamma says,

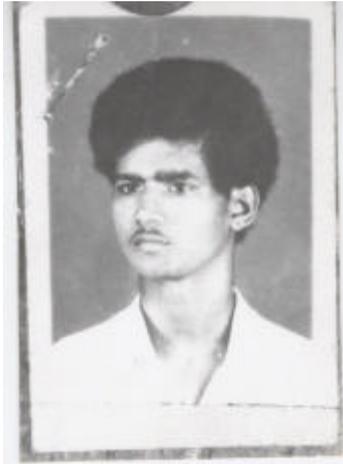
“We found his body only after it was pushed to shore by the waves. We performed the last rites at the shore and LTTE helped us bury the bodies. His wife, my daughter and her two children are now living in refugee camp”.



T Raveenthiran (MT28) was 21 years old when he disappeared. He was earning a living doing business. Her mother Rajeswari met the NESOHR inquiry team. She has three children. Her eldest son has lost the use of both legs after a polio attack. The other child is a girl. The army has burnt down their house in Mandaitivu. They are living in backyard of someone else's house because the military is too close to their own land.

S Lingeswaran (AP03) was 21 when he disappeared and he was farming. His brother Lingavasan says,

“We are four boys and a girl in our family. They took three of us boys. Our youngest brother was too young. Kobbekaduwa was there and they rounded up and took us. My two elder brothers were taken to a different part of Mandaitivu. I managed to sneak into the group of older people who



were married. I was hiding in fear. I then went and sat next to amma. They called me and I went. We spent that night there. They brought food in the helicopter and gave us. We ate it and lied down to sleep. Everyone started telling stories about what they are going to do with us. One person said that they would chop us and put into sacks. Some people got scared and started to run. After that they hand cuffed us together. In the morning they gave us water. They beat us because a few people finished the water that was given for all. They called some of us to go to Mandaitivu. A few of us went in a tractor. There were about 50 bodies of LTTE people stacked up. They told us to bury the bodies. They told us to put them in the well. There was no sand to cover. We put a pile of cow dung that was there to cover it. They gave us food, noodles fruit and biscuits. We stayed there on the second night. On the third day morning our hands were all swollen because they tied us too tight. When we told the army they said that they would make another arrangement for us. That night they locked us in a library.

On the fourth day they broke the ration shop and took rice and other stuff and told us to cook and eat. Douglas Devananda came. He looked very young. He read the list and he released my second brother. One commander who was good to me inquired me and released me. My older brother was not released. Douglas said that they inquired everywhere and that they cannot find him.

Later many bodies with their hands tied and eyes covered were taken from the well. People said that my brother's body was there but we did not believe them. We did go after 2 or 3 days when they were taking the bodies from the well. The smell was unbearable. Army was gone at that time. People from the campus came to take the bodies. There are still some well with bodies in them that have not been dug out. We cannot go there now. It is no man's land.

You are doing this after 15 years. We also have a unrealistic hope of finding our brother”.

T Gnanenthiran (AP04) was 18 and **T Arulnesan (AP25)** was 30 when they disappeared. The family could give NESOHR only the photo of Gnanenthiran. Sister of the two boys says,



“They took both of them on 25-08-90 and then released Arul. We all went to Mankumban. Arul said he will go to Chaddi Chithirai Matha temple. Amma, acca and Arul went. Army chased amma and acca and took Arul away. We are seven boys and two girls. Three of the boys were married at that time and were not in Mandaitivu. Appa and amma went and stayed in front of the camp at Allaipiddy junction in the Aluminium factory. Army kept saying they would release them tomorrow. After waiting for a long time they will give us some rice and ask us to go. We were displaced without anything. So we will take the rice and come away (laughs). This went on for one month. After one month we came to Jaffna by sea through Araly in the dead of the night between 12 and 1.00 am. There were problems. At night army dragged three girls away and raped them. The girls were allowed to go after 6 hours. We were scared so we left for Jaffna.

Arulnesan stayed behind at his uncle’s house so that he will be at hand when Gnanenthiran is released because they were releasing people. He went to the camp everyday with the other parents. Arul was taken when he was on his way to the Chaddi Matha church. They have thrown his bicycle into the lane and took him away. We came back as soon as we heard that they have taken him too. We found his bicycle in the lane. Four days after they took Arulnesan the army left and went to Karainagar”.



P Pathmarasa (AP06) was 20 when he was taken away. He was student at Allaipiddy Parasakthi school at that time. He is the eldest of three boys. His younger brothers were too small at that time. His 70 year old father Paramasamy contacted NESOHR. Father was sickly and had difficulty speaking.



Michael Sylvister (AP08) was 35 at the time of disappearance. He was working as a carpenter. His wife Annapuranam spoke to the inquiry team. Her brother **Anthony Arokyarasa (AP09)** was also taken away by the army. She says,

“When army started chopping people in Mandaitivu people came screaming to Allaipiddy. There was not enough room in Philip Neri's church. Army told everyone to go to Mankumban. As we were going army came and took them away. My husband said to them that he has three young children. Our children were 7,5, and 2. He cried while talking to them. Our children and I were there too. Army said that they will release him after getting him to do some work. They took him on 25-08-90 and released him and then took him away again on 27-08-90”.

Yesuthasa (AP10) was 28 and was working as a builder (mason) when he was taken away. His 14 year old brother was also taken and later released. There are five boys and a girl in the family. Sister's husband died in an accident and she has four children. Mother Chinamma says,

“We registered where ever we were asked to do”.



K Piramatheeswaran (AP12) was 21 years old and was farming when he was taken away. His sister Piramatheswari says,

“My father went to the Anuradhapuram camp. He was shown video pictures of LTTE cadres who have died and was asked if his son was among them. He also went to Boosa, an infamous camp where Tamil detainees were kept and severely tortured, but he was not allowed in. He went to Welikade prison. Prison officers read the list of names of detainees in the prison but my brother’s name was not in it. My father tried to take court case but the officialdom

dragged its feet was not helpful. My father started to loose his mind due to the stress so we went and brought him back from Colombo.

Father Chandrabose who was the parish priest for the Allaipiddy PhilipNeri’s church at the time did his best to stop the army taking the young men. The army also rounded up young women just the way they were rounding up the young men. Fr Chandrabose succeeded in preventing the army taking the girls.

Parents later went to plead with the army to release the young men. Douglas Devananda and other EPDP men were there. Douglas read the list to the parents and said that they are with them and will be released.

We were in Allaipiddy church. There could have been close 8000 people. There was only one well. We cannot go anywhere else to get water. There was just enough water from the well to wet everyone’s tongue and no more. Then it started to rain very heavily. People tried to crowd into the small church. First all those who were lying down were asked to sit up. Then everyone was asked to stand up. Many people went outside into the rain. When rain stopped, people some how managed to start a fire to cook something. As soon as there was smoke army started firing from the distance. So the fire was put out immediately”.

K Balasingam (AP13) was 34 years old and was farming when he was taken away. He has three sisters. One sister's husband had left her and Balasingam took care of the sister and her children. She is Rasamma and she is the one who contacted NESOHR. After he disappeared the family was displaced several times. When they were in Vanni another sister who has become very sickly died. Her children are also now with Rasamma. She says,

“We got hell of a lot of pieces of paper. We signed all of them and sent them away”.



A Jeyaseelan (AP14) was 23 years old and was working as a builder (mason) when he was taken away. His mother Chinnamalar says,

“We have five children, three girls and two boys. At that time both boys and a girl were living with us. Other two girls have married and gone. We were having money trouble. So I sent my younger son to Navaly to my older daughter to get her jewels and pawn it and get some money. He did not return for four days. My older son asked me for bus money to go and see what has happened. I did not

have money to give him. If I had given the money and sent him he would still be with us (cries). He was carrying one of his sister's children when army came. But they ordered to give the child and come with them. When we went behind them they threatened us with knife. We were frightened and we came back crying. They tied all our children together and took them away. They kept saying that they would release them when we go to ask. They will give us some rice”.



Nobert Ramesh (AP17) was 19 and he was studying at Velanai Central College when they took him away. He is the only son in the family of five children. His mother Puthenamma says,

“They took the father too. That was the last time we saw our son. We go and wait at the Allaipiddy junction everyday. We spoke to Kobbekaduwa too. He told us not to worry and that he will release them after inquiry. We went again

and again. Finally on September 28th they suddenly left. Children were also gone. There were various stories like they took some of the children in a ship. We went everywhere crying.

They released my husband on the second day. He is fluent in English and Sinhalese. Our son would have thought his father will be able to get him out. (cries). What can he do? He was kept in the Aluminium factory and our son was kept in Mandaitivu. Children who were released from Mandaitivu said that our son asked us not to cry and that he will come back. He asked us to send him out of the country. We told him to finish his studies because he is a clever boy”.

S Selvanathan (AP18) was 21 years old and he was working as an electrician. He is the eldest of 8 children and the family depended on his earnings according to his father Selvanayagam’s affidavit. His sister Selvaranee contacted NESOHR. She says,

“Four people from our family were taken in. Others were later released. Men carried children to give the impression that they were married to avoid being taken. Some of my brothers hid in the rice fields. After release Selvanathan went back to check on his older sister who was living alone and also to get his bicycle. He



was returning with the bicycle on his shoulders. He did not want to ride it

out of fear. He was just at the entrance to the Mankumban school when he was taken in”.



