

Genocide against the Tamil People

**MASSACRES, POGROMS,
DESTRUCTION OF
PROPERTY, SEXUAL
VIOLENCE AND
ASSASSINATIONS OF CIVIL
SOCIETY LEADERS**

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide:

Article 2

- (a) Killing members of the group;*
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part”*

Introduction

Discussing Raphael Lemkin's contribution in drafting the UN Convention on Genocide, William Schabas writes: "*Lemkin's broad view of the nature of genocide was reflected in the original draft convention, proposed by Saudi Arabia in late 1946. Article I contemplated mass killing, destruction of 'the essential potentialities of life', 'planned disintegration of the political, social or economic structure', 'systematic moral debasement' and 'acts of terrorism committed for the purpose of creating a state of common danger and alarm.....with the intent of producing [the group's] political, social, economic or moral disintegration.'*"¹ Lemkin's thinking on the crime of genocide demonstrates much broader understanding about the nature of the crime apart from reflecting his deep sensitivity towards the plight of the victim group. At the same time, his long and detailed formulations – *which were largely left out in the final draft* – clearly manifested his determination to avoid leaving any loophole that would allow perpetrators to walk free.

Lemkin's fears seem to be well justified when we scrutinise the UN Convention's track record in terms of practical applicability and preventive capacity since its adoption in 1948. Various state perpetrators who carried out genocidal attacks against victim groups have long enjoyed impunity as they have been always provided with legal escape routes despite the magnitude and the nature of their crimes. One reliable way is to conceal and legitimise the crimes using the argument of '*rights of a sovereign state*' while making any atrocity appear as 'collateral' rather than 'intentional'. Sri Lankan state stands out as an example of callous cruelty and ability to enjoy international impunity which re-confirms Lemkin's fears.

The first thirty years since independence, Tamils were victimised through means of

¹ Shabas, W. A. (2009). *Genocide in International Law*. (2nd ed., p. 173). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

legalised discrimination through various legislative provisions and regulations. No resistance was tolerated and all the peaceful and non-violent protest actions were met with brute force. Let's look at one historical event that can represent the collective character of the Tamil resistance during the first phase of the struggle:

When the mainstream Tamil political parties called for a Gandhian Sathyagraha campaign in February 1961 against imposition of Sinhala language as the official language in the Tamil areas, it succeeded in whipping up enormous public enthusiasm and mobilised thousands of people in the north and east. Within 11 days, a train full of armed soldiers was sent to the areas, under the command of Sinhalese military officer, Col. Udagama to break the peaceful campaign. The Sathyagrahis, including veteran and respected Tamil political leaders, were brutally baton charged, assaulted with rifle butts and suppressed. But no one backed down from the decision to take forward the campaign. Braving military might, hundreds and thousands took to the streets peacefully in both provinces within the next few weeks. The passive action, which caught the popular imagination appeared as a re-enacted scene from the Indian independence struggle as the plantation Tamil people living in central highlands also join the campaign. At the height of the successful passive resistance - on the 17th of April - the government declared emergency law sending more troops to the area. Reflecting the state attitude and collective sentiments of the Sinhala supremacists, on the 26th of April, the female Prime Minister of the country, Sirimavo Bandaranayake made an appeal to Sinhala public:

*“We cannot allow the Federal Party supporters in the North and East, the estate workers in the plantations and their friends and allies in other parts of the country to dictate to the government with threats of paralyzing the economy, if it does not yield to their pressure... **This is the hour of everyone to unit against the enemy of the nation and of the people.** You must be ready to answer the call of duty.”²*

Within the next couple of week, a reign of terror was established which effectively broke the back of the campaign through mass arrests and brutal repression. The bloody crack down of one of the most successful passive resistance campaigns in

² Ponniah, S. (1963). *Satyagraha and the Freedom Movement of the Tamils in Ceylon.* (pp. 182-186). Jaffna:

island's history left deep scars in the minds of the younger generation, while strengthening growing scepticism towards the non-violence methods tested since the mid '30s. The collective frustration shared by the younger generation who grew up at the time was well manifested in a comment made at the beginning of the '80s reflecting upon the historic Satyagraha Campaign in 1961, by Dr. Anton Balasingham, who became the political advisor to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the late '70s:

“Thus the violence of the oppressor silenced the non-violence of the oppressed; the armed might of Sinhala chauvinism crushed the ahimsa of the Tamils. This historical event marked the beginning of a political experience that was crucial to the Tamil national struggle, an experience that taught the Tamils that the moral power of non-violence could not consume the military power of a violent oppressor whose racial hatred transcends all ethical norms of humanness and civilized behaviour. To the oppressor this event encouraged the view that military terrorism is the only answer to the Tamil demand and that the non-violent foundation of the Tamil political agitation is a weak and impotent structure against the barrel of the gun.”³

Until '70s consequences of violent repression were interpreted as 'collateral' while the frequent pogroms were presented as 'spontaneous' than 'state orchestrated'. But once the Tamil resistance took a violent turn, the genocidal acts took the cover of counterinsurgency and the state resorted to unprecedented cruelty and barbarism which were justified as a legitimate right of a 'sovereign state.' The argument of the 'collateral damage' gain more legitimacy as the killings and atrocities escalated while the entire state repressive campaign took a more systematic form.

This report intends to present a brief but comprehensive account on the brutalisation of the Tamil population, within the framework of the UN Convention.

Under the **UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide**, Article 2 states the following:

“In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with

³ Balasingham, A. S. (1983). Liberation tigers and tamil eelam freedom struggle. Jaffna: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:”

and goes on to state the following:

“(a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; and (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part”

This report deals with four types of crimes by the Sri Lankan state and its armed forces each of which can be argued as an act of genocide. These acts and the paragraph labels of the Genocide Convention stated above that applies to these types of act are as follows: large scale massacres (a); eliminating civil society leaders (a); property destruction (c); and sexual violence (b).

The evidence for these charges of genocide of the Tamils by the Sri Lankan state and the Indian military stationed in the Tamil homeland from 1987-1989 are presented below. In the context of the patriarchal Tamil society, evidence of sexual violence against women is the hardest to gather and record and has been poorly recorded to date. Thus this is dealt with first in this report. It might be worth noting here that the most promising developments against patriarchy in the Tamil society evolved under the civil administration of the Tamil armed movement, the LTTE. The evidence presented for large scale massacres and property destruction is mainly based on the collation of incidents where Tamil people were killed in large numbers by deliberate act of violence by the Sri Lankan state and the Indian state operated armed forces. These incidents span the period from 1956 until 2008. Statistical Centre for North-East (SNE) and North East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESOHR) collated these incidents during the early phase of the Norwegian brokered ceasefire of 2002 and thereafter. This collation was published in book form in Tamil and English in India in 2009 and in German in Germany in 2013.^[i] This collation has numbered sections and these numbered sections are referred to extensively in this report in italicized font.. It should be noted that this collation is by no means a complete list. After its publication Tamils have noted that many incidents known to them are missing from this collation.

The actual number of people killed prior to the 2002 ceasefire as reported in this

collation is between 4000 and 5000. The SNE mentioned above also collected the details of all the civilians killed during this phase. Although this list is also incomplete, the total recorded deaths of civilians in this list is around 40,000. This list is lost with the 2009 end war but a report by NESOHR providing statistics based on this list has survived.^[ii] Even based on these two numbers of around 4000 killed in large scale massacres and the 40,000 total number of civilians killed gives the ratio of 1:40. The total number of civilians deaths after the 2002 ceasefire until the end of 2008 was more accurately recorded by NESOHR. *The deaths until end of 2008 in large scale massacres and those killed singly also bears a similar ratio. This proves that these large scale massacres is only a small window into the extensive killing of one or two victims at a time carried out by the military both prior to and after the 2002 ceasefire.*

Evidence for the four categories of the crime of genocide mentioned above are presented as far as possible in chronological order based on the phase of the political struggle carried out by the Tamils, namely: pre-armed struggle phase (1956 – 1983); armed struggle phase (1983 – 2005); during end-war phase (2006 – 2009) and post-armed struggle phase (post 2009).

The overarching pattern of all the violence described in the book and summarised in this report is that NO-ONE was ever brought to justice for these on going violence spanning more than five decades. If there is ever a proof of “intention” to commit genocide of the Tamils, this disinclination to punish perpetrators that spans five decades should be one such proof.

