



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Simulation on Sri Lanka: Setting the Agenda for Peace

This simulation is a September 2001 meeting convened by the Norwegians at which the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) will explore avenues for resolving 17 years of conflict. Also invited are officials from various political parties, concerned states, NGOs, and IGOs considered to be major stakeholders in the conflict. What gives this meeting particular urgency is a donor threat to cut off aid unless the Sri Lankan Government shows a willingness to explore political solutions. Donors have also indicated they may cooperate on legislation banning the fundraising and organizational activities of the LTTE in their respective countries.

This unprecedented consensus of the international community to end the violence using economic pressure has changed the status quo of the conflict, and offers a rare and promising window of opportunity. Even so, despite this pressure, the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government remain adamant in their refusal to negotiate directly. In role-playing the various interests at the meeting, participants will attempt to persuade the parties to the conflict to meet face-to-face to and create an acceptable agenda that can serve as the basis for peace talks.



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Introduction

Simulations are educational exercises which place students in situations of people different than themselves as a way to illuminate the kinds of issues, challenges and conflicts that such people face. When you have to think, debate or make decisions as a Sri Lanka who is trying to end conflict in his or her country, for example, you often develop insights that are much more than a simple history lesson. Simulations may attempt to recreate a historical event or a hypothetical event. For the purposes of this exercise, you will be simulating stakeholders in the conflict in Sri Lanka as a way of deepening your understanding of how economic pressures may be applied to encourage the parties to conflict to negotiate.



Materials

Each participant should receive the following materials:

- The Scenario and Background Documents (pages 6 - 21.)
- A simulation role

Teachers may wish to provide the following items for this simulation:

- A classroom or conference room and sufficient breakout rooms or additional space for any needed teamwork
- An overhead projector or multimedia data projector and an overhead screen.
- Flip charts (one per team) and flip chart paper (or white boards) and markers
- 1 pad and pen per student
- Several computers with printers
- Internet access for additional research or access to a library.



Scenario

It is September 2001, and Norway has convened a meeting in Geneva to explore possibilities for the resolution of the Sri Lankan conflict and the subsequent reconstruction of Sri Lankan society. Both, the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) have agreed in principle to attend the meeting, in order to explore avenues for resolving the conflict. In addition to these two groups, Norway has also invited political parties, states, NGOs, and IGOs that it considers to be major stakeholders in the conflict to attend the meeting. This request comes on the heels of a recently held meeting in Paris between the UN and all major aid donors to Sri Lanka during which the donors especially the G-7 urged the parties to the conflict to begin a process of dialogue.

This call is the latest in a string of abortive peace initiatives stretching back to the Thimpu Peace Talks in 1984, that have attempted to halt the island nation's seventeen year-old protracted civil conflict. However, this opportunity may be unique in one crucial respect; it is in the interests of both parties to explore the possibilities of negotiations. The donors, have on the one hand threatened to cut off aid unless the Sri Lankan government's top leadership showed a willingness to explore a political solution to the country's conflict. On the other hand, they have indicated that they will begin cooperating with each other to enact legislation banning the activities of the LTTE in their respective countries, which are vital to the fundraising and organizational capabilities of the LTTE. This unprecedented emergence of consensus among the international community to end the violence using economic sanctions as leverage has drastically changed the status quo in the conflict, and offers a rare and promising window of opportunity.

While the threats of the donors and the facilitation skills of the Norwegians have succeeded in bringing the two parties to Geneva, both the LTTE and the government are adamant in their refusal to engage each other in direct negotiations. The purpose of the meeting is to persuade the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE to meet with each other on a face-to-face basis to draw up a mutually agreeable framework of agreement that would provide the basis for peace talks. The objective is to create an agenda acceptable to both the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE, which will serve as the basis for peace talks between them.

Norway has invited other major stakeholders in the conflict, as it recognizes that the active participation and input of these actors is vital to the successful resolution of the conflict. Additionally, it is hoped that some of these parties will persuade the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE to meet face-to-face with each other.