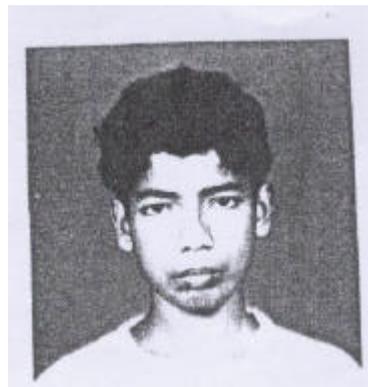
S Sivaruban (AP19) was 17 and was studying at school when he was taken in. He is one of five children of three boys and two girls. His mother Thangaludchumi says,

“My eldest son died of asthma in 1985. LTTE arrested my second son in 1985 and released him after one year. Indian army arrested him and released him in six months. He was later killed during the fight between LTTE and IPKF. IPKF informed us about his death. We were allowed to go and see the body but they would not give the body to us. So we did the last rites for

him. His body was taken to Jaffna hospital. There was a post mortem and coroner’s inquiry and a death certificate given saying he died of gunshots.

Army said they will release Sivaruban in 24 hours but they never did. People said they saw him being put into a helicopter. My daughters are married now. I cannot expect them to care for me. There is no one to look after me. (cries). I have only one photo. I kept it carefully through all the fighting and displacement”.

S Ranjithkumar (AP20) was only 15 and was studying at Jaffna Central College when he was taken away. He is one of twins. They took his twin brother as well but released him because he was much smaller than Ranjith.





K Rasasekaram (AP21) was 19 years old when he was taken away. He is the eldest in the family of 6 children. Father Rasasekaram says,

“They took my younger son as well and released him on the fourth day. I asked Douglas when we were standing at the Allaipiddy junction. I told him that if he needs people for help I will come and to let my son go. They were giving welfare on the road. About 15 or 20 days after our children were taken he said that they are all there. We heard that they were taken to Manalaru”.



Pathinathar Dias (AP22) was 17 years old when he was taken away. His brother **Pathinathar Senyute (A35n)** was 26 when he disappeared from Jaffna town. Their brother Julian says,

“I went to Saudi Arabia 1986. I wrote to my home in Allaipiddy in 1990. There was no reply. My mother, younger brother and sister were living in Allaipiddy at that time. My older brother had married and was working in the Jaffna post office.

My older brother’s wife met someone who was working with me in Saudi Arabia by accident in Trincomalee and got my phone number. She rang me and told me about what has happened.

When my older brother was returning from work in May 1990 the army took him in. My younger brother was taken in with others in Allaipiddy in August 1990. My home in Allaipiddy is all destroyed. I came back from Saudi Arabia in 2003. People told me that they saw my younger brother being taken in a helicopter.

I always have good dreams about my younger brother, therefore he is still alive”.



Y Edward (AP26) was 26, and married with two children aged 4 and 6 when he was taken away. His wife Uthayakumari says,

“I am from Urumpirai. My husband’s parents are from Mandaitivu. He visits them regularly and he also goes there to do fishing. He went there to look up his parents when he was taken away with several others. He was released in seven or eight days. He got back to Urumpirai. His younger brother aged 10 also came with him. Army was shelling heavily from Palaly, which was not far from our home. Younger brother started to cry for his mother. So my husband took him and our elder daughter to Mandaitivu. His parents were in Mankumban school at that time. When he went there army was there. They took our daughter from his hands and took him away. When I heard the news I came. Everyone was hopeful that army will release all of them. I waited and within days army left. After a while I came back.

Life was very hard. I went to Lebanon in 1995 as a housemaid to earn money. I left my children with my aunt. But I got very sick there and I was sent back in three months. I stayed in Colombo for about a year. It is difficult to live in Colombo. I went and stayed in a refugee camp in Vavuniya for three years. My children were with me. Then everyone started to go back to their own home. I also came to Jaffna. Now they don’t give us any welfare and life is really hard. We do not cook everyday because of the hardship.

I vomit blood when I get stressed. In 1987 IPKF hit me in the chest with the butt of the gun. I was pregnant at that time. I was trying to stop them from hitting my brother who cannot speak very well. When I tried to stop them they hit me”.

Thaveethu Selvaratnam (AP27) aged 29 and his brother **Thaveethu Arokyanathan (AP28)** were taken from Mankumban school. Selvaratnam’s wife Marianirmala who contacted NESOHR says,

“My husband and his younger brother were taken. I was pregnant at that time. I fainted. I learnt about everything later when people told me about it. We go there to see the army regularly. EPDP people there said that there is nothing to fear. When the Fort was captured the commander apparently ordered the release of all of them”.



Madutheen Antonit (AP29) was 19 when he was taken away. Antonit was earning a living fishing. His sister Marymerilyn met NESOHR. She is a widow with a seven year old child.



George Sylvister (AP34+) was 20 when he was taken away. He was a fisherman. Their father **S Thiruchelvam (AP36n)** died in 1991 when army shot him while he and his wife were walking through the sea trying to go from Koutharimunai to Jaffna. His son Edman says,

“Sylvister broke his leg in an accident and had just recovered when they took him. Sylvister was taken first on 25-08-90 with the others. He had a stab wound on his head when he came back after a few days later. He said the army stabbed him on the head because he did not

walk fast. They took him again on 23-09-90.

My father was also killed by the army. Army came on helicopter and shot at people. There was constant shooting and no one could go to check about appa lying on the shore. We later searched for him but couldn't find his body. When people found the body buried in the shore one year later they informed us. We were living in Navalay by then. We were able to identify him by his chain and his clothes”.



S Indrakumar (MK04) was 20 when he was taken together with his brother **S Vijayakumar (MK05)** who was 19. Both brothers were farming. Both brothers were taken on 25-08-90 and later released. They

were again taken on 23-09-90. In the affidavit of their father he says that when he later pleaded with the army to release them the army promised to do so when they leave Mandaitivu. The brothers' younger brother Uthayakumar met the NESOHR team.

T Suntharalingam (MK06) was 24 when he was taken away with his brother Thanabalasingam who gave evidence to NESOHR. Their younger brother **T Rathakrishnan (MK12n)** was shot dead by the army on the same day. Thanabalasingam says,

“We informed everywhere and there is no result. They released me because I was married. My old mother, a younger brother and sister live with me. My younger brother was shot and killed on the same day we were all taken away the first time. We were not there when amma collected the body and had the funeral. He was studying at Allaipiddy Parasakthi School. I do not know how many others were killed like this.

They took us from Allaipiddy to Mandaitivu. They tied some of us together. I was released later because I was married with children. They said the boys are being kept to do work and not to worry”.



S Jeyakumar (MK07) was 25 when he was taken away and was a fisherman. His brother **S Uthayakuar (MK13n)** was also taken and later released with a serious stab wound on his head. His sister Vimaladevi says,

“They took all my four brothers. We ran behind them screaming. They told us not to cry and that they will release them. My older brother was hit with shoes. They tied their hands with rope when they took them. They released three of my brothers later. Our brother Uthayakumar was released with a stab

wound (cries). He is married and suffers from mental disease because of the stabbing in his head. We took him to Tellipalai hospital for mental illness.

Our missing brother Jeyakumar is a good worker. He earned well. He helped with my marriage. The house where they lived is given to me as dowry but I do not like going there (cries more). Our parents have both died. My parents will keep his picture and cry together.

Douglas came. We begged and cried to him. He told us “Amma your boys are not with the army. We are keeping them. We will let them go soon”. His men then gave rice and other dry rations to us at the junction. We told them that we do not want anything and to just give us our children back. To this he consoled us by saying, “Amma did I not say that they are with me. Why are you still asking? I will relax when I give them back to you. I will give them before the 24th of next month”. We were confident that our boys will be released. So we took the rations and went back. This happened two or three times.

Army was in the Fort. We heard that when those army came they killed all our boys. Once we asked Douglas at the junction about this and he said, “Amma I took the responsibility. They will not do anything to them. Do not worry”. When we went later within one month the army has gone to Karainagar. Three or four boys were released. These boys said that they saw my brother being put in a helicopter”.

We went everywhere, here and there and everywhere. We are tired”.

15. M-A-M families affected in other circumstances

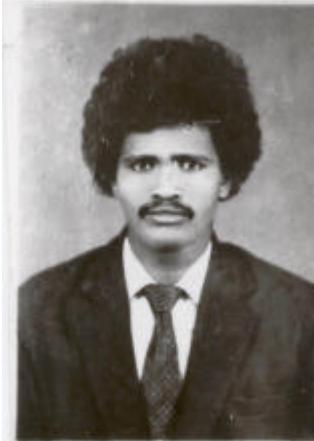
The following people from the M-A-M villages disappeared in different circumstances. The names of the first three young men below were already in the original AGA list and their parents met with the NESOHR inquiry team. Therefore we have included it here.

The families of the other young men whose cases are described below also came and met our inquiry team and we have therefore included them below.



Charles Anthony Annathas (MT12) and the case of the two brothers below though entered in the original list did not disappear under the circumstances that are common to the remaining disappearances listed. His mother Edlizamma speaks,

“Anton was aged 27 when he disappeared. His occupation was fishing. He said in October 1990 that his friends are going to India and he too wants to go. So I sent him to India. Then on the 16th of November I heard that the Navy captured him while he was trying to return from India because he did not like staying in India. We went to Karainagar Navy camp and inquired in January 1991. They said that they did capture some boys and that they will be released. But they refused to let us see them. In the mean time my husband became very ill and we went to Colombo for treatment. Two other boys were returning with him from India. One of the boys came back and we inquired about Anton from him. He said that he was also captured and was in Anuradhapura jail. He said Anton was also in the same boat and that he will be all right. This boy’s name is Kasipillai Suthaharan. He said that Red Cross got him out with the efforts of his mother. We have checked Kaluthura prison but we did not find Anton”.



V Anton Arulthas (AP31-) was 26 and his brother **V Donbosco (32-)** was 19 when they disappeared. Their father Vencheslas says,

“My sons went with their female cousin from Trincomalee to worship at the

Kochchikadai St Anthoy’s temple in Colombo on May 13 1990. They were to return home to Allaipiddy on May 26th but they did not. I went to Trincomalee to the cousin’s house on May 27th. This cousin and the two brothers were taken in at Nochchikadu. The cousin was released one month later. The two brothers are missing. All my efforts are to no avail”.