2. The pogroms during pre-armed struggle phase (1956 – 1983)

There were four major island wide pogroms over a period of nearly four decades. The last and the biggest of these pogroms was in 1983. Though small groups of Tamil youth were already committing some acts of violence against the Sri Lankan state apparatus in the Tamil homeland during the late 1970's, it was the 1983 pogrom that marked the watershed moment that lead to the exponential growth of armed militancy among the Tamil youth. Thus this phase can be said to end with the last of the major pogroms in 1983.

Much of the recorded material of these pogroms refer to these four events as “race

riots”. The widely accepted meaning of race riots refers to acts of violence committed within the same community by members of different races against each other. Scant perusal of the recorded evidence will show that the violence in all the four events was one sided, well organized and had the backing of the state armed forces. Thus these events are more accurately referred to by the term pogrom which refers to the violent massacre of one particular group.

Evidence of rapes, massacres and property destruction during these pogroms are poorly recorded. Yet, that these took place is incontrovertible based on the scant records that are available.

In 1956 the Sinhala Only language Act replaced the earlier three official languages of Sinhala, Tamil and English. This effectively made Tamils illiterate overnight because the state was fully centralised and Sinhala became the only language with which citizens could communicate with the state. Tamils staged homeland wide protests over this. This Sinhala Act when seen in the context of what followed as described below is a precursor to the genocide which followed.

1958 Pogrom: The famous book “Emergency ‘58”^[iii] records the events of this pogrom. It was written by a journalist Tarzie Vittachi soon after the pogrom. He was expelled from the island by the Sri Lankan state for publishing the book. The violence resulted in the loss of Tamil lives, rape of many Tamil women and destruction of Tamil property throughout the island. Estimated loss of Tamil lives range from 300 to 1500. Although Vittachi called the violence race riots, it is clear from his book that it is one sided and more accurately called a pogrom. *The book also shows that the stirrings of Sinhala nationalism as an anti-Tamil movement had already taken form and exhibited itself during the pogrom as a closely coordinated action of politicians, Buddhist monks, and rural Sinhalese.*

The two decades intervening the earlier pogrom and the 1977 pogrom described below was marked with more negotiations and ensuing pacts for Tamil autonomy to be abrogated soon after by the Sri Lankan state. Following the nationalisation of schools in the early 1960’s, the Sri Lankan state also took some deliberate actions to reduce the educational standards in Jaffna which was at that time the envy of the whole island. The mood of the Sinhala polity was becoming very clear. Frustrated Tamils came together in 1976 and declared the Vaddukkoddai resolution on the need

for an independent state of Tamil Eelam. The united Tamil party stood for the parliamentary elections, which followed, on the campaign platform based on that resolution. Tamils island wide gave a massive endorsement to the resolution by voting for the Tamil party to the extent that it became second largest party in parliament.

1977 Pogrom: The 1977 island wide pogrom against the Tamils followed soon after the election results were announced. Tamils passengers travelling between Jaffna and Colombo in the train were attacked. The violence spread throughout the island. Estimated 1500 Tamils were killed and many Tamil property throughout the island was destroyed. *The anti-Tamil Sinhala nationalism was now taking on an blatantly violent form.*

1981 Pogrom: This pogrom was contained within Jaffna during another election campaign. Large police force together with Sinhala thugs were brought to Jaffna from elsewhere and they were accommodated in a large hall in Jaffna. Two Sinhala ministers of the government were also visiting Jaffna at that time and they were aware of a plan to commit the pogrom. During the pogrom that ensued the large Jaffna market was destroyed. Jaffna public library together with its collection of irreplaceable manuscripts, the largest such collection in South Asia was burnt. The destruction of the cultural life of Jaffna by the burning of the Jaffna library and the destruction of the hub of Jaffna economy, the Jaffna market, *was intended to prevent the development of the Jaffna Tamil community culturally and economically. Thus amounts to intention to commit genocide.*

1983 Pogrom: Estimated 3000 people were killed in this island wide pogrom including the well planned murder of 53 Tamil political prisoners in the custody of the state. There were large scale rape and murder of Tamil women. The destruction of Tamil owned property and businesses dealt a huge blow to the Tamil economy. Although even today the majority of writers about this pogrom insist that it was a reaction to the killing of 13 Sinhala soldiers in Jaffna, researchers and others have also clearly shown that it was well planned, well coordinated and had begun prior to the killing of the 13 soldiers. The International Commission of Jurists observed: *“the evidence points clearly to the conclusion that the violence of the Sinhala rioters on the Tamils amounted to acts of genocide.”*^[iv] The Sinhala polity including the president at that time showed no remorse but clearly demonstrated that *large scale*

violence against Tamils will be tolerated to prevent them claiming the right to self determination to pursue their own development.

During all of these pogroms the state failed to take action to bring it under control sooner.^[v] Indeed it is on record that during all of these pogroms the state armed forces stood by and in some instances took part as Sinhala thugs carried the violence. It is also on record that the Sinhala thugs who took part in the violence did not act impulsively but were well prepared as to the target of their violence.

3. Rape and other sexual violence

Does the five decades long sexual violence by the Sri Lankan state supported forces committed on the Tamil men and women constitute what is mentioned in the following. This is what will be argued below.

Article 2 paragraph (b) of the Genocide Convention, “causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group” with the intent to destroy in whole or in part a national and an ethnical group.

At the time of drafting the Convention the world was very much a male gendered place and rape and sexual violence were not among those rated as the most gruesome “serious bodily or mental harm”. It was several decades after the Convention was declared that rape became accepted as a form of torture. A truer understanding of rape and sexual violence is summarised by Carolyn Nordstrom who had carried out extensive field work in war zones. She writes in her book “Shadows of War”,

“Rape stands as a powerful example of physical assaults that are intended to carry deeper, supra-physical, impacts. I have listened to hundreds of accounts of rape, and few focus primarily on the physical pain. It is the emotional trauma, the social shame, and the violation of humanity that is conveyed most strongly in these accounts. What makes rape so grievous an act isn’t just the assault against the body, but the attacks against family, dignity, self-worth, and future. I have seen women suffer tremendously, even die, in difficult childbirths. I have seen devastating vaginal infections women have carried for months, even years, on front lines devoid of medicines. The physical pain involved in these is often as

severe as that suffered in rape, and the grief over the deceased and the infirm as great as any war casualty. But these don't invoke the horror of rape and the intent that underlies such aggression."

Thus it can be argued that rape and the associated sexual violence causes one of the most "serious mental harm". When this goes on for more than five decades and is used extensively as proved below it is a clear case of genocide. The types of sexual violence that is employed by the Sri Lankan state supported armed forces fits broadly into five types:

- * Gang rape and murder;
- * Silenced rapes in the community;
- * Other forms of sexual violence;
- * Detainee rape and sexual torture; and
- * Forced sex for survival in situations of induced poverty by the state

Starting from the time of pre-armed struggle phase to this date the Sri Lankan state supported forces have used all these forms of sexual violence. During the earlier decades when the world was not watching Sri Lanka intently, it was much easier to get away with the first three forms of sexual violence. During the armed-struggle phase which provided cover for the most gruesome violations all five forms of sexual violations were prevalent. In the present post-war phase due to the military rule of the Tamil homeland all five forms of violations persists with the last type of violation endemic.

3.1 Pre-armed struggle phase (1956-1983)

The pre-armed struggle phase violence against Tamils described in Section 2 mainly targeted the destruction of the economic life of Tamils. However, rape of the first two types of the five categories mentioned above did take place during these pogroms.

1958: The following is from Tarzie Vittachi's book, Emergency'58 where he refers to rape of women,

"Among the hundreds of acts of arson, rape, pillage, murder and plain

barbarity some incidents may be recorded as ex-amples of the kind of thuggery at work.”

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1983: The months preceding the 1983 pogrom was marked by rapes of Tamil women in their homes by the Sri Lankan armed forces.[vi]

The pogrom itself was also marked by the rape and murder many Tamil women. In his book, ‘The tragedy of Sri Lanka’, William McGowan describes some of the incidents. He wrote:[vii]

“In another incident, two sisters, one eighteen and one eleven, were decapitated and raped, the latter ‘until there was nothing left to violate and no volunteers could come forward,’ after which she was burned.”

3.2 Armed struggle phase (1983 – 2005)

All five categories of sexual violence was systematically employed by the Sri Lankan state supported armed forces during this phase. The evidence, to a large degree is masked by the fact that women and girls who are raped are killed and their bodies disposed of – so direct evidence is difficult to find. When the victim survives the sexual attack she keeps the assault secret within her due to the humiliation she will face within her community.

3.2.1 Gang rape and murder

Rape in the form of the first two types of the five categories mentioned above is mentioned in detail in 15 Sections (22, 26, 27, 33, 35, 45, 56, 60, 62, 68, 71, 79, 93, 95 and 99) in the book, “Massacres of Tamils”.