Background

Introductory Note

This paper serves as a resource to prepare you for the agenda-setting discussions. The information includes a brief overview of Sri Lanka, a description of political developments, and a short summary of the roles of non-governmental organizations in Sri Lanka. Internet links for electronic resources that will serve to advance your knowledge of the simulation theme have been prepared for you can be found at the end of the paper and at http://www.usip.org/library/regions/sri_lanka.html. You are indeed faced with an incredible challenge, and one whose solution will require creativity, patience, and preparedness.

Sri Lankan scholars and citizens disagree on the origins of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Some believe the conflict in Sri Lanka is ancient, traceable to the legends and scripts describing the first settlement of the island. Other scholars and Sri Lankans believe that the conflict is a more modern invention that is the result of complex factors arising from colonization by European nations.

Although it is unclear which group arrived first, both Tamil and Sinhalese groups hold ancient claims to the island. The first Tamil account arises from the Hindu epic, *The Ramayana*. According to the legend, the Indian Prince Rama, an ancestor of Vishnu, conquered numerous demons on the island and most Tamils claim Prince Rama as part of their heritage. In contrast, in an epic chronicle of Sinhalese kings, *The Mahavamsa*, the Indian Prince Vijaya captured the island of Sri Lanka from a vicious native tribe and thereby founded the first civil society on Sri Lanka. Sinhalese view Prince Vijaya as the founder of the Sinhalese race. According to this account, Prince Vijaya's descendants reigned over much, if not all, of Sri Lanka beginning around 500 BC.



Sri Lanka: A Brief Overview

People

Sri Lanka can be broken down into three primary ethnic groups: Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims. Sinhalese comprise 74% of Sri Lanka's 18.3 million population, and are predominantly Buddhist. Tamils make up 18% of the population and are predominantly Hindu. Finally, Muslims comprise 7% of the population of Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese population is concentrated in the urban areas of the south and west of the island. By contrast, Tamils are a majority in northern and parts of eastern Sri Lanka, and have a substantial presence in the capital city of Colombo. In addition, there are large concentrations of Tamils of Indian origin in the central part of the island. Finally, Muslims are concentrated in urban areas including Colombo, but most importantly for the purpose of this simulation, they form a substantial part of the population in the eastern part of the country.

Government

The president of Sri Lanka, directly elected for a six-year term, is chief of state, head of government, and commander in chief of the armed forces. He or she is responsible to parliament for the exercise of duties under the constitution and laws, the president may be removed from office by a two-thirds vote of parliament with the concurrence of the Supreme Court. The president is charged with appointing and heads a cabinet of ministers also responsible to parliament. The president's deputy is the prime minister, who leads the ruling party in parliament.

The parliament of Sri Lanka is a unicameral 225-member legislature elected by universal suffrage (over the age of 18) and proportional representation to a 6-year term. The president may summon, suspend, or end a legislative session and dissolve parliament. Parliament reserves the power to make *all* laws.

Economy

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Sri Lanka is US\$11 billion, with a per capita GDP of US\$600. The service sector is the largest component of GDP (50%) in Sri Lanka, partly reflecting an extensive government apparatus and welfare state, but also including a rapidly growing tourism sector. The industrial sector, dominated by textile manufacturing, accounts for 20% of GDP. Agriculture contributes 20% of GDP and employs half of the population of Sri Lanka. Chief exports are textiles, tea, rubber, and coconut. The chief exporting partners are (in order) the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Japan.

Sri Lanka is also highly dependent on foreign assistance and receives an estimated US\$500 million annually, and was critical in the successful development of the Mahaweli River Basin Project, the privatization of state-run industries, the development of the stock exchange in 1990, and the building of infrastructure.

Geography

Sri Lanka is approximately the size of West Virginia. Major cities include Colombo (capital), Kandy, Jaffna, and Galle. The closest country to Sri Lanka is India, 34 miles from the Jaffna Peninsula. A political map of Sri Lanka can be viewed at:

<http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/srilanka.html>.

Maps of Sri Lanka's ethnicities and religions, population density, and land use can be viewed at http://www.reisenett.no/map_collection/islands_oceans_poles/Sri_Lanka_charts_76.jpg.