Nicholas Dias Edwin (AP37n) was 17 years old and was a student when he was taken away. He is originally from Allaipiddy. His family moved to Jaffna during 1990 to escape the problems. He went to Mampalam junction in Ariyalai on 17th of August 1996 to repair his bicycle. According to his father’s affidavit he was last seen by the bicycle repair shop owner and many persons were arrested on that day by the army between Mampalam junction and Mulli junction on the Kandy road. The family later moved to Trincomalee and therefore did not receive letters sent by the commissions of inquiry.



Michael Stanis (AP38n) disappeared while travelling in the sea with three others. Two of the four are missing. Mother Adaikalam says,

“We were displaced in Palai. My husband said that he will not move out of Palai because he was tired of being always displaced. We were 15-20 displaced families staying there. Our son was married and was in Vanni. He came to see us and found that we were doing all right in Palai. He said he will go back and bring his

wife, her sister and her husband. This sister's husband was also with my son and he is the other person who disappeared in the sea with my son. One of the person who came back said that they jumped into the sea and swam when the Navy boat started chasing their boat".



Pakianathan Varothayarasa (AP39n)

was 18 years old when he disappeared and he is from Allaipiddy. He was in sea fishing with three others. When they saw the Navy they all jumped into the sea. They have done this many times previously to escape from Navy. The other two men came back but Varothayarasa did not.

16. Affidavit of a Priest

Fr Chandrabose who was the priest of Allaipiddy PhilipNeri church at the time of the incident writes after 15 years,

1. On 25-08-1990 Sri Lankan military started its "Operation Fort" activity from Urkavathirai.
2. On 24-08-1990 people from Mandaitivu and Allaipiddy took refuge at the PhilipNeri church in Allaipiddy.
3. On 25-08-1990 Sri Lankan military came to this church and took 700 people (I think between the ages of 14-40) and went forward to Mandaitivu.
4. On 26-08-1990 and on the day after that the military released most of the people they took. About 70 were not released. Nothing is known about their fate.
5. I can recollect handing over the list of the 70 names to HUDEC.
6. Military told the men they took to cook food on the night of 25-08-1990 and brought some food to the church. This food was given to a few of the people.
7. On 26-08-1990 the military commander asked us to go two kilometres away from Allaipiddy. We went to the Mankumban School.
8. We lived there without food, milk food for babies and medicines. We were also cut off from the rest of the world.
9. I learnt that some people who stayed at their home without taking refuge at the Allaipiddy church were killed. However, I cannot remember the names. One person was beaten to death in Mandaitivu. A few who were at the Mandaitivu church were killed inside the church. I learnt that those who stayed at homes because they were unable to come with us were severely attacked. I learnt that the military was extremely cruel.
10. Parents of the young men who have not been released are in the dark about the fate of the young men.

Signed
Fr Chandrabose

17. Statement by a community leader

A retired civil servant living in Mandaitivu at that time spoke to us in detail about the circumstances surrounding the incident. He is from Mandaitivu and was living there in 1990 following his retirement. He was active in the community and he has held responsible positions. He says,

“It was 5.00 am on August 22nd. About 50 Naval gunboats encircled Mandaitivu and Allaipiddy and were firing at us constatly. People half asleep did not know what to do. Some ran to their bunkers. Our bunker that could hold only 10 people was cramped with 50. Babies could not breath. I took my family and went to Allaipiddy. In Allaipiddy we did not have any food. A friend gave us a little bit of rice and we made kanchi and drank it. On 23rd notices were dropped ordering people not to stay in their homes and to go to churches and temples. My family went to the Allaipiddi church. There was no room inside and we stayed outside. We felt that Allaipiddy is not a safe place because there were other armed groups there that were working with the Sri Lankan forces.

On 23rd midnight we walked through sea up to our hips and went back to Mandaitivu and went to the Pillaiyar temple. In Allaipiddy the army had taken many people of my age. Some of the people taken were, Mankumban school principal, Saravabavan, Ponnambalam Saravanabavan and Ponnambalam Nadarasa. They were taken to the Aluminium factory. There Army chief late Kobbekaduwa spoke to them. Kobbekadiwa has told them that only they will know areas clear of landmines and therefore they are going to walk them in front and the army is going to follow them. So the army followed the civilinas from the Allaipiddy Aluminium factory to Mandaitivu. As they walked to sea the army sat on the shoulders of 60 years old civilians to keep their boots dry.

The army arrived at the Mankumban Pillaiyar temple. First came the Sinha regiment. It was so crowded in the temple there was no room to walk. Army stepped on people with their boots to get inside the temple. Once there they pointed at young men. Immediately the person must stand up and his family will start howling and crying because they feared that they will not see their father, husband, son or brother again. After the Sinha regiment left the Kajabahu regiment came and did the same. Then came the EPDP-Mandaiyan group. They all took young men and no one knows what has happened to those young men. The leader of the last regiment that came said that their regiment is going to leave and to be safe we must get up at 5.00 am and without going anywhere we must walk straight to Allaipiddy. We felt that this leader has a soft heart so we

decided to take his advice and all 7000 of us walked to Allaipiddy on the early morning of the 27th. As we walked we had to pass through an open space. About 500 army men were hiding and they stopped us. We thought that is the end. But some EPRLF men there told the army commander that there are some black tigers among us. This probably saved us. I think they were planning to take us to the Dutch Fort as human shields but due to the fear of black tigers they allowed us to walk. As we walked they hit us with thorny sticks. We arrived in Mankumban at the Chartti temple. There we saw three dead bodies rotting.”

18. Thalaiyaddi

“Thalaiyaddi” is the Tamil phrase used by Tamil people to refer to those whom the army used from the Tamil paramilitaries working with the army. They will come with their face covered with a bag with just holes for the eyes. They are used to pick out LTTE suspects from young Tamil men who would be paraded in front of them. Their mode of identification is by a nod of the covered head, thus the name “Thalayaddi”

Some families spoke about three young men who were kept by the army for the entire 37 days the army was in the M-A-M villages and then released them just before the army withdrew from the area. These three young men apparently were in good terms with the army commander and thus were released on the last day before the army left. NESOHR is unable to make contact with these three young men and it is very possible that they have gone overseas. Families retold the following as told to them by these three young men who were released.

“EPDP men were the “Thalaiyaddi”. Those who were taken away from the Philipneri Church were paraded before them. They identified six young men in the parade. My brother was one of them. After the Thalaiyaddi identification apparently they beat those identified. After a while it became quiet. Three bodies were taken from a toilet pit near the Thalayaddi parade. There were also half burnt bodies around this area”.

“The army escaped from the Fort when the Fort fell in the hands of the LTTE and they came to Mandaitivu. When they came they started severely beating the detainees. Some of them were so badly beaten that they were unable to walk. The army commander locked the three young men, who were later released, in a classroom of the school where they were kept and

wrote a note on the door barring anyone from beating them. These three young men kept safely inside the classroom were able to observe what went on. The army fed all the detainees and then took three or four at a time in a bulldozer. About four or five such bulldozer trips were made. In the last trip they took the detainees who were unable to walk because they were so badly beaten. They crawled to the bulldozer”.

“I think those young men who were taken in the bulldozer were taken to the wells behind the Mandaitivu school and they were thrown into the wells. We told Dr Natchinarkiniyar who was the Red Cross president at that time. He brought some people from the Jaffna University and dug up these wells. There are still bodies in those wells. It is in the high security zone now and we cannot go there. These wells are behind the Mandaitivu school. When the bodies were taken from the wells behind the Mandaitivu school most of the families thought they were bodies of the LTTE cadres and therefore did not make serious efforts to see if the bodies of their loved ones were among them”.

“The army left the M-A-M villages in November 1990. There are six wells that were covered. But it was rainy season and we could not dig out the wells immediately after the army left. We started the excavation in January 1991. Two wells were dug out. One well had bodies of LTTE members. There were 43 bodies in this well and 41 were those of LTTE members. One was never identified. The other was that of an EPDP member who must have been accidentally shot by the army and thrown into this well. Another well was dug up and 70 bodies of civilians were recovered. The bodies were in standing position and squatting position and most of the bodies did not have bullet wounds. This means that they were buried alive. There are another six wells that remain covered. Army returned to Mandaitivu so we could not dig the other wells”.

NESOHR unsuccessfully made some effort to trace the skeletons recovered and the forensic reports. It appears that they have all been lost due to multiple displacements in the midst of war.

19. Others identified by the M-A-M Villagers

M-A-M villagers and community leaders who met the NESOHR inquiry team spoke about other atrocities by the military. They mentioned more names of people who were killed and who have disappeared. Since we did not meet the families of those named we have not included them in the base list. We are including these names here as a record. The first two

names below were also in the Amnesty International report that listed five people who have disappeared in this incident.