During the mid 1990’s rape assault on women in Jaffna became very common. Besides the Chemmani mass graves incident (Section 93) and the Kaithady Krishanthi incident (Section 99), there are several other well known cases of rape and murder.[viii]

3.2.2 Silenced rape in community

A video recording: A women's group in Kilinochchi called, Ariya, made a video recording in 2006 [ix] about the endemic rape and sexual violence by the Sri Lankan state armed forces during the 1990s. In this video a medical doctor who had treated many rape victims speaks about what she dealt with in the course of her work in treating the victims. Her testimony proves the wide spread nature of the "silence rapes" that went on. Also a woman counsellor/activist gives evidence in the tape about the victims she had counselled during her workshops. Her statement records the gruesome nature of the rape and murder category which was witnessed by the people in her workshop. A female LTTE member also recounts the cases she has directly dealt with. Two young women list some of the other types of sexual violence they face at the hands of the Sri Lankan armed forces at the check points. This video record when viewed together with the statement by Carolyn Nordstrom about the deep wounds inflicted on the women and her community, demonstrated the "serious mental harm" done to the Tamils by this form of sexual violence.

3.2.3 Detainee rape

Rape and sexual violence under detention was another pervasive category which has been widely documented [x]. This wider documentation deals mostly with male victims who were raped and sexually assaulted. The absence of similar widespread documentation of rape and sexual assault on women under detention should be considered seriously as evidence of something. It can be argued that women are more likely to be subjected to worse forms of rape and sexual violence when they are under detention. The absence of documentation on women points to the reluctance of the women victims, induced by the deeply patriarchal nature of the Tamil society, to speak out.

3.2.4 Forced sex for survival

Colombo Telegraph published information from Wikileaks on 13 September 2013 [xi] and refers to US ambassador Robert O'Blake's memorandum to the US in 2007. It described quoting informers including the Jaffna Mayor at that time, Ganesan, about how the two state supported Tamil paramilitary groups (EPDP and Karuna) forced young girls to be taken to the Sri Lankan military to be sexually abused.

3.2.5 Rape by the Indian forces (IPKF)

A vast collection of documentation of rape during this period had been collated by Tamil activists [xii]. Documented evidence of more than 60 individual incidents of rapes committed between October 1987 and June 1988 had survived. Some of this documentation is accompanied by medical evidence. Almost 350 women and girls had suffered rape in these collated incidents. The ages of women range from as young as 14 to 45, and includes pregnant women. Almost half of the cases involved girls under the age of 18.

As the rape cases show, rape was committed in a repeated fashion and was a shared practice among Indian forces. In many of the documented cases, women were raped in their own homes and in other cases the Indian forces abducted women and raped them in army camps or deserted areas. Soldiers stationed at camps or checkpoints along roads and intersections would go to residential areas and enter the homes. Two or more soldiers would assault members of the family and then rape or sexually abuse the women and girls. Afterwards they would pillage the home, taking the family's personal belongings or valuables. In some cases the women were killed after being raped.

Rape by the Indian forces was so widespread that one Indian military leader stationed in Jaffna had to tell civilians who went to him with complaints of rape that they should not bring such complaints to him but only bring complaints if his forces shoot someone.

3.3 End war phase (2006-2009)

2006-2008

Following the 2002 ceasefire agreement and a short lull, rape and sexual violence as a tool of genocide was restarted with rape of murder of Tharshini Ilayathamby in December 2005. This was followed by a few more reported cases and many unreported cases of rape and sexual violence [xiii] as the Sri Lankan state operated forces re-launched its genocide project.

From January to December 2009

The period from end 2008 till middle end of 2009 has been unique not only for the

heightened level of massacres, rapes and sexual violence but also because it was a phase that has received attention from UN and other western bodies and individuals. It has been subjected to many reports by Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, a UN panel report, documentaries by the British Channel-4 as well as books by Francis Harrison and Gordon Weiss.

Despite this wide ranging coverage, the true picture of the events of this phase remains uncovered. The reason is the threat posed by the extensive presence of the Sri Lankan military in the Tamil homeland that has spread a vast intelligence network to watch the affected people in the Tamil homeland. A few who have managed to get out live either in India, a western country, or are seeking asylum through UNHCR while temporarily resident in a third country. Those who have reached the West still remain in fear for their loved ones who are left behind though some have spoken out without exposing their identity. Those who are living in India as refugees are also barred from speaking publicly. Tamil activists from the Diaspora are barred by the Indian government to conduct any information gathering from these people. Whatever information that have been reported is what has managed to seep through this massive layer of terror inflicted silence.

3.4 Post war phase (2010 -)

The February 2013 Human Rights Watch report on sexual violence of Tamil detainees is the only substantive report to come out for this period. That too is mainly about sexual violence under detention. (<http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/02/26/sri-lanka-rape-tamil-detainees>). The report by Women Under Siege (<http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/conflicts/profile/sri-lanka>) based heavily on this report and giving more weight to this report also elaborates mainly the sexual violence under detention.

Sexual violence by the military in the community has not had the kind of coverage that it deserves. The same terror inflicted silence described in the previous section prevents a full description of the conditions in which Tamils and especially women are living under the massive Sri Lankan military presence. However, there have been some reports about it in the Tamil media in Tamilnadu in India, always under anonymity. People have also described the conditions as personal communications. What follows is what was gathered from these two sources.

In one interview published by the widely read and respected weekly in Tamilnadu, Vikatan, a female ex-member described how she and at least 50 others like her were raped several times a day while held in detention by the military. Though now released into the community and living in Vanni, she had said she and many others like her are forced into prostitution to support their children. In the interview she had said she only sells her body in a forced environment but she is not selling her soul like those who abuse her.

Another female source described that she was aware of many young women working in the retail industry in Jaffna who are forced into prostitution for the Sri Lankan military by their employees.

This source also said that many female ex-members are forced to “marry” Sri Lankan military men. K. Guruparan, an academic from Jaffna had told the same to a western media. This type of forced marriage is achieved by regular harassment of the women who eventually finds getting into a “marriage” might be the better of the two situation. Indeed, most people view this “forced marriage” as prostitution in a different form.

In this context one can see that the report by Women Under Siege falls very short of touching the reality of the lives of Tamil women under the Sri Lankan military presence. The pervasive nature of this sexual violence in this period must seen in the background of five decades long violence in general and sexual violence in particular. In the minds of the majority of Tamil women Sri Lankan military is seen as a potential rapist. This same military is today present in massive numbers in the Tamil homeland and are protected by the Prevention of Terrorism Act that has been condemned universally. It is under the pervasive sexual violence of this same military that Tamil women are living and facing the conditions described above. When understood with the effect rape and potential rape has on women as described by Carolyn Nordstrom as mentioned above, this current state of affairs alone by the Sri Lankan military constitutes the act of Genocide.

4. Massacres and property destruction

The book on massacres of Tamils mentioned in the introduction records this crime in detail taking each incident as a separate event. It is by reading these events as a

continuum and also gleaning the motives behind unique sets of incidents that the intention to commit the crime of genocide becomes apparent. That is what will be attempted in this section. Extensive references will be made to sections in the book. Abridged versions of some sections from the book are also included as endnotes.

4.1 Pre-armed struggle phase (1956 – 1983)

Please see Section 2 of this report about the well planned pogroms committed during this phase.

4.2 Armed struggle phase (1983 – 2005)

As in the case of the pogroms of the earlier phase many of these massacres all had an ulterior motive which was hiding behind the screen of fighting an armed rebellion. In all the massacres that are mentioned below which took place during this phase involved blatant face to face killing of civilians including women, children and the aged. The motives range from: evicting the Tamils from the land they have occupied for centuries through to destroying their economic life.

4.2.1 Manalaru

Over the period from 1 December 1984 till 15 December 1984 the area surrounding the region that connects Mullaithivu to Trincomalee saw three well planned massacres, property destruction and forced eviction of Tamils from this region. The result was that the people who were expelled remained and still remain uprooted from their land. *The Tamil community from this region never returned back to its original prosperity.* These incidents are described in Sections 14, 17 and 19 of the book “Massacres of Tamils” and abbreviated versions are also given here [\[xiv\]](#).

4.2.2 Vavuniya

In the case of Manalaru region described above it was emptied of Tamils in order to remove the contiguity of the Tamil homeland by splitting it into northern and eastern parts. Vavuniya also lies in the border of the Tamil homeland and the Sinhala homeland. Thus during the 80’s this region was also targeted for emptying the Tamils. Two massacres are described in Sections 16 and 38 and abbreviated versions are also given here [\[xv\]](#) which was carried out with that intention which resulted in Tamils of this area being uprooted.