History – From Colonization to the Current Situation

The Colonial Period

In 1505, a Sinhalese ruler asked for Portuguese protection of his territory in exchange for a yearly tribute of cinnamon. Gradually, the Portuguese established many ports along the western coast of Sri Lanka, including the current capital, Colombo. The Dutch obtained the Portuguese portions of Sri Lanka in 1656. The Dutch did very little to change the political structure of Sri Lanka. The Dutch were concerned primarily with trade and relinquished local control of Sri Lanka, except for the port cities, to local regional lords. Under the pressure of British colonizers, the Dutch left Sri Lanka in 1796.

After the Dutch departure, the British, under the auspices of the British East India Company, assumed control of Sri Lanka. After renaming the country Ceylon, the British imported poor South Indian Tamils to use as cheap labor on the plantations of the island. This massive importation of Indian Tamils heightened the local conflicts in Sri Lanka. The British also placed heavy emphasis on converting the Sinhalese and Tamils to Western religion and thought. Traditional religious education was displaced by British-run institutions. These moves fostered resentment especially within the Sinhalese Buddhist majority. Sri Lanka was formerly known as Ceylon.

Most importantly, the British were the first to create a unified administrative structure for the whole of the island. This marked the establishment of a modern state for the whole of the island. A host of economic, social, and political changes accompanied this unification of the island. Most notably a census was established, and people were categorized according to diverse criteria. Representation was based on the classifications of the census. Second, the economic developments pushed forth by British colonialism during this period were focused primarily in the central and western areas of Ceylon, thus leaving the Tamil population at a considerable disadvantage from their Sinhalese counterparts. In order to counteract these difficulties, the Tamil community sought upward mobility through American and British Missionary schools, and participated actively in the government service sector.

British rule and the accompanying changes led to Buddhist revivalist movements among the Sinhalese in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Buddhist revival supplied the basis for a new Sinhala identity reconstructed in opposition to the identity fostered by the missionaries and the colonial administration. This link between nationalism and Buddhism among the Sinhalese intensified ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. In response to Buddhist nationalism, a Tamil nationalism, originating in northern Sri Lanka in the early twentieth century, created an intensified sense of division between the two groups.

Independence

When independence was declared in Sri Lanka on February 4th, 1948, the former colony appeared to be headed towards political stability. The fears of analysts over the glaring ethnic differences between the Tamils and Sinhalese seemed to be unfounded. Political elites, under the leadership of D.S. Senanayake, worked out a compromise government. The two major ethnic groups, separated by religion, culture, language, and history, were united in the search for one nation. The new leading party, the United National Party (UNP), inherited from the former British rulers, was ethnically mixed. The educated elites, although divided by language, caste, religion, and ethnicity, shared a basic set of political values – a commitment to a parliamentary democracy.

Initially, the English speaking elite appeared ambivalent towards language and ethnic background; membership in the leading elite was defined by upper level education. In 1948, Tamils and Sinhalese held a nearly equal number of positions in government, even though the Sinhalese made up about 70% of the population, and the Tamils comprised approximately 18%.



Ethnic tensions were beginning to increase, however. Some Sinhalese believed that Tamils occupied too many positions in government and education. As a result, the Sinhalese focused their resentment on the Indian Tamils who had been brought into Sri Lanka by the British colonialists. In 1948, the UNP led parliament passed a law defining Sri Lankan citizenship, this definition excluded the Indian Tamils, which constituted 6% of the total population, and over 30% of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, from voting in elections. This was the first in a progression of laws aimed at balancing the interests of the Sinhalese majority. This law led to an increased feeling of alienation among Tamils which would grow into a strong feeling of vulnerability

Sinhalese Ethnic Resurgence

Ethnic divisions became increasingly prominent during the industrialization of Sri Lanka in the early 1950s. The reaction of each group was to firmly reassert its unique cultural identity. Using Buddhism as a unifying cultural force, some Sinhalese expressed a strong desire to discriminate against the Tamils in education and employment. Tamils still held a disproportionate number of positions in education and in government service; this caused resentment among many Sinhalese. In response to this growing resentment, radical Buddhist monks called for a restoration of past glories by compensating Buddhists for years of neglect. In 1956, the Sinhalese masses embraced the appeals of the Buddhist monks and elected the radical S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and his Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP) to power.