1. **Thirunavukkarasu Ravikumar** whose name is one of the five names reported in the AI report (section 8) was a graduate and his family has now gone overseas.
2. **Ramasamy Ravichandran** is also in the AI report.
3. **Subramaniam Sivapalan** who is different from the Sivapalan listed in the base list has also disappeared. His brother probably lives in Jaffna.
4. **Thevarasa Varathalingam** was from Allaipididi and was 27 when he was taken away from the Chaddi Matha temple. He was never seen again. His family has gone overseas.
5. The son-in-law of Grama Sevaka Navaratnarasa is **Sivakuru Ehamparam**. He had a poultry farm of 500 chickens in Mandaitivu. The army burnt all of the chickens alive. Himself, his wife, **Sithampararani**, two of their daughters, and wife's sister **Ramani Navaratnarasa** had all taken refuge in their bunker. Three of them died on the spot. Ehamparam and one daughter survived with injuries. The father took the daughter and went to see his father-in-law Navaratnarasa. He then came back to his home with his injured daughter. He gave poison to his daughter and drank it himself. They both died.
6. Another man **Manium** of Mankumban was also shot dead in a bunker.
7. One young man **Kumar** was taken away by the army in 1986 and he never returned. He is one of two sons to his mother. During the incident in 1990 her other son, known as Master, was taken away. Seeing this the distraught **mother** believing her only remaining son will also never come back jumped into the well and committed suicide. However, her second son did come back and it is possible to trace his whereabouts.
8. **Vallipuram Shanmuganathan** of Allaipididi was asked by the army to bring down some king coconuts for them to drink, which he did. Once the all of the army men had a drink, he was shot dead. **Thirunavukkarasu Radhakrishnan (MK12n)**, who is in the base list as an affected relative of a missing person and also mentioned in section 14 giving case details, was also killed in a similar

circumstance. He was walking with his grandmother towards the Chaddi Matha Church when the army came. They asked Radhakrishnan to draw water from the well to drink. Once he had drawn the water he was shot dead.

9. **Kandiah Visuvalingam** of Mandaitivu was lying down in his home and he had poor hearing. The army picked up the “ammi” (a very heavy stone used in the kitchen for grinding) and dropped it on his head.
10. **Rasalingam’s son** was killed by beating with a heavy object
11. **Sornalingam’s son** was also killed in similar manner by the army.
12. **Arampu Thurairasa** of Mankumban was shot dead by the army that came over land. **Sathasivam** of Mankumban was killed and left covered with coconut leaves. **Somasundaram** of Allaipiddy was shot dead from a helicopter.
13. The **son of Indrajith** of Mankumban owned a jewel shop. EPDP members went and asked him for money in the past and he refused to pay. To avenge him, EPDP men shot him dead in his Allaipiddy home.
14. **Mrs Sivaswappillai** died while running towards the bunker to avoid the constant firing of the naval gun boats.

20. Young male workers in the M-A-M villages

Given that the M-A-M villages were very prosperous at the time of the incident many young men from other parts of the country were there for employment. These men have come from other parts of Northeast and also from the Indian estate worker community in upcountry. Most of them were living with their employer’s family and were away from their own family. People of M-A-M villages were able to recall some names. One community leader estimated that nearly 50 young men in this category have disappeared.

The families of these young men were invariably poor. The complete disruption of civil life before and after this incident for several years would have made it impossible for the families of these young men to attempt tracing their sons. In many cases, it is fair to speculate that the families would not have even learnt about what has happened to their sons

for several years. Because of this even establishing the identity of these young men is very difficult.

Will it ever be possible to find closure for the pain of disappearance that the families of these young men have endured? This is a concrete example of how civil rights has no meaning in the absence of economic rights.

21. Conclusion

The innumerable inquiries by many different groups as we have described above have created a sense of exhaustion in the families. NESOHR observed a consistency in the dismissive comments by the families about these inquiries. What most families want is a clear, definitive, and honest answers and the authorities are not forthcoming.

There are two striking aspects to the narratives of the affected families. Listening to their narratives, some of which is reproduced in the previous sections, is an eye opener about what occupying armies do under conditions of war. While the inquiry was about the disappearance of about 70 young men from M-A-M villages, families also told us stories of rape as told by Gnanenthiran's (AP04) family, mass killing as told by Kuhananthrasa's (MT25) family, fishermen's fear of the sight of Navy due to frequent attacks in the sea as told by Varothayarasa's (AP39n) family, multiple displacement as told by all the families, and loss of property to the military as told by many families.

It seems the utter exhaustion of facing the terror of military creates the shocking implicit acceptance in the people who have come to speak of the worst conduct of the armies as a natural behaviour without the outrage one expects from people. It is this condition of the people, the removal of their dignity that is worse than the atrocity itself.

NESOHR has discussed human rights with many international human rights organizations. Not one of these organizations considers this condition of entire villages a matter for their concern. This is very curious indeed. Before delving into this curiosity another related matter must be addressed. Why do these stories and perhaps many other similar ones remain untold, if not by the international bodies then at least by local groups?

Several prerequisites had to be satisfied before NESOHR, a local group, was able to take up this inquiry and produce this report. Firstly, it needed to be situated in proximity to the location of the incident. Any local group

situated within the locality is by default subjected to the same terror as the rest of the population. Therefore it is near impossible for local groups to take a study such as this while the army continues with its terror. Secondly certain degree of education is needed, especially English language proficiency, to produce such a report. Most local people with such level of education always are better positioned to run away from such terror situations. There is also one more compelling reason that NESOHR constantly came across that would have prevented the documentation of such cruel human rights violations. That is the fear of people to tell what they saw about atrocities.

This explains why local groups have not told these stories until some stability returned to the region.

Going back to the conduct of international bodies, ICRC and AI are the two groups that have had the knowledge of the incident. What did these two organizations do with the information? Two sections above describe the actions taken by these two groups. Could they have done more to highlight the full story in their reports? There is no doubt that they could have done more. The question then is why they did not.

Reports against a state who is the host of the groups are a lot harder to write than reports against non-state groups. This is the most common explanation given by the international groups. Does this fully explain their failure? There are many other powerful economic, political and ideological forces that restrain the international groups from producing full and honest reports about such incidents. The end result is that a vast number of such atrocities go unnoticed, while in contrast violations by non-state groups are brought under the limelight.

Appendix A1

Appendix - A1

A F F I D A V I T

MT01

I, Mrs. Soosiehan Mesurathan Thomas of Mandaitheevu, in the District of Jaffna, Sri Lanka aged 61 years being a Christian do hereby make oath and swear as follows:-

1. I am the affirmant above named.
2. I am a Citizen of Sri Lanka and a Businessman by vocation.
3. On the 24th. day of August, 1990 by noon notices were dropped in my village of Mandaitheevu from the air by the Sri Lankan Air Force Helicopter calling upon all the residents of the village to take refuge in Temples.
3. Accordingly on the same evening, ^{my husband} along with my family consisting of my wife and seven children went to St. Philip Neries Church at Allaipiddy.
5. When I went to the said Church, I found that the residents of Mandaitheevu, Allaipiddy and Mankumban have congregated there.
6. On the following day that is on the 25th. of August by about 7 a.m. Personnel of the Sri Lankan Army surrounded the said Church Premises.
7. The Parish Priest who was in the said Church showed a copy of the notice dropped from the air to the Army Chief, who led the group into the Church premises with a Walkie-Talkie in his hand and told him that the people had taken refuge in the Church Premises in response to the notices dropped from the air.
8. The said Army Personnel immediately contacted the Air Force Helicopter that was flying over our heads through his walkie-talkie.
9. Thereafter, the Army men picked up all males of the age group of 15 to 40 numbering about 600 and ordered them to move out of the Camp to the road which all of them did.
10. Among the 600 so ordered to move out of the camp, were my 3 children namely - S.J.WIJERATHNAM alias RAVI aged 23 a student selected to follow a course of study in Siddha Medicine at the University of Jaffna, S.J.SUKIRTHARATHNAM alias RAMU aged 29, a G.C.E. Advanced Level Student, St. Patrick's College, Jaffna and S.J.PREMARATHNAM alias RATHAN aged 27 also a G.C.E., Advanced Level Student, St. Patrick's College, Jaffna.
11. Then I saw the Army ordering them to form into two rows and to march towards Mandaitheevu, which they did.
12. Then on the following day out of the 600 taken by the Army, about 500 including my last two children returned to the Church.

/ ...

Appendix - A1

24. Subsequently on the 23rd. of September, 1990, the Sri Lankan Army personnel surrounded the School in which we were staying, picked up 27 children and wanted to take them with them. We who were in the Camp pleaded that all these children were Schoolgoing and to release them.
25. Among the 27 children so taken into custody were my two sons who were earlier arrested and released.
26. Then on the 24th. of ^{September} / . 1990, we went to the Army Sentry and pleaded with the Tamil Militant group that were there, to release our children. However, none of the arrested children were released.
27. Thereafter the Army withdrew from Jaffna Fort on 28th. ^{September} / , 1990 and moved to Kayts from where 08 arrested at the School and 02 arrested at the Church were released.
28. I appealed to His Excellency the President, State Minister for Defence, State Minister for Education, Major General Kobbekaduwa and to I C R C Delegation in Colombo, requesting their assistance to have my three sons released. There was no response from these authorities.
29. I along with State Minister for Education Rajamanohari Pulendran met Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa at his Head Quarters in Anuradhapura who promised to contact the Army Camp at Trincomalee and inform me the whereabouts of my children. So far, I have not received any communication from him.
30. We remain as a helpless ^{parent} unable to know the fate of my three children taken into custody by ^{the} Government Forces.

The foregoing affidavit was read
over and explained to the declarant
in Tamil and he seeming to understand
the contents of same signed this
affidavit before me at Jaffna
on this 5th day of May 2005.

x S. Shanmugan

Before me.

Michael J. G. ...

JUSTICE OF PEACE / COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS.

Michael J. G. ...
Justice of the Peace
JAFFNA

Appendix A2

- AP18

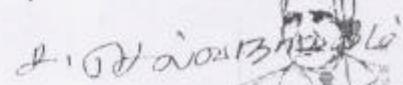
APPIDAVIT

15/015/120/91

I, Sanganapillai Selvanayagam, aged 50 years, residing at Ward 2, Allaipiddy, Sri Lanka being a Hindu do hereby solemnly sincerely and truly declare and affirm as follows:-

1. I am the affiant abovenamed.
2. I am the father of Selvanayagam Selvanathan, aged 22 years who was arrested on 25.8.90 by Sri Lankan security forces and whose whereabouts are not known since then.
3. When I heard that the army was moving towards our village, my family and I ran away from home and sought refuge at St. Philippineriyar Church on 25.8.90.
4. There were large number of refugees in the above church premises.
5. While being there the army men arrested my son Selvanathan along 15 others.
6. I went behind the soldiers who were taking my son and pleaded for his release.
7. The parents of other boys also pleaded for the release of their sons.
8. The soldiers replied that they will be released after being done some manual work at the camp.
9. All my inquiries about the whereabouts of my son proved futile.
10. I also made inquiries at the I.C.R.C. Office at Jaffna but got no positive information about my son.
11. He is my eldest son and he was working as an electrician.
12. Beside him I have seven children and my family depended to a great extent on the earnings of my son.