Sri Lankan state is highly centralised, so much so people have said that Sri Lanka is the same as Colombo. Thus all the people living in the remainder of the island travelled extensively to and from Colombo for many reasons. So did the Tamils living in the north. Targeting the buses and trains that carried the Tamils to and from north to Colombo was a common occurrence during the 80's and 90's. Vavuniya was the location where this occurred often. Attacks on Tamils passengers and theft of their possessions were a very common. Expectation of such attacks became an attribute of the Tamil societal existence seriously affecting their normal activities. There were also some instances when Tamils were killed in large numbers during such attacks. Two such massacres are described in Sections 9 and 12 and an abbreviated versions are also given here [xvi].

4.2.3 Mannar

The massacres and property destruction that had gone on in the Mannar district during the armed struggle phase is typical of what had been going on elsewhere in the Tamil homeland. Well planned attacks in the civilians population; destruction of property through burning; theft of valuable possessions of the people; and the dead bodies disposed of in wells which were covered then up took place. Detailed descriptions of these are found in Sections 18, 21, 37, 48, 49, 75 and 113 and abbreviated versions are also given here [xvii].

4.2.4 Amparai

During late 1950's the old Batticaloa district which was roughly 7000 square kms in area with a majority Tamil speaking Tamil and Muslim population was split into two and the current Batticaloa district retained just 3500 square kms of the older district. The rest of the land became part of the new Amparai district. Massacres that had taken place in Amparai district in 1956 as well as later during the 1980's and 90's had the *clear motive of taking over the land that rightfully belonged to the Tamil speaking people, destroying their economic life and restricting them to a very narrow strip of land in this district*. By the 90's Sri Lankan military had created a wedge between the Tamils and the Muslims and it armed young Muslim men to assist them in their massacres. Some of the massacres committed with this aim are described in Sections 22, 30, 55, 56, 59 and 60 and abbreviated versions are also given here [xviii].

4.2.5 Trincomalee

Several Tamil villages in the Trincomalee district saw large scale massacres of Tamils and destruction of their property during the mid 80's with the intention of emptying the Tamils from these villages. A selection of the massacres that were committed in the Trincomalee district during the mid 80's is described in in the following Sections 24, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 40, 42, 43 and 47 and abbreviated versions are also given here.

[xix]

4.2.6 Batticaloa

Batticaloa district situated right next to the Amparai district suffered a very similar fate to that of Amparai. Village after village suffered repeated attacks forcing people to abandon their economic life and their villages. These are described in Sections 35, 45, 50, 54, 57, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 70, 71, 78, 79, 84 and abbreviated versions are also given here [xx] .

4.2.7 North

In the eastern districts Amparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee the Sri Lanka military with assistance from armed men from the Sinhala and Muslim community carried out face to face massacres destroying and emptying Tamils from villages. Unlike this pattern, the northern districts of Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mullaithivu had a different program of genocide during this phase. As the Tamil armed group, the LTTE, gained control of areas and thus the face to face massacres became harder the military resorted to shelling and bombing of villages in these districts. Thus these type of destruction and massacres became more common in these areas. These are given in a district wise basis as three tables (Tables-1, Table-2 and Table-3) below.

Section	Table-1 (Jaffna): Titles ordered chronologically
8	Thirunelveli massacre 24, 25 July 1983
10	Chunnakam Police station massacre 08 Jan1984
11	Chunnakam market massacre 28 Mar 1984
13	Point Pedro – Thikkam massacre 16 Sept 1984
25	Valvai85 massacre 10 May 1985
26	Kumuthini Boat massacre 15 May 1985
41	Mandaithivu sea massacre 10 June 1986
53	Alvai temple shelling 29 May 1987

67	Mandaithivu disappearances 23 Aug, 25 Sept 1990
66	Nelliyadi market bombing 29 Aug 1990
83	Tellipalai temple bombing 30 May 1992
85	Kilali massacre 1992, 1993
87	Chavakachcheri Sangaththanai bombing 28 Sept 1993
88	Kokuvil temple massacre & bombing 29 Sept 1993
89	Kurunagar church bombing 13 Nov 1993
91	Navaly church bombing 09 July 1995
92	Nagarkovil bombing 22 September 1995
93	Chemmani mass graves in 1996
99	Kaithady Krishanthi massacre 07 Sept 1996
115	Mirusuvil massacre 19 Dec 2000

Section	Table-2 (Kilinochchi) Titles ordered Chronologically
36	Kilinochchi Railway Station massacre 25 Jan 1986
39	Anandapuram shelling 04 June 1986
44	Paranthan farmers massacre 28 June 1986
58	Paranthan junction massacre 24 July 1990
74	Uruthirapuram bombing 04 Feb 1991
76	Vaddakkachchi bombing 28 Feb 1991
90	Chundikulam-94 massacre 18 Feb 1994
94	Kilinochchi town massacre 1996-1998
96	Nachchikuda strafing 16 Mar 1996
97	Thambirai market bombing 17 May 1996
100	Konavil bombing 27 Sept 1996
103	Pannankandy massacre 05 July 1997
104	Akkarayan hospital massacre 15 July 1997
105	Vavunikulam massacre 26 Sept 1996, 15 Aug 1997
107	Old Vaddakkachchi bombing 26 Mar 1998
110	Chundikulam98 bombing 02 Dec 1998

Section	Table-3 (Mullaithivu) Titles ordered Chronologically
20	Mulliyavalai massacre 16 Jan 1985
23	Puthukkudiyiruppu Iyankovilady massacre 21 Apr 1985
32	Piramanthararu massacre 02 Oct 1985
46	Thanduvan bus massacre 17 July 1986
72	Oddisuddan bombing 27 Nov 1990
73	Puthukkudiyiruppu junction bombing 30 Jan 1991
82	Vatrapalai shelling 18 May 1992
86	Maaththalan bombing 18 Sept 1993
98	Mallavi bombing 24 July 1996
101	Mullivaikal bombing 13 May 1997

102	Mankulam shelling 08 June 1997
108	Suthanthirapuram massacre 10 June 1998
109	Visuvamadu shelling 25 Nov 1998
111	Manthuvil bombing 15 Sept 1999
112	Palinagar bombing and shelling 03 Nov 1999

4.2.8 By the Indian forces

Indian forces landed in the Tamil homeland in 1987 following an agreement between the Sri Lankan and the Indian government. The Indian forces had the ulterior motive of reducing the strength and the popularity of the LTTE. This eventually led to the Indian forces launching an assault in Oct-Nov 1987 on the Tamil homeland and the people indiscriminately. The massacres by the Indian forces are described at the end of the book “Massacres of Tamils” in thirteen different Sections numbered 1-13. Please note that these sections were removed from the English and Tamil versions of the book, “Massacres of Tamils” on request from the Indian publisher. However these are included in the German version of the book published in Germany.

Widespread rape by the Indian forces is described in the Section 3.2.4. Large scale attacks on civilians and widespread property destruction by them took place. Attack on the Jaffna hospital and the killing of patients and doctors took place during this operation. Almost two years after they launched the major October’87 operation the Indian forces conducted another carnage in a village in Jaffna. Abbreviated versions of the sections in the book describing the massacres by the Indian forces is also given here [xxi].

4.3 End war phase (2006 – 2009)

2006-2008:

The re-launch of the genocide project in all four forms covered in this report started from December 2005 after a short lull of four years following the 2002 ceasefire. The Table-4 gives a list of large scale massacres most of which was carried out by aerial bombing. *Thus in addition to civilian deaths, property destruction was widespread even in this period. A report issued by NESOHR concentrating on the property destruction in one small area during this period is typical [xxii] and gives a window into the extent of destruction.*

Vaharai 2006: What happened in Trincomalee and in particular in Vaaharai, a small eastern coastal strip, from August 2006 till end of 2006 was a precursor to what was to come in Mullivaikaal in 2009. This is briefly described in Section 133. People were herded into a small strip through artillery shelling. Once trapped food and medicine was denied to them indefinitely. Aerial bombings were also carried out. People were forced to dig trenches with their eating plates. This was mainly because people resisted falling into the hands of the Sri Lankan military as much as they could. Eventually unable to bear the shortages and bombings they moved out by land and by sea. If one cares to observe this was what was repeated in a larger scale in Mullivaikaal in 2009.