The issue of language was extraordinarily important to the survival of each ethnic group and language emerged as a central issue in the political debate. In the north and east where Tamil was widely spoken, a government conducting business in the Sinhalese language would fail to represent and provide employment opportunity to the Tamils. Nevertheless, in 1956, Prime Minister Bandaranaike made Sinhalese the sole official language through the passage of the "Sinhalese Only" Act. Although Tamils had been led into the post-colonial era under assurances of equal status, they now were excluded, on the basis of language, from participation in the upper levels of government as well as education.

The Bandarnaike-Chelvanayakam Pact

In 1957 the Tamil Federal Party was able to gain concessions from the SLFP under the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact. This pact recognized Tamil as the language of "a national minority" and as an official government language for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Extremists within the government voiced dissatisfaction with the concessions. In 1958, a rumor that a Tamil had killed a Sinhalese set off nationwide communal Sinhalese-Tamil riots, in which hundreds of Tamil died. The incident and ensuing ethnic crisis forced Bandaranaike to annul the agreement, leaving the Tamil in a position of a second-class people throughout the island. After a Buddhist extremist assassinated Bandaranaike in 1959, the nation underwent a period of economic and political instability, and the UNP under the leadership of Dudley Senanyake gained a plurality, but not majority, of Parliament seats.

Outbreak of Violence

Severe riots broke out in the Tamil north in protest of the "Sinhalese Only" Act. In response, anti-Tamil riots shook the Sinhalese south. The government mobilized troops in response to the anti-Tamil riots several days after the rioting began. This delayed reaction signified the Sinhalese dominated government's ambivalence to the protection of the Tamil minority in Southern Sri Lanka. Although the riots were the worst in Sri Lankan history to date, they foreshadowed the more extensive violence to come. Prime Minister Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959 by extreme elements of the Buddhist clergy. The leadership of the SLFP was taken over by Bandaranaike's widow. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the first female Prime Minister in the world, was well aware of the radical Sinhalese elements responsible for the assassination. Mrs. Bandaranaike strictly enforced the "Sinhalese Only" policy and moved towards an authoritarian hold over her party and country. As the state acquiesced to the radical goals of Sinhalese nationalism, the



movement increased in intensity. Schools were effectively nationalized with strict admissions quotas that were perceived as discriminatory by the Tamils. In the eyes of the Tamils, every new restriction on Tamil freedom enhanced the role of the Sinhalese and created a bolder Sinhalese majority.

In 1961, upon the expiration of the grace period in which Tamils were expected to learn Sinhalese, riots erupted again in the northern and eastern provinces. The Tamils blocked trains and the postal service, and prevented government employees from going to work. The government responded by calling for a state of emergency, the use of troops, and the imposition of heavy penalties including the death penalty in some cases. While the disturbance was quickly quelled, the event contributed to increasing consciousness of the Tamils as an ethnic group and set a precedent of military involvement in ethnic disputes.

The concentration of government schools in urban areas created a division between the city and the countryside, even among the Sinhalese. Rural Sinhalese youth were often unable to enter the most prestigious schools and increasingly felt stranded and frustrated by the lack of employment in Sri Lanka. This provided a foothold for an anti-government, anti-elite Sinhalese movement. Anti-government sentiments within the Sinhalese youth led to the creation of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), or Peoples Liberation Front, in 1967. On April 5, 1971, the country experienced its first blasts of JVP insurgency. In an attempt to take control of the country, the JVP seized several police stations in rural Sri Lanka. The uprising spread to several urban areas across the country. Mrs. Bandaranaike declared a state of emergency, sent in the military, and proscribed a curfew for the entire country. When the police and army had ended the insurrection after two weeks, over 5,000 had died and close to 14,000 Sinhalese