The contents of the foregoing affidavit)
 having been duly read over and explained)
 by me to the affiant abovenamed who)
 appeared to understand the same and)
 correctness thereof set his signature)
 hereto at ALLAIPIDY on the APRIL day of 13) before me. 1.00
 1991.)




A. A. Vallipurathan
 JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.
 A. A. VALLIPURANATHAN
 JUSTICE OF THE PEACE
 JAFFNA DISTRICT,
 ALLAIPIDY.

Appendix A3

Appendix - A3

MC07

tel. 23798



O.M.I.

OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE

THODARAFAM
67.1 HOSPITAL ROAD
JAFFNA, SRI LANKA

23.04.1992

To whom It may concern

This is to state that Mr. S. Antony Robert is from my parish Mandaithivu. During his 'Open-harmfort' on the 25th of August in 1990, he was taken by the Army while he was at St. Philip Neri's Church as a refugee. He is not involved in any militant activities. I recommend an early release.

(Signature)

FR. F. L. N. CROOS OMI
PARISH-PIEST
MANDAITHIVU-ALLAIPIDDY

පිටුපසින්, 007/2 අංකයේ වලංගු, සහතිකයකි.

Appendix A4

Appendix - A4 MT07

புனிதர் சாள்ஸ் மஹர் வித்தியாலயம்
ST. CHARLES' MAHA VIDYALAYAM

Main Street,
JAFFNA

20.01.19.....19

This is to certify that Master Selvarajah Antony Robert was a bona - fide student of our school. He joined the school in January 1983. And he sat for an C.C.E.O/L exam in Dec. 1989. While at school he was a very hard working student. He was very loyal and obedient student. He hails from a respectable family. His moral character and behavior have been uniformly satisfactory. I wish him all the best.

R. Arulanandam
R. Arulanandam
H. ARULANANDAM (Principal) CLUSTER PRINCIPAL
J/St Charles' Maha Vidya'ayam
MAIN STREET, JAFFNA.

Appendix - B*

Invitation

Dear Jesurathiam

Referring to the invitation letter
sent to you on 21st May 2016 by the
Director General of Health Services
and Family Planning, L. C. R. C. and
Health Services C. C. M. P. (Kuala Lumpur)
to attend the 10th Annual Meeting
of the Council of Ministers of Health
Services and Family Planning
in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 21st
and 22nd May 2016.

Appendix - B1

Y. S. Jurechwani
112/22, Jumballa St.
Colombo - 913.

J. C. Alwis,
Project Director,
Human Rights Task Force
75, Morris Canal Road,
Colombo - 10. Sri Lanka

தீவகத்தில் கைதுவோர்
மணலாற்றில் தடுத்து வைப்பு

12/11/94

தலைவர், பிள்ளை இயற்களை மன்னாறு பகுதியிலுள்ள இராணுவ முகாமில் கவித்து கொண்டு செல்லப்பட்டு உள்ளனர். தடுத்தவைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றனர். இவர்களைப் பெயர்ப்பட்டியல் இடத்தில்தாபணத்தினை இடைக்கப்பெற்றதை அடுத்து இவர்களால் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட தேடலில் இருந்து தெரியவந்துள்ளதாக கூறியுள்ளது. மனித உரிமைகள் மன்றப்பணத்தினை இடுத்து இடைக்கும் தகவல் களில் இருந்து மேலும் தெரிய வருகிறது.

பாண்டிச்சேரி, மண்டலம், அக்கம்பகுதி, மண்டலம், பாண்டிச்சேரி, மண்டலம், தேரரவார், இவர்கள் 1993-ம் ஆண்டு வரை ஊர் காவல்துறை, காவலர்கள் படை வீசர், தளங்களில் தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றனர். இதைப்பற்றி கேணல் இராணுவக் காவலர்கள் இராணுவ அதிகாரி இவர்களை இரு கோண்டி மண்டலம் அமைதி தடுத்திருக்கிறது. அங்கு உவரமலை முகாமில் இருந்து தள்ளிக்க வைக்கப்பட்டிருந்த

தலைவர், இராணுவத்தின் மூலம் 1990-ம் ஆண்டு ஆகஸ்ட் மாதம் தீவுப்பகுதியில் கைது செய்யப்பட்ட இளைஞர் களில் ஒரு பகுதியினர் மணலாறு பகுதியிலுள்ள இராணுவ முகாம்களில் தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளனர். இவர்கள் மூன்று இயற்கை மனித உரிமைகள் மன்றப்பணத்தினை இடுத்து இடைக்கும் தகவல் களில் இருந்து மேலும் தெரிய வருகிறது. இராணுவத்தினரால் கைது செய்யப்பட்ட இளைஞர்களில் பெரும்

Appendix - B2

6 பேர் தடுத்து வைப்பு!

(சைப செய்தியாளர்கள்)

14-11-92

மங்களதீயில் 25 ஆகஸ்ட் 1990 தொடக்கம் 23 செப்டெம்பர் வரையான காலப்பகுதியில் பாதுகாப்பு படையினரால் 67 பேர் கைது செய்யப்பட்டனர்.

இவர்களில் 6 பேரைத்தவிர ஏனையோர் விடுவிக்கப்பட்டு. பிட்டளர், 6 பேரும் வவுனியா, பனாமி இராணுவ முகாம்களில் தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளனர் என பிரதமரும் பாதுகாப்பு அமைச்சருமான டி.டி. விஜேயங்க அண்மையில் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் தெரிவித்தார்.

(சைப செய்தி)

பனாமி மாவட்ட தலைவர் விடுதலை சாலை என அழைக்கப்படும் இராணுவ முகாம்களில் பனாமி யாய்றைய சிவகாங்கனா சிவாங்கு பதிவாளித் திருமணி 'தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் 6 பேரையும் பார்க்கவேண்டுமென்று' என்றும், உரிய இராணுவ முகாம்களில் அதிகாரிகளுடன் பெற்றோர் தொடர்பு கொண்டு அதற்கான அனுமதியைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளலாம்' என்றும் குறிப்பிட்டார்.

குடகோஸ்வரன் தனது கோரியில் மேற்கூறியபிட்ட காலப்பகுதியில் மங்களதீயில் 70 பேர் கைது செய்யப்பட்டதை பிரதமர் அறியாது என்ற கூட்டிருத்தல். உண்மையில் பனாமி மாவட்ட கைது செய்யப்பட்டவர்களின்

Appendix C1

	தொன்றாகும்.	ட ந த	
	வீரகேசரி		
ம.ப.	2074	92	கியாசன
மம	24 பேருடன்		
கரு	கைதானார்!		
ரா.கி.	தாய் வழக்கு!		
ர.இ.	(மேலு நீதிமன்ற திருபுர)		
ச.நி.	அல்லைப்பட்டி அகதி		
ச.பு.	முகாமில் இருந்த வேளை		
433	யில் 27-5-90ல் கைதானார்		
	தும் 24 பேருடன் 3 தரள்		
	இராணுவில் வேலைக்காக		
	இராணுவத் துணரால்		
	அழைத்துச் செல்லப்பட்டது		
	இதுவரை விடுதலிக்கப்பட்டா		
	மல் இதுபிடம் தெர்யா		
	மல் இருக்கும் தனது மகன்		
	இராயசயா கதாசிரணை		
	நீதிமன்றத்தில் ஆஜர் செய்		
	யக்கோள் செட்டியார் தெரு		
	வைச் சேர்ந்த தாய் இரா		
	சையா லசந்தக செட்டாரி		
	சட்டத் தரணி அப்பாந்		
	துரை வினாயகமூர்த்தி		
	காடாக் தாக்கல் சொற		
	ஆட்கொணர்வு மனு		
	வழக்கு விசாரணைக்கு ஏற்		
	துக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.		
	பிரதிவாதிக்கான ஊர்		
	காவற்றுறை இராணுவ		
	முகாம். சுமாண்டர், வட		
	பகுதி இராணுவ தளபதி		
	மேஜர் ஜெனரல் கொப்		
	பேருய, ராணுவ தளபதி		
	தெரேயர் சிலில் வைத்திய		
	ரட்ச, சட்டமா அபிபர்		
	ஆடுபேரர் பதில் தாக்கல்		
	செய்ய இம்மாதம் 28 ஆம்		
	திகதிவரை அவகாசம்		

Appendix D1

Appendix - D1

MT17

Mrs. Rasiah Vasanthadchumy
268/22, Aluthmawatha Road,
Colombo 15.

International Committee of the Red Cross,
P.O.Box 2100,
104, Reid Avenue,
Colombo 4.

Your NO LKC/400/198

Honoured Sir,

**PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO UNVOLUNTARY REMOVAL OF
CERTAIN PERSON IN THE NORTH EAST PROVINCE.**

Judicial Service Commission
Room No. 4
Colombo 12.

Name : Rasiah Suthakaran
Arrested at : Allaipiddy Philip Neriya Church
Arrested on : 25.8.1990
Age : 28.5.1970 (25)

Further to my memo of 24.2.1995. I submit the following informations to facilitate your inquiries and appropriate action.