Jaffna 2006-2007: Jaffna has been gradually encircled since 1980 with large military installations using the land that have been taken over after evicting the people in it. People evicted from these areas almost 30 years ago are still living as IDPs or refugees in other countries without receiving any compensation. Section 158 gives a brief on the situation in Jaffna from the start of 2006 till end of 2008. Deaths and disappearances became a daily occurrence during this period. In the name of “checking” military would enter private homes at midnight and shoot on the spot or abduct residents in a “white van”. NESOHR had collected data on nearly 800 extrajudicial killing by shooting and other face to face killings and nearly 600 disappearances mostly by “white van” abductions between 2006 and 2008. These statistics for Jaffna makes up half of the total toll due to these two types of violations for the entire island for this period. Victims and their families refused to speak about the terror they faced even in anonymity. Court cases were initiated on these incidents and the court records were impressive for its lack of facts. Witnesses for the cases described in courts how the victim was dragged out from their homes, shops, and the roads and shot dead in the full view of many. Yet in no cases did the witnesses identify the killer except by the phrase “unidentified gunmen.” This is described in a NESOHR report [xxiii] using a few court documents that were made available to NESOHR.

From January to December 2009

Please see the description for this period under Section 3.3

5. Assassinations of civil leaders during end war phase (2006 – 2009)

Targeted assassinations of outspoken Tamil civil leaders who were capable of articulating the Sri Lankan genocide project to the outside world must also be viewed as part of the Sri Lankan genocide project. This was clearly the goal during the end war phase when many such targeted assassinations were carried out. These are listed below in chronological order. Such targeted assassinations in addition to being “killing members of an ethnic group” also “effectively prevents the development” of that group.

1. Chandranehru Ariyanayagam (7 Feb 2005)

A former member of parliament from the Amparai district and a founding member of NESOHR, he was shot and killed while he was travelling from Kilinochchi back to Ampara through a Sinhala area. He was returning from Kilinochchi after holding discussions about rehabilitation work related to the 2004 Boxing day tsunami. The LTTE political head for the Batticaloa district was also killed together with Ariyanayagam in this incident

2. Joseph Pararajasingam (24 Dec 2005)

On the eve of the 2005 Christmas, Joseph Pararajasingam, a TNA (Tamil National Alliance) member of parliament and a founding member of NESOHR was attending the church mass with his wife at a church in Batticaloa. As to be expected the church was filled with people listening to the mass given by none other than the Bishop of Batticaloa Kingsley Swampilillai. Gunmen entered the church shot Pararajasingam dead and walked off. Later eyewitnesses described large number of security forces stationed outside the church who did nothing as the gunmen walked away. The inter parliamentary resolution “SRI/49 - JOSEPH PARARAJASINGHAM” (<http://www.ipu.org/hr-e/178/sri49.htm>), states the following:

“At a meeting of TNA parliamentarians with President Mahinda Rajapakse and top military leaders on 21 December 2005, Mr. Pararajasingham, who, owing to the many threats he had received, was living in Colombo, was encouraged to visit his home town of Batticaloa”

Pararajasingam had travelled the world as an elected Tamil representative meeting political representatives in various countries explaining the brutal conditions Tamils were subjected to in the island. Being one of the few brave Tamil representatives who

was also proficient in English he was very effective in doing this. This was the reason he was eliminated.

3. Vanniasingam Vigneswaran (7 April 2006)

Vanniasingam Vigneswaran was a civil leader in the Trincomalee district, who was supportive of the Tamil struggle. He was proposed by TNA as a replacement for Joseph Pararajasingam who was assassinated. On April 2006 Vigneswaran was also shot dead in a very public place as he went to the bank. The location where he was shot dead was between two Sri Lanka security checkpoints.

4. Sinnathamby Sivamaharaja (20 August 2006)

At the time of his assassination Sivamaharaja was the Managing Director of a popular Tamil daily, Eelanaadu, in Jaffna. Sivamaharaja was also a member of parliament in his earlier days. Thus his assassination was treated both as an on going threats to the Tamil journalists who exposed the atrocities of the Sri Lankan security forces as well as the on going assassinations of Tamil civil leaders. He was shot dead near his home.

5. Nadaraja Raviraj (10 Nov 2006)

Raviraj was a TNA member of parliament at the time of his assassination by shooting. Using his fluency of three languages, Tamil, Sinhala and English he tried to reach all the people in the island speaking about the reality of the Tamil situation. He was assassinated specifically for that reason.

6. K Sivanesan (6 Mar 2008)

Sivanesan was also an elected TNA member of parliament at the time of his assassination. He was killed by a landmine attack on his car by the Deep Penetration Unit of the Sri Lankan forces . Sivanesan was travelling from Colombo to Kilinochchi. Sivanesan had travelled around the world to raise awareness of the situation of the Tamils.

7. Father M X Karunaratnam (20 April 2008)

Fr Karunaratnam, popularly known to the people as Kili Father, was a Catholic Priest and a founding member and Chairperson of NESOHR. He was outspoken about the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan forces. Most visiting dignitaries sought to

speak to him to learn of the true situation of the Tamils. He was assassinated by the Sri Lankan forces right inside Vanni.

Section	Table-4 (2006-2008) Titles ordered chronologically	District
117	Trincomalee students massacre 02 Jan 2006	Trincomalee
118	Manipay family massacre 14 Jan 2006	Jaffna
119	TRO employees disappearance 29 Jan 2006	Batticaloa
120	Trincomalee riots 12 April 2006	Trincomalee
121	Puthoor massacre 18 April 2006	Jaffna
122	Muthur bombing 25 April 2006	Trincomalee
123	Uthayan Daily Press Office attack 02 May 2006	Jaffna
124	Nelliyadi massacre 04 May 2006	Jaffna
125	Manthuvil Temple massacre 06 May 2006	Jaffna
126	Allaipiddy massacre 13 May 2006	Jaffna
127	Vadamunai pressure mine 07 June 2006	Batticaloa
129	Kaithady mass grave 06, 07, 08 June 2006	Jaffna
128	Vankalai family massacre 08 June 2006	Mannar
130	Pesalai church massacre 17 June 2006	Mannar
133	Eastern bombing and shelling Aug - Dec 2006	Batticaloa
131	Action Contre La Faim staff massacre 05 Aug 2006	Trincomalee
132	Nedunkerni ambulance claymore 08 Aug 2006	Vavuniya
134	Allaipiddy shelling 13 Aug 2006	Jaffna
135	Senchcholaibombing 14 Aug 2006	Mullaitheevu
136	Poththuvil massacre 17 Sept 2006	Amparai
137	PTK bombing 16 Oct 2006	Mullaitheevu
138	Kilinochchi hospital precincts bombing 02 Nov 2006	Kilinochchi
139	Vavuniya Agriculture School massacre 18 Nov 2006	Vavuniya
140	Padahuththurai bombing 2 Jan 2007	Mullaitheevu
141	Silavaththurai claymore attack 02 Sept 2007	Mannar
142	Periyamadu shelling 25 Oct 2007	Mannar
143	Tharmapuram bombing 25 Nov 2007	Kilinochchi
145	Voice of Tigers Radio station bombing 27 Nov 2007	Kilinochchi
144	Iyankulam claymore attack 27 Nov 2007	Mullaitheevu
146	Thadchanamadhu claymore attack 29 Jan 2008	Mannar
147	Kiranchi bombing 22 Feb 2008	Kilinochchi
148	Murukandy claymore attack 23 May 2008	Kilinochchi
149	Nahathambiran pilgrim claymore attack 02 June	Kilinochchi
150	PTK bombing – 15 June 2008	Mullaitheevu

151	Puthumurippu IDP shelling 30 August 2008	Kilinochchi
152	Kumarapuram bombing 10 Oct 2008	Kilinochchi
153	Uruthirapuram shelling – 24 Oct 2008	Kilinochchi
154	Vallipunam bombing 30 Oct 2008	Mullaitheevu
155	Ulavanoor cluster bombing 29 Nov 2008	Mullaitheevu
156	Vaddakkachchi bombings 1-20 Dec 2008	Kilinochchi
157	Murasumoddaï bombing 31 Dec 2008	Mullaitheevu

Reference notes:

i. All of the documents referred in this document can be accessed from the indicated URLs as at 2013 except for three. These three that cannot thus accessed are sent with this document and indicated below as “included as attachment”

NESOHR publication, “Massacres of Tamils 1956 – 2008” in English, German and Tamil, <http://nesohr.org/nesohr-publications/>, (included as attachment)

ii. Statistics on Civilians Affected by War in Northeast 1974-2004, NESOHR report (included as attachment)

iii. **Emergency ‘58 - – The Story of the Ceylon Race Riots**, Tarzie Vittachi, <http://tamilnation.co/books/Eelam/vitachi.htm>

iv. **Sri Lanka: A Mounting Tragedy of Errors** by Paul Sieghart, International Commission of Jurists, March 1984.

Also: Black July 1983 - <http://www.blackjuly83.com/index.htm>

v. Some excerpts from reports on the 1983 pogrom:

The Law Asia Human Rights Standing Committee Report said: “The violence had broken out in different parts of Colombo almost simultaneously on the night of July 24th and on July 25th, extended during the course of the next few days to different centres throughout the country.”

The Economist (6 August) wrote: “...But for days the soldiers and policemen were not overwhelmed; they were un-engaged or, in some cases, apparently abetting the

attackers. Numerous eye witnesses attest that soldiers and policemen stood by while Colombo burned..”

In ‘The tragedy of Sri Lanka’, William McGowan wrote, “... While all this was going on, a line of Buddhist monks appeared, arms flailing, their voices raised in a delirium of exhortation, summoning the Sinhalese to put all Tamils to death.”

According to the London Financial Times, “Troops and police either joined the rioters or stood idly by.”

President Jayawardene was quoted in the Daily Telegraph of 11 July 1983 as saying: “I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people.. now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or their opinion ... Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy”.

vi. Tamil Guardian, “Anatomy of a pogrom” -

<http://www.tamilguardian.com/article.asp?articleid=735>

vii. Only Man is Vile: The tragedy of Sri Lanka, William McGowan, 1st edition March 1992

viii. Some well known cases of rape and murder during the armed struggle phase follow: (*Please note that the list does not include every single rape and murder case occurred during this period*)

Arumaiturai Tharmaleetchumi, 17-year-old (Trincomalee district), raped and murdered in February 11, 1996 by Sri Lankan army soldiers.

Rajani Velauthapillai, 22, was gang raped and murdered on Sep 30, 1996 by the Sri Lankan military manning a checkpoint at Kondavil, a village near the Jaffna city. Several people had witnessed her arrest.

Selvarajah Renuka, aged 10 from Atchuvvely in Jaffna she was abducted by Sri Lankan forces and gang raped on 12 November 1996.

Velan Rasamma, and her sister, Velan Vasantha, were repeatedly raped at their home I Mayilampaveli Colony, Batticaloa district, on 17 March 1997 by four members of the Sri Lankan forces.

Kanthasamy Kalanithy, a 26-year old Tamil woman in Jaffna was gang-raped and then killed On the 25th of June 1998, The army refused to hand over her body for examination and they have attempted to threaten her parents into silence.

Farheen Ida Carmelitta Laila Figerardo, 19-year-old (Mannar district), gang raped and killed 12 July 1999 by Sri Lankan army soldiers

Koneswary Murugesapillai, (Kalmunai district), raped and killed on 17 May 1997 by policemen in Central Camp police in the Kalmunai.

Sarathambal Saravanbavananthakurukal, 29 years old (Jaffna district), was gang raped and killed on 28 December 1999 by Sri Lankan navy sailors.

Yogalingam Vijitha, a 27-year-old Tamil woman from Jaffna district was raped while in detention in the Negombo police station, between 21 and 27 June 2000.

Sathasivam Rathykala, aged 28 was raped by twelve police personnel at night at the Polonaruwa police station on 24.11.2000.

Thambipillai Thanalakshmi, 43 years old (Jaffna district), raped on July 7, 2001. Amnesty International claimed that Sri Lankan army soldiers were responsible.

Wijikala Nanthan, 24 years old, Sivamani Sinnathamby Weerakon, 22 years old, arrested with Sivamani's husband and son by Sri Lankan navy sailors in Mannar on 19 March 2001, all of them were stripped and tortured. Both women were raped by the sailors.

Vijayaratnam Subashini, a 19-year-old, and Thangiah Vijayalalitha, a 14 year old, were sexually assaulted by more than ten navy personnel, on 20 April 2001. According to the reports received by Amnesty International, all her clothes were removed, she was blindfolded and her hands were tied behind her back. More the ten navy personnel touched and squeezed her breasts, and her genital area.

Also worth reading <http://tamilnation.co/indictment/rape/index.htm> and <http://tamilnation.co/indictment/rape/960915amnesty.htm>

ix. Rape: A documentary by Ariya, 2006 (included as attachment)

x. Documentations of rape and sexual violence during detention

1. The sexual abuse of men in detention in Sri Lanka, Lancet 2000; 355: 2067 – 2070,
<http://www.sangam.org/ANALYSIS/Lancet.htm>

2. 2002 Sri Lanka: Rape in custody, Amnesty International,
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA37/001/2002>

3. 60 handwritten statements by male prisoners given to NESOHR in 2007 (in NESOHR's possession)

xi. WikiLeaks: EPDP Sold Jaffna Children: Girls To Prostitution Rings And Boys To Slavery,

Colombo Telegraph, Sept 2013,

<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/wikileaks-epdp-sold-jaffna-children-girls-to-prostitution-rings-and-boys-to-slavery/>

xii. Satanic forces: <http://sangam.org/compilation-material-ipkf/>

Collation of information of the actions of Indian forces from 1987 to 1989 published by the LTTE

xiii. Some of the rape and sexual assault cases during the End war phase

Tharsini Ilayathamby, 20-year-old from Jaffna district was raped and murdered on December 16, 2005 by Sri Lankan navy sailors.

Mary Madeleine, 27-year-old from Mannar district was raped and killed in June 8, 2006, by Sri Lankan soldiers. Her husband, daughter and son were also tortured and killed in the same incident.

Premini Thanuskodi, 25 years old from Kilinochchi district and the chief accountant for TRO and a University Student was kidnapped near a Batticaloa army check point with her other TRO co-workers on June 30, 2006. One of those present in the murder of the seven, an ex-member of the Karuna faction who confessed to being a witness to Premini's rape and murder, has told NESOHR contacts that Premini was raped and murdered by Sri Lankan state supported armed forces.

Pathmini Sithamparanathan, a TNA member of parliament at that time was quoted in Tamilnet Tuesday, 03 January 2006 that two young women lodged complaints with

the Sri Lankan Human Rights Commission about attempted rapes by the Sri Lankan armed forces. The women said that on 01.01.2006 the Sri Lankan armed forces cordoned the area where their home is located and while several soldiers were standing watch outside their home some of the soldiers entered their home and attempted to rape the two women. The two women have fought off the offenders and managed to escape.

Ambalavanar Punithavathy, 43, from Uduvil in Jaffna was shot dead after gang rape late at night on 4 July 2006. Her mother is a witness. A Sri Lanka military camp was located close to her house and during night only the military can come out on the streets.

A Vankalai family of father, mother and two children were murdered on 08 June 2006. Mother was raped and the daughter was sexually assaulted.

Several complaints were received by NESOHR of rape and abductions of girls mainly from the east.

Armed men in military uniform abducted a woman on 28 Dec 2007 from her house in Vadamaradchi in Jaffna and gang raped her in a shrub land near her house. The woman was admitted to hospital.

xiv. Manalaru massacres

14: Othiyamalai massacre 01 Dec 1984: More or less the entire population of this village worked in their own paddy fields and they had ample farming produce to live by. From 29th November 1984 until 2nd December 1984 the SLAFs declared a curfew. A SLAFs regiment moved from Pathaviya to Othiyamalai on 1st December 1984. The SLAFs rounded up the people of Othiyamalai village. When the villagers opened their door at 5.00 am on that day, they saw the Sri Lankan soldiers standing in green attire. The soldiers spoke fluent Tamil and asked for all the men in the village to come to the Development Society building managed by the LTTE, and demanded that they assist the struggle waged by the LTTE. Deceived by the pretension of the Sri Lankan army soldiers 32 men went. They were all killed.

17: Manalaru massacre 03 Dec 1984: On 03 Dec 1984, Sri Lankan military rounded up Manalaru area and fired randomly at the civilians. Civilians from Manalaru and

Amaravayal were chased away by the Sri Lankan military and their houses were set on fire. People who have lived in the villages for generations were thus uprooted. Many civilians were killed including women and children. Hundreds of families were uprooted from these areas. Sinhalese were settled in these villages later.

19: Kokkilai Kokkuthoduvai massacre 15 Dec 1984: On 15 Dec 1984, Sri Lankan military entered the villages of Kokkilai, Kokkuthoduvai, Karunaddukerni, Nayaru, Kumulamunai, and Alampil in the Mullaithivu district. The military killed many civilians and destroyed property. 131 civilians were killed including 31 women and 21 children. More than 2000 families were displaced following this operation and they remain displaced to this date.

xv. Massacres in Vavuniya District

16: Cheddikulam massacre 02 Dec 1984: On 02 Dec 1984, the Sri Lankan military imposed curfew throughout Cheddikulam. The military began cordoning off the Cheddikulam area at 5.30am in the morning. Most of the people in the village were still asleep. The military that came into the village took the males for inquiries. 52 men were taken in the military vehicles to the adjacent town of Mathawachchi. There has been no information about these 52 men since. The people of the Cheddikulam village are saying that the 52 men were taken to a Sinhala village in Mathawachchi, and there they were chopped up with sharp knives and heavy vehicles were run over them. As a result, the Cheddikulam villagers say all 52 men died.

38: Eeddimurichan massacre 19, 20 Mar 1986: On 19 March 1986, the Sri Lankan military and the Sinhala prisoners who were settled in the area with assistance from the military came through the jungle in many military vehicles and arrived at Eeddimurichan village at 4.30 pm. They started shooting the people and burning their homes. They also took away all valuable things from the homes. On the next day the military and Sinhala groups rounded up the Nedunkerni village early in the morning. They started shooting everyone including old people and children. 20 people were killed in the two days of violence. Property worth hundreds of thousands of rupees was also damaged. The Sri Lankan Air Force helicopter provided cover for the military on land to carry out the massacre. The strafing by the helicopter damaged houses in Periyakulam, 3 Kms away as well. Frightened people took refuge in the jungles. Fearing the military, relatives took the bodies of their family members and

buried them in the jungle.

xvi. **Bus attacks on passenger in Vavuniya**

9: Sampalthoddam massacre Jan-84: People were returning from a wedding in a privately hired bus. The SLA stopped the bus near Pambaimadu and took all 70 people on the bus to a teak estate called Thekkavaththai. There, the SLA sent the 15 women and children who were in the bus and made the remaining 55 men look at the teak trees and then sprayed them with bullets. One survivor ran to the village to tell the story.

12: Mathawachchi – Rampawa September 1-Sep-84: One day in the first week of September 1984 a passenger bus which was going to Jaffna from Colombo was stopped at Mathawachchi junction by the Sri Lankan military and the bus with the passengers were taken to Mannar road and there 15 civilians in the bus were killed including the driver and 31 civilians were wounded.

xvii. **Massacres in Mannar District**

18: Blood soaked Mannar 04 Dec 1984: On 04.12.1984 Sri Lankan forces came under a landmine attack. This was followed by extensive well planned revenge attack on the people. The military burnt alive 15 men who were previously arrested by them. The military also arrested 30 more people who were travelling on the road in front of their camp and burnt them alive as well. The military from two of its camps moved out and drove through several villages and burnt houses and shot people. It also stopped bus full of passengers and shot them all dead. More than 200 people were killed in this violence.

21: Vaddakandal massacre 30 Jan 1985: Another massacre of a similar nature took place two months later. This time as the military burnt houses and killed people, air force helicopter also strafed the villages. A school was attacked and 18 people in the school, including the principal, and some teachers and students were killed. Simultaneously during this pre-planned attack people working in the fields and travelling in the streets were also attacked. 52 people were killed and 40 were injured. One of those who escaped the school massacre said that the military tortured and forced those alive to drink the blood of the dying.

37: Vankalai church massacre 06 Jan 1986: Military surrounded the village and started firing into the village. Eight people including a catholic priest, who came out to beg the military to stop shooting, were killed in this massacre.

48: Adampan massacre 12 Oct 1986: This was another massacre of a similar nature of randomly attacking the villagers of Adampan. Shops were burnt. 20 people were killed.

49: Periyapandivirichchan massacre 15 Oct 1986: A father working in the fields and his two young daughters and a neighbour were sitting and eating lunch near the field. Sri Lankan forces arrived. They tortured and sexually assaulted one of the daughters and killed her. She was 11 years old. The neighbour was also killed. Father and one of the daughters escaped with injuries.

75: Vankalai massacre 17 Feb 1991: The people of Vankalai displaced from their village, unable to bear the harassments of the Sri Lankan military. The military forcefully evicted those who have not displaced on their own. The military then removed all the valuable things from the homes and send to their own homes in the south of the island. Some of the people went to Colombo by sea to make purchases. On their return journey they were travelling to their displaced location and had to bicycle through their own village. They were stopped by the military. When the people later resettled in their village they found the well in a home covered and skeletons of five bodies lying around the well.

113: Madhu church massacre 20 Nov 1999: Madhu church is a very famous church in the island. Many people displaced from other parts of the Tamil homeland had taken refuge in the surroundings of this church. During a military operation the Sri Lankan forces told the people to take refuge in the church. The church was later shelled and 31 people died.

xviii. Massacres and rape in Amparai District (sometimes with assistance from Muslim young men)

22: Udumbankulam massacre 19 Feb 1985: Early in the morning, Sri Lankan military personnel from the Amparai military camp arrived in six military vehicles in the villages. They went into the paddy fields and rounded up 103 people in the fields and took them to the forest nearby. There they raped and cut the breasts off from the

women and killed them. Others were lined up and shot dead. In total 103 people were killed including many children. The military spread the harvested hay over the bodies and set fire to it.

30: Vayaloor massacre 24 Aug 1985: Vayaloor was a colony of 200 families of landless poor who were settled in 1972 under a the government's plan to give "the highest priority to the development of land for the production of food and other crops". To reach Vayaloor, one has to travel eight miles on foot as there is only a jungle path leading to the village. The village had no access to clean drinking water, no shops and the nearest government dispensary was 10 miles away. Yet they continued to stay and cultivate crops like maize, kurakkan, manioc, yams and other vegetables, depending on rainwater. The attack on the people at Vayaloor started in the early hours on the 24th August 1985. Young men were walked away and shot. 40 were killed.

55: Sammanthurai massacre 10 June 1990: In this massacre during the 90's the use of young Muslim men by the military had begun. On 10.06.1990, Muslim groups with help from the Sri Lankan military attacked the people of this village. When the people attempted to escape by running away, the military opened fire at the people. 37 people were killed and many more were injured. Village attacks

56: Veeramunai massacre 20 June 1990: This Section lists more than ten incidents of repeated attacks in this village and its residents. More than 200 people were killed over a period of two months. 2000 houses were burnt down. The Section also includes many eye witness accounts.

59: Poththuvil massacre 30 July 1990: When people of this village who displaced due to hostilities between the military and the LTTE returned back they found their valuables were stolen and their homes were destroyed. 125 young people who were arrested on their way to work were either killed or disappeared.

60: Thiraikerny massacre 06 Aug 1990: This was a village developed from what was originally coconut estated by some philanthropist to help landless people. One day hundreds of Muslim men armed by the military stormed the village and set the homes ablaze.

xix. Massacres in Trincomalee District during mid 80's

24: Trincomalee massacres in 1985: This section in the book lists a series of killings and property destruction in Trincomalee over a three month period from May to July, 96 civilians is listed as killed in 9 separate incidents over a small geographical area. Property was also destroyed in some of these incidents. These incidents and those described below made Tamils to displace from Trincomalee in large numbers.

27: Kiliveddi massacre in 1985: Kiliveddi was another village in this district that was emptied of Tamils through repeated violence. In one day 10 people were killed including 4 women. 125 houses were burnt that day. A further 13 people, eight men and five women, were taken to the Dehiwaththa village. The men were murdered and the women were raped. Member of Parliament Thangathurai made a statement about the incident to the media. An order was issued for his arrest and he escaped to India. The day after the above incident, on 02.06.1985, the bus leaving Trincomalee to Jaffna was shot at and 13 people died and 9 people were injured. On 03.06.1985, the Sinhala home guards with the help of the Sri Lankan military attacked several villages between Muthur and Kiliveddi. 35 people died. 200 people were abducted. In total 1000 houses were set on fire. In the fourteen days ending on 14.06.1985, a total of 150 people were killed. People from these villages displaced en masse.

28: Thiriyai massacre 08 June 1985: On 08.06.1985, around 5.30am in the morning, Sri Lankan Air force helicopters flew at low level and began shooting. Sri Lankan military came in vehicles and told the people to leave the area before they begin shooting. After people left, 700 houses, 400 houses in Thiriyai and 300 houses in Kallapattu were burnt down. Stored paddy and farming equipments were burnt with the houses. Following this incident, displaced people stayed in schools. On 08.08.1985, the Sri Lankan military attacked the civilians in the schools. Ten civilians were killed including retired Grama Sevakar, Narayanapillai, President of the Thiriyai Multi Purpose Society, K Thuraiyagam, Secretary of Thiriyai refugees rehabilitation centre, K.Ekamparam, and the Principal of Thiriyai Vidhyalayam, P Mahadeva. In addition, on 14.08.1985, 6 civilians were pulled out of a bus and hacked to death.

29: Sampalthivu 04 to 09 Aug 1985: A major military operation launched from 4 to 9 August 1985 was intended to chase away the Tamils from northern parts of Trincomalee. They attacked the Tamils. 1500 houses and several shops were

destroyed. A report by a local school principal, who was also the President of the Citizens Committee at that time, documented that in June 1985 alone 311 civilian were killed in Trincomalee district and in the month of September 383 civilians were killed.

31: Nilaveli massacre 16 Sept 1985: Following the 1983 ethnic pogrom the Nilaveli refugee camp was overflowing with people. On 16.09.1985, the Sri Lankan army and home guards armed by the military that were stationed in Nilaveli rounded up the Nilaveli refugee camp. They arrested 24 civilians at the refugee camp and shot them dead on the spot.

34: Muthur Kadatkarachenai 08, 09, 10 Nov 1985: All three divisions of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces attacked Muthur and Kadatkarachenai areas by land, air and sea on 08.11.1986, 09.11.1985 and 10.11.1985. Civilians were shot and killed and burnt with their houses. More than 70 civilians who sought refuge in temples were arrested and disappeared. More than 100 houses were set fire. More than 30 civilians were killed in this attack.

40: Kanthalai-86 massacre 04, 05 June 1986: Kanthalai is situated in the Trincomalee district. On 04,05.06 1986, near the 4th Milepost, Sri Lankan Air Force and home guards armed by them, stopped the buses and identified the Tamils and attacked them. Many were killed, disappeared and injured. On 05.06.1986, a bus with 25 passengers going from Trincomalee to Vavuniya was stopped and attacked. The bus was burnt. From the ashes 10 bodies were recovered including that of a child and a baby. Over the two days, more than 50 civilians were killed and the fate of more than 35 civilians is not known.

42: Seruvila massacre 12 June 1986: Seruvila is situated in the Trincomalee district. On 12.06.1986, two village headmen, three state employees, and 20 workers who were transporting relief food for the refugees were attacked by the home-guards in Mahindapuram. 21 civilians were killed and 2 injured in this attack. The victims were taking relief for the refugees who have displaced as a result of the violence against Tamils in Eechilampattu.

43: Thampalakamam massacres 1985, 1986: On 12.11.1985, Sri Lankan military rounded up Thampalakamam and 9 people were shot dead. On 26.11.1985, three

farmers were shot dead and their bodies were burnt by the military. In another incident near the temple five people were shut in shop and burnt. Two, Kubenthiran and Navaratnam died. The other three were rescued with severe burns. On 25.05.1986, three refugees, a mother and two sons, who went to check on their homes, were shot dead. On 30.05.1986, military in black uniform entered the home in Thampalakamam and killed the father, mother and two children. A 13 year old girl and another woman escaped with injuries. On 17.06.1986, 8 farmers disappeared from their fields in Puthukkudiyiruppu in Thampalakamam. On 20.06.86, the Sri Lankan Air Force and the Sri Lankan Army, stationed at the Thampalakamam junction, made a joint attack on the Thampalakamam village. People were forced to displace. More than 25 of the displaced villagers took refuge in the Potkerni rice mill in the village. The military that arrived at the rice mill arrested all the people in the rice mill and took them. The owner was spared. The bodies of those taken were recovered in the forest nearby. 34 people died in this incident. On the same day in Sampalthivu five civilians were shot dead. One Thankarasa was set alight inside his car.

47: Muthur Manalchenai massacre 18 July 1986: On 18.07.1986, Sri Lankan military conducted a cordon and search operation in villages of Manalchenai and Peruveli in Muthur. 44 civilians were arrested and taken away and shot dead. Most of those killed were displaced people from the villages of Menkamam, Kankuveli and Mallihaithivu.

xx. Batticaloa District Massacres

35: Periyapullumalai massacres in 1986: One of the many villages that has seen repeated attacks, killings and burning down of property during the 80's. Families in the village were killed en masse. At least a 100 civilians including many children were killed. More than 100 homes were burnt down.

45: Peruveli refugee camp massacre 15 July 1986: The residents of this refugee camp were from adjacent villages all of which had faced attacks. This except the refugee camp the surrounding area was deserted. The military entered the camp together with Sinhala home guards and began the attacks. Huts were burnt, people were shot and thrown into the fire, and women were raped. At least 48 people were killed.

50: Kokkadichcholai 87 massacre 28 Jan 1987: More than 150 people who worked in the prawn farm were killed. The attack continued for three days and was aimed at destroying the promising economic development of prawn farming.

54: Eastern University massacre 23 May 1990: Eastern university which was filled people who had taken refuge from attacks in different parts of Batticaloa was targeted with repeated attacks. 226 people were killed in these days by the military.

57: Siththandy massacre 20, 27 July 1990: Twice within a month the entire people of this village took refuge in the famous temple in this village. 137 young men were taken away and killed.

62: Kalmunai massacre 11 Aug 1990: The military rounded up the villages around Kalmunai and began shooting. The military was shooting into the homes forcing people to come out. 25 young men were taken by the military. Next day relatives walked to the military camp looking for their relatives. The military in the town stopped them on the road. A large number of military arrived at the scene and selected the young women among the relatives. They were taken to a building nearby where they were gang raped and killed. Men were tortured on the road and killed. None of the 25 young men taken to the Karaithivu military camp have been seen since. In total 62 people were killed in these two days.

63: Thurainilavanai massacre 12 Aug 1990: One morning, the military from rounded up the village and opened fire on the people. More than 60 people were killed.

64: Eravur hospital massacre 12 Aug 1990: The military rounded up the villages of Senkaladi and Kiran and opened fire on the villagers. More than 10 civilians who were injured were admitted in the Eravur hospital. Next day the hospitalized civilians were hacked to death by the Sri Lankan military and Muslim groups.

65: Koraveli massacre 14 Aug 1990: The military rounded up the village and surrounding areas and opened fire on the villagers at home and working in the fields. 15 civilians were killed and 25 were injured in this attack by the military.

68: Saththurukondan massacre 09 Sept 1990: Saththurukondan is a village near Batticaloa town. The military arrested several people and took them to the military

camp. There, the women were raped and killed. 68 children, among them five babies were also tortured and murdered. 205 people were killed in this massacre. One man, 21 year old Kanthasamy Krishnakumar escaped to describe the carnage to others. 205 people were killed in this incident.

70: Vantharamoollai⁹⁰ massacre 05, 23 Sept 1990: On two separate days the military attacked the people who had sought refuge at the Eastern University and killed 174 people. The long statement given in this Section by an Eastern University lecturer is very telling.

71: Eravur massacre 10 Oct 1990: Based on the statement of one eye witness it shows the brutality of the military towards the Tamil civilians during this time.

78: Kokkadichcholai 91 massacre 12 June 1991: A second large scale massacre was suffered by the resident of Kokkadichcholai as the military entered a rice grinding mill and burnt the mill together with the 17 workers. 400 houses were damaged that day. More than 220 people were killed.

79: Pullumalai massacre 1983-1990: From 1983 to 1990 the SLA, together with Sinhalese mobs, tried over five times to destroy the village. Houses were burnt, wealth was robbed, and massacres were organized. There are unbelievable accounts of the rapes and systematic killings that took place. Over 400 families disappeared. No international or local body has enquired into the fate of these 400 families. This Section gives a long list of attacks and eye witness statements.

84: Mailanthanai massacre 09 Aug 1992: The people in the villages of Mailanthai and Punanai were frequently rounded up and attacked by the military. In one incident more than 50 people were killed. Many more were injured.

xxi. **12: Valvai massacre:** On three consecutive days in August 1989, the Indian forces declared curfew in Valvettithurai. They then began killing women, the elderly and children by shooting, burning and stabbing. Some young men were arrested and then they were lined up in the Valvettithurai junction and shot dead. More than 50 women were raped. Many Hindu temples in the village were destroyed. Young men were even shot and killed inside the temples in front of their relatives. Hundreds of homes and shops were burnt down. This massacre came to be referred to by the people as the “India’s Mylai Massacre”. More than 63 civilians, including children,

women and the elderly were killed in this massacre.

xxii. *Destruction of Karaithuraipattu AGA Division,*

http://www.nesohr.org/files/Destruction_of_Karaithuraipattu.pdf

xxiii. Extra judicial killing and the justice system, NESOHR report, 2008,

http://www.nesohr.org/files/Extrajudicial_executions_and_the_justice_system_.pdf