It has come to light that Mr. Murugesu Mathialagan of Ward No. 12, Karaitivu was arrested on 21.6.1990 by the army and has been found after 11 years at the army camp "Ampara" "Mulligama" and made to perform garden duties. This news appeared in the Thinakural issue of 11.9.2001. I am sending an extract of the news item for your information. Mathialagan's parents have now made representations to the commissions office at Kalmunai.

Therefore, Sir my son Rasiah Suthakaran who was staying with other members of the family at the Philip Neriya Church Refugee Camp was arrested on 25.8.1990 along with other 25 boys and taken by the army to do a day's manual work for them.

Later the 25 boys who were arrested with Suthakaran were taken by the E.P.D.P to do loading and unloading of cargo from a ship. We have not had any news of my son or the other 25 boys. My son was born on

Appendix - D1

25.8.1970. He is 32 years old now.

My son E. Suthakaran may be found in the camp where Murugesu Mathialagan is, or any other army camp or prison or with the E.P.D.P.

I earnestly request that delligent efforts be made to trace my son and send me good news.

I pray to God and await for good news from you.

God bless you.

A reply may be sent to the address mentioned above.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. Rastiah Vasanthadchumy

Appendix D3

Appendix - D3

M 7



INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

DELEGATION IN SRI LANKA

நிமிர். திராசையா உத்தரவரை

112/13 கம்பளா சி

கொழும்பு - 13.

கொழும்பு,

உக்குளப்பர்,

விலயம் திராசையா சிவாசிரன் 112/13 400 108

உக்குளய 22-4-93 திகழியப்பட்ட விஷயம் தி. 1993 காலமாகக் கிடைக்கப்பெற்றும்.

மேற்கூறியப்பட்ட உக்கள் 112/13 சம்பந்தமான தகவல்கள் ஏதும் இதுவரை எங்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கவில்லை என்பதை வறுத்ததடைத் தெரிவிக்கிறோம். அவரின் இறுப்பிட்டதை அறிவதற்காக இவ்வரை நாம் எடுக்க வேண்டுகளைகளும் உபயோகம்மற்றப் போயின என்பதையும் அறிவிக்கிறோம். எனினும் கொடூரத் துயர்சித்த அளி பற்றிய நம்பிக்கையான செய்தி ஏதும் கிடைக்கும் பட்சத்தில் நாம் உக்களுக்கு அறிவிக்கலாம்.

பொலீஸ் திவேயன்கள், தடுப்பு முகாம்கள், கூறக்காலகை உக்கள் போன்றவை எல்லாம் கிராமமாக ச.செ.சி.ச. அக்கத்தவர்களால் விடயம் செய்யப்படுகிறது என்பதையும் அறிவிப்பதில் போத சந்திக்கும் கைகினை உடனடியாக அவர்கள் பதிவு செய்வதில் கவனமும் பதியப்படுகிறது என்பதையும் அறிவிக்கிறோம். அதுமேற்கூறியப்பட்ட இடக்களுக்கு ச.செ.சி.ச. அக்கத்தவர்களின் விடயத்தில் போத உக்கள் 112/13 சந்திக்கவோ அல்லது பதிவு செய்யவோ இல்லை என்பதை வறுத்ததடைத் தெரிவிக்கிறோம்.

மேற்கூறியப்பட்ட தபர் சம்பந்தமான நம்பிக்கையான தகவல்கள் ஏதும் உக்களுக்குக் கிடைப்பில்லை. அவற்றை உடனடியாக எமக்கு அறிவிக்கலாம். அக்களவை எல்லா இக்கள் 112/13 400 108 1993 என்பதையும் குறிப்பிட்ட தவறுக்கள்.

அவர் காணாமற்போக 1990-ம் அக்கவிருத்த நீட்ட காலமாகதாம் அவரின் இறுப்பிட்டம் பற்றிய தகவல்களைப் பெறவை கவனம் என்பதையும் இக்களக்கில் அறிவிக்கிறோம்.

தங்கள் உக்கமயுள்ள

M. S. S. S.

செ.செ.சி.

104, RED AVENUE, COLOMBO 4, P. O. BOX 2100, TELEPHONE 503346-7, TELEX 23112, TELEFAX 503346

Appendix D4

Appendix - D4

AP06



ICRC

Jaffna, 29 March 2004
JAF 04/065 - VR/cf

Dear Sir/Madam,

During the course of last year (2003) you and your family were visited by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). During the visit you were informed that the ICRC intends to compile a list of all the names of missing persons from 1990 onwards and submit this list to the authorities by the end of 2004.

As there is a possibility that the authorities would like to publish these lists, the ICRC would like to ask for your permission to have your name, and the name of your missing relative published.

The enclosed form is an authorisation form that allows you to decide whether or not the name of your missing relative, as well as your name could be made public if the authorities decide so.

You are kindly asked to cross either YES or NO, to indicate your agreement for publication; to sign the form in the therefore mentioned grey area and to send or bring the form to the ICRC office in your area, or to hand over the form to the ICRC representative on the Lines.

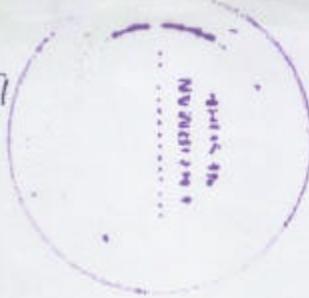
Thanking you in advance for your reply, we remain,

Your faithfully,



Vera Radovic
Head of Sub-delegation

Elayathamby Paramasamy
Ward 1
Allaipiddy



<p>நாடு குருக்கள் (யர்)</p> <p>ரக் குருக்கள் (மாப் முறை) இக் காரை</p>	<p>இவ் பெறலாய் என அரசு உத்தரவிட்ட அதிகர் தெரிவித்தார், (10-5)</p>	<p>உத்தரவிட்ட பேட்டியில் டம் ஒன்று இ 4 மணிக்கு நை இந்த ஆட்டி நட்சத்திரக் அணியை எதி காடு முருகக் மோதம்.</p>
<p>மண்படைத்துவாய்...</p> <p>[1 ஆம் பக்கத் தொடர்ச்சி] உள்ள சரிவரிதரக் குழு அகலது ரணைய அமைப்புகளிடமுக் முறைவிட்டனர். இத்தீர்தம் கைதான ஐந்த மெர் கணை மதி யோனவரிசனாகவே கரு தப்பட்டு வருகின்றனர்.</p> <p>ஒவ்வாறு மகிவிப்புச் சபை யிக் அறிக்கையிற் மேலும் தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.</p> <p>உண்காயை சத்தியபி. கக் (29 வது), திருநாயகி சட் டநாற்பிக்கவை (31 வது), கருமார் என்றழைக்கப்படும் அகலதுக் அழகராஜா (10 வது, மாணவன்), சாமசாயி ராவுக்கிரை (18 வது), திரு நாவுக்கிரை சுகிக்குமார் (22 வது) ஆகியோரே கணை மதி யோனவரிசன் அகலது மகிவிப்புச் சபையின் ஆதிக்க கையிற் தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டிரு கிறது. (9-5)</p>	<p>மண்படைத்துவாய்...</p> <p>[1 ஆம் பக்கத் தொடர்ச்சி] உள்ள சரிவரிதரக் குழு அகலது ரணைய அமைப்புகளிடமுக் முறைவிட்டனர். இத்தீர்தம் கைதான ஐந்த மெர் கணை மதி யோனவரிசனாகவே கரு தப்பட்டு வருகின்றனர்.</p> <p>ஒவ்வாறு மகிவிப்புச் சபை யிக் அறிக்கையிற் மேலும் தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.</p> <p>உண்காயை சத்தியபி. கக் (29 வது), திருநாயகி சட் டநாற்பிக்கவை (31 வது), கருமார் என்றழைக்கப்படும் அகலதுக் அழகராஜா (10 வது, மாணவன்), சாமசாயி ராவுக்கிரை (18 வது), திரு நாவுக்கிரை சுகிக்குமார் (22 வது) ஆகியோரே கணை மதி யோனவரிசன் அகலது மகிவிப்புச் சபையின் ஆதிக்க கையிற் தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டிரு கிறது. (9-5)</p>	<p>இரு வேள்வ [1 ஆம் பக்கத் புரம் - அமைப் பிக்கப்படுக தனப்பொருளிக் காடு - சந்திரி வவுளிசா] ஆகிய கக் வீரமரண</p> <p>படையினர்... [1 ஆம் பக்கத் இன்று] 1920 ஆகிய ரெசுசை. புனை ர. பி. டி. பி ஆகிய படைவீரன்களுடன் படையிற் ஈடுபட் றார்.</p> <p>இதேவேளை - பல்வேறு தி களை விட்டு காரண அரசுப் நிரம்பி, அவர் யாக பலிதிரி ஆவ் படைவீரனின் பயிற்சை அதிகம் அடிக்கை எடுக்கப் புறங்கவும் அவ்வ தெரிவித்தார்.</p> <p>கருதலானால் உதவுமியடி தம் களை இராணுவக் முன்று மாநகியை கருவதான தமிழ்</p>
<p>17-11-1920 இக் கடைபெற்றது நம்புகள் அதை</p> <p>தகவல்: தூர்வாசல் (சாதுக்) குருக்கள் கணைகள்)</p>	<p>மண்படைத்துவாய்...</p> <p>[1 ஆம் பக்கத் தொடர்ச்சி] டம், ஏ. கே. எம். ஜி. இரண்டு உட்பட வெகுமனைவு நவீன ஆயுதகிணையும் இரா ணுவத்தினரிடமிருந்து கிடு நகையி புவிசை கைப்பற்றி னர்.</p> <p>இதேவேளை - வவுளிசா பாண்டிநகி இராணுவ பதவிகு குழிசை நேசகம் விடுதலைப் புவிசை தெரிய நடத்திய நாக்கிசை ஆறு இராணுவத்தினர் கொடு பெயட்டனர் என்று, முன்று படையினர் காயமடைந்தனர் என்பும் தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டிரு கிறது.</p>	<p>படையினர்... [1 ஆம் பக்கத் இன்று] 1920 ஆகிய ரெசுசை. புனை ர. பி. டி. பி ஆகிய படைவீரன்களுடன் படையிற் ஈடுபட் றார்.</p> <p>இதேவேளை - பல்வேறு தி களை விட்டு காரண அரசுப் நிரம்பி, அவர் யாக பலிதிரி ஆவ் படைவீரனின் பயிற்சை அதிகம் அடிக்கை எடுக்கப் புறங்கவும் அவ்வ தெரிவித்தார்.</p> <p>கருதலானால் உதவுமியடி தம் களை இராணுவக் முன்று மாநகியை கருவதான தமிழ்</p>
<p>நிலத்துரை (பெய்க்கிணை)</p>	<p>மண்படைத்துவாய்...</p> <p>[1 ஆம் பக்கத் தொடர்ச்சி] டம், ஏ. கே. எம். ஜி. இரண்டு உட்பட வெகுமனைவு நவீன ஆயுதகிணையும் இரா ணுவத்தினரிடமிருந்து கிடு நகையி புவிசை கைப்பற்றி னர்.</p> <p>இதேவேளை - வவுளிசா பாண்டிநகி இராணுவ பதவிகு குழிசை நேசகம் விடுதலைப் புவிசை தெரிய நடத்திய நாக்கிசை ஆறு இராணுவத்தினர் கொடு பெயட்டனர் என்று, முன்று படையினர் காயமடைந்தனர் என்பும் தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டிரு கிறது.</p>	<p>படையினர்... [1 ஆம் பக்கத் இன்று] 1920 ஆகிய ரெசுசை. புனை ர. பி. டி. பி ஆகிய படைவீரன்களுடன் படையிற் ஈடுபட் றார்.</p> <p>இதேவேளை - பல்வேறு தி களை விட்டு காரண அரசுப் நிரம்பி, அவர் யாக பலிதிரி ஆவ் படைவீரனின் பயிற்சை அதிகம் அடிக்கை எடுக்கப் புறங்கவும் அவ்வ தெரிவித்தார்.</p> <p>கருதலானால் உதவுமியடி தம் களை இராணுவக் முன்று மாநகியை கருவதான தமிழ்</p>

Appendix E2

Reeuwijk, 2 June 1992⁴

Dear Mrs. Bettammah Soosaipillai,

I am writing to you as a member of a local group of the Dutch section of Amnesty International. Our group is investigating, among others, the disappearance of your son Soosaipillai Selvanayagam. We know that a large number of Tamil refugees was arrested by the Sri Lanka army on 25 August 1990. from the Philip Heris Church, Allaipiddy. Most of them were released the following day. But the whereabouts of at least 22 detainees remains unknown. We are trying to establish the whereabouts or fate of the disappeared persons. We want to put pressure on the government to take measures to account for these missing persons. To be effective in our efforts we need all the information available. I ask you to write me if you can give me more information about your son. Do you know where he is now or where he was last seen? Did you take steps to determine the whereabouts of your son? And, if you did so: did you get an official response to these steps?

I hope you will write me. For your answer I enclose an international postal coupon. You can exchange this coupon for postage stamps at your local post office.

Yours sincerely,

Hans Mondeel,
De Lange Krag 6,
2811 RX Reeuwijk
Netherlands

5
Peeuwijk, 27 August 1992

Dear Mrs. Pettammah Scosaipillai,

I am writing to you as a member of a local group of the Dutch section of Amnesty International. Our group is investigating, among others, the disappearance of your son Scosaipillai Selvanayagam.

Some time ago I wrote to you. I asked you to write me and to inform me about all you know about your son since he was arrested by the Sri Lanka Army on 25 August 1990.

We have contacts with the government authorities to establish the whereabouts of your son.

But to be effective in our efforts we need your information too!

This is why I request you most urgently to write to me. And if you cannot tell me anything: please let me know it!

I enclose an international postal coupon. You can exchange this coupon for postage stamps at your local postoffice.

Yours sincerely,
Hans Mondeel
De Lange Krag 6
2811 RX Peeuwijk
SRI LANKA

Appendix F1

Appendix - F1

Mrs. Selvarasa Nesanmah,
C/O. S. Edmund,
149, Kandassamy Kovil Road,
Vavuniya.
8th May 1992.

His Excellency,
The President of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,
Jenathipathi Mawatha,
Colombo 1.

Your Excellency,

I, the undersigned, Mrs. Selvarasa Nesanmah, of 149, Kandassamy Kovil Road, Vavuniya, respectfully wish to bring Your Excellency's Notice the following submissions for Your kind perusal and favourable consideration please.

During the Military Operations known as "Operation Post" carried out by the Sri Lanka Security Forces at Mandative on 25.08.1990, the members of my family and I vacated our house and sought refuge at allaipiddy St. Philip Maria Church. On that day in question, the Security Forces entered in to the said Church and took into custody of my son named Selvarasa Antony Robert, aged 21 along with some others. My above son was reading at St. Charles' Maha Vidyalayam, in Jaffna. He was a daily Scholar.

I have contacted the higher authority concerned with regard to this matter, no response had been received by me. His father died on March 1991 ^{due to} continuous agony of his son's arrest. It is now nearing 2 years.

Further I declare truly, solemnly and sincerely that my son did not have any sort of involvement in the Terrorist activities and I am sure that he had never done any ultra-violent performances against the Government. Besides, he is neither a supporter nor a sympathiser in the said movements.

In view of the above I implore your good-self with good-will to have mercy on him and on his mother, the undersigned, and kindly grant me permission to visit my son. I do not know where he has been detained.

Thanking Your Honour.
Copy to: Hon. Defence Minister,
Major General Densil
Kottekesduwa.

Yours Most obediently,
Selvarasa Nesanmah
Mrs. Selvarasa Nesanmah.

Appendix F2

Appendix- F2

MTC
V.S. Jesuratnam,
102/25, Jampettah street,
Colombo 13,
14th. November, 1994.

Her Excellency, Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaratunga,
The President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
Presidential Secretariat,
Colombo

Your Excellency,

COMPLAINT REGARDING MY MISSING SONS.

I, the undersigned V.S. Jesuratnam, residing at the above address respectfully wish to bring to Your Excellency's notice the following submissions for your Excellency's perusal and favourable consideration please.

My letter dated 3rd. September 1994, in which I had already pin-pointed the names of my sons and how they had been arrested?.

For Your Excellency's ^eeasy reference I attached herewith the Photocopy of the said letter.

Further it is sadly regrettable to note that up to now I have not received any sort of tangible reply from Your Excellency.

In view of the above I implore your Excellency kindly probe into this matter through the Department concerned and send me a reply so that I could visit my sons with the approval from the particular Department concerned.

An early action pertaining to my request is highly solicited, as this is a long overdue matter.

Thanking Your Excellency, in anticipation.

Your Obedient Servant,

V.S. Jesuratnam
V.S. Jesuratnam.

Appendix F3

Appendix- F3

AP18



ජනාධිපති ලේකම් කාර්යාලය
ஜனநாயக சேவகம்
THE PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARIAT

මගේ අංකය } CPA
ඔබේ අංකය }

මගේ අංකය }
ඔබේ අංකය }

අංශ 1
කොළඹ 4
කොට්ඨාස 1

7th February, 1995.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by Her Excellency the President to acknowledge the receipt of the letter dated 01.01.1995 sent by you. It has been referred to the Secretary of the Ministry of Defence

for necessary action.

Yours faithfully,

For SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Sangarapillai Salvavinsyanam,
Ward No:02, Allainiady.

Copy to: S/M. of Defence

The above letter is sent herewith for necessary action and to send a reply to the writer with a copy to me as early as possible.

Appendix F4

Appendix - F4

Mrs. R. Vasanthaletchumy,
Ward No. 7,
Mandathivu.

2nd September, 1991.

The Joint Operation Commando,
The Office of the Joint Operation Commando,
Cottar Road,
Colombo 7.

Dear Sir,

RASIAH SUTHAHARAN - AGE 20.

During the Army operation on 20.09.1990 at Koyla,
we were advised to go and stay at St. Philip Neri's Church at Allabpity.
The Army took several persons including my son Rasiah Suthaharan
age 20.

We were informed by the persons released by the
Army that they selected 25 persons including my son Rasiah Suthaharan
to work at the Trincomalee Harbour.

We had informed several Institutions and Organisations
regarding this matter, but we were unable to get any information
regarding my son.

Due to this event my husband is in a depressed mind
and now he is admitted in hospital.

Two (2) years ago my son Rasiah Suthaharan was
working as a Salesman at Ayangara Traders in Negombo. He came to
Mandathivu to attend a relation's wedding. Our family entirely depends
on his earnings. My other children are in a depressed mind due to this.

I appeal to Your Honour kindly find my son Rasiah
Suthaharan and hand over him to me.

Thanking you very much,
I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,

R. Vasanthalasemy.

(MRS. RASIAH VASANTHALETCHUMY).

Copy to negombo Branch Secretar

Appendix F5

Appendix - F5

අ. ස. } අ. ස. } 1577 P. O. Box }		මගේ අංකය } OPH/ROD/MPS/ எனது இல. } 4/10(94) My No. }	
දුරකථන } 575288 தொலைபேசி } 574173 Telephones } 574174		ඔබේ අංකය } உமது இல. } AP 20 Your No. }	

ක්‍රියාකාරී මූලස්ථානය, රාජ්‍ය ආරක්ෂක අමාත්‍යාංශය
தகவல்களை தகவல்கள் செயலகம், தேசிய பாதுகாப்பு அமைச்சு
OPERATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

බාලදක්ෂ මාවත, කොළඹ 03
 பாலதகஷ மாவத்தை, கொழும்பு 03
 Baladhaksha Mawatha, Colombo 03

Miss Kovintharani Sothilingam
 47/3 Chemmani Road
 Nellur

අංකය } 28 Dec 94
 திகதி }
 Date }

Dear Madam,

DISPARANCE OF PERSONS IN THE JAFFNA PENINSULA

Reference:

a. Your letter dated 06/09/94 addressed to the Prime Minister with a copy to Secretary Defence.

1. Inquiries were made from the authorities concerned from which area these persons are alleged to have been taken into custody. It is reported that the persons by those names have not been taken into custody by the Security Forces.

Yours faithfully

 Civil Affairs Officer
 for Principal Staff Officer

Appendix G1

Appendix - G 1

ප්‍රධාන මහලයේ පිහිටි කැමරා මගින්
ඉවත්කළ හැකි වස්තූන් පිළිබඳව
පරික්ෂණ කොමිෂන් සභාව

සුළුකලාත්‍ය නැතිවීමකින් වැළකීමට
වැඩි කාර්යයන් සිදුකරන්නාට
සුළුකලාත්‍ය නැතිවීමකින් වැළකීමට
සුළුකලාත්‍ය නැතිවීමකින් වැළකීමට

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
into Involuntary Removal of Persons.

දුරකථන අංක/දුරකථන අංක/දුරකථන අංක/Tel. No. 693890



මාගේ අංක 2-115, බන්දරානායක මහලයේ පිහිටි
සම්මන්ත්‍රණ මාලාව,
බුද්ධාලෝක මාවත, කොළඹ 7.

අංක 2-115, බන්දරානායක මහලයේ
සම්මන්ත්‍රණ මාලාව,
බුද්ධාලෝක මාවත, කොළඹ 7.

Room No. 2-115, Bandaranaike Memorial International
Conference Hall,
Buddhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 7.

මාගේ අංක
අංක/අංක
My No. } IRP/11/64

21 February 1991.

Miss S Kovinthanani,
Al. Qamar M.V
Bammanna,
Narungoda

Dear Madam,

I write to acknowledge receipt of your
letter dated 5.2.1991 sent to this Commission.

2. As the matter referred to in your letter
has taken place prior to 11.01.1991, it does not come within
the Terms of Reference of the Commission, as published in the
Gazette Extraordinary No. 644/27 of 11.01.1991.

3. Hence it is regretted that the Commission
is unable to take action in the matter.

By Order of the Commission,



A.M. Heerakoon
Secretary to the Commission.

Appendix G2

<p>G2</p> <p>සුද්ධතාවය සහතික කිරීමේ කමිටුව ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවෙන් සඳහන් කර ඇති ප්‍රකාශිතව සඳහන් කර ඇති ආයතනික ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයන් අදාළව යම්දි විශාලතම පරිමාණයක සුභසාධන ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයන් ආරම්භ කළහ</p> <p>PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY into Involuntary Removal of Persons</p>		<p>වැටුප් අංක 2-115, සංවිධානනායක ඉන්ද්‍රජයාපාලන මධ්‍යස්ථානය, පොදු සේවා මධ්‍යස්ථානය, කොළඹ 7. M2</p> <p>අංක 2-115, සංවිධානනායක ඉන්ද්‍රජයාපාලන මධ්‍යස්ථානය, පොදු සේවා මධ්‍යස්ථානය, කොළඹ 7.</p> <p>Room No. 2-115, Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, Suddhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 7.</p>
<p>දුරකථන අංක/දුරකථන මගින් අංක/Tele. No. 693898</p>		
<p>මගේ අංකය මාගේ අංකය My No.</p>	<p>} SRP/24/21</p>	<p>17th Jan 1992</p>
<p>Family members of S. Rodman Veyateelan</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>		
<p>Dear Sir/Madam,</p> <p>Involuntary Removal/Disappearance of Mr. <u>S. Rodman Veyateelan</u></p> <p><i>Information has been received that</i></p>		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I refer to your letter dated sent to this Commission on the above matter. 2. Inquiries have already commenced on this matter. 3. I shall be grateful if you would kindly complete the attached form and return it very early. It would be preferable if the form is filled up in CAPITAL letters. 		
<p>By order of the Commission</p> <p></p> <p>S. B. W. de Silva Chief Investigating Officer</p>		

Appendix G4

M24

Appendix - G4

பி.சி.து/என்எ/20.3/12/4

வடக்கு, கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களில் இருந்து ஆட்கள் தன்னிச்சையில்லாதவாறு அகற்றப்பட்டமை, காரணமற்போனமை தொடர்பான ஜனாதிபதி விசாரணைக் குழு

பலவந்தமாக அல்லது தன்னிச்சையில்லாதவாறு அகற்றப்பட்ட ஆள் சம்பந்தமான அறிக்கை

அலுவலக உபயோகத்திற்கு மட்டும்

1. பலவந்தமாக அல்லது தன்னிச்சையில்லாதவாறு காரணமற்போன ஆளின் அட்டவாைம்
2. (அ) முழுப்பெயர் (கடைசி பெயரின் கீழ் போடும்); ஜனாதிபதியின் கீழ் முட்டமார் ஜெயசிவன்
(ஆ) வேறு பெயர், ஏதாவது இருப்பின் குறிப்பிடவும்:
3. பால்: ஆண்: திருமணி பெண்:
4. பிறந்த திகதி அல்லது காரணமற்போனபோது வயது: 28-06-1967; 23 வயதுடையவர்.
4. விவாக நிலை (தனிப்பட்டவர்/ விவாகமானவர்); தனிப்பட்டவர்.
5. (தொழிலாளர்) அட்டவாை அட்டை இல: 67180124 V
6. கையாற்றப்பட்டுள்ள முகவரி:
7. தொழில்: வாகனச் சீர்திருத்தி.
தொழில் புரந்த இடம்: காரணமற்போன போது - வாகனச் சீர்திருத்தி.
காரணமற்போனபோது மாற்றத் தரப்பட்ட முகவரி: திருவள்ளூர் (மாநகர்) ஜெயசிவன்.
(ஏதாவது சில தகுதிகளைக் காட்டவும்)
8. நிரந்தர வசிப்பிடத்தின் முகவரி: 3^{வது} கட்டிடம், காரணமற்போன போது.
முகவரி: வாகனச் சீர்திருத்தி, முகவரி: வாகனச் சீர்திருத்தி, காரணமற்போன போது.
கிராம முகவரி: 7/7, கிராம முகவரி: காரணமற்போன போது.
9. காரணமற்போனபோது மேற்கூறிய விவரத்தில் அல்லது வேறு முகவரி விவரத்தில் இருந்திருந்தால், முகவரி விவரத்தைக் காட்டவும்: திருவள்ளூர், காரணமற்போன போது, காரணமற்போன போது.
10. கல்வித் தரவுகள்: இ.பி.பா.கு. (காரணமற்போன போது)
11. காரணமற்போன போது காரணமற்போன போது: திருவள்ளூர் காரணமற்போன போது, காரணமற்போன போது.
12. தகவல்கள் உ-ம்: தொழிலாளர் அட்டை, காரணமற்போன போது, காரணமற்போன போது, காரணமற்போன போது, காரணமற்போன போது.

Appendix H1

Appendix - H1



ශ්‍රී ලංකා මානව හිමිකම් කොමිෂන් කොට්ඨාසය
இலங்கை மனித உரிமைகள் ஆணைக்குழு
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF SRI LANKA

දුරකථන කාර්යාලය
பிராந்திய நிலையம்
Regional Centre

20 ජොර්ජ් පාරේ,
කොළඹ,
யாழ்ப்பாணம்.

දුරකථන
தொலைபேசி
Tel. 021-2222021

ඔබේ අංකය
எனது எண்
My No.

03/HRC/OC/
1173

ඔබේ අංකය
உமது எண்
Your No.

දිනය
திகதி
Date

24.01.2003

திரு.வி.எஸ்.பேரட்டணம்,
பண்டிதர் குடியிருப்பு,
முழங்காவில்.

ஐயா.

காணற்றி போனேர் சம்பந்தமானது

தங்களுடைய முறைப்பாடு சம்பந்தமாக தேவையான சில தகவல்களைப் பெறுவதற்காக திருகோணமலையிலுள்ள மனித உரிமைகள் ஆணைக்குழு அலுவலகத்தில் தொடர்பு கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ளது என்பதையும், அந்தத் தகவல்கள் கிடைத்த பின் மேற்கொண்டு சட்ட நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கப்படவுள்ளது என்பதையும் தங்களுக்கு அறியத்தகுகின்றேன்.

தன்றி.

R. P. Olay

ஆரம்பச்சத்திரச்சேகர

பிராந்திய இணைப்பாளர்

யாழ்ப்பாணம்.

දුරකථන කාර්යාලය
ஆலையலகம்
Head Office

: අංක 36, කින්සි පාර, කොළඹ 08.
: இல.36, கின்சீ வீதி, கொழும்பு 08.
: No.36, Kynsey Road, Colombo 08.

Tele : 673806, 685980/81, 685334
Fax : 694924
E mail : sechre@sltnet.lk
Chairman Tele : 696470

Appendix I

Comparison of the votes gained by the main Tamil political party of that time and EPDP in the Northeast electorates in the General elections of 2001 and 2004.

Source: www.slections.gov.lk

	Jaffna	Trinco	Vanni	Batticaloa
TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT (2001)	54.8%	34.8%	44.4%	48.2%
EELAM PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY(2001)	30.6%	1%	3.6%	2.3%
ILLANKAI TAMIL ARASU KACHCHI (2004)	90.6%	37.7%	64.7%	66.7%
EELAM PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY (2004)	6.5%	0%	0.8%	1.1%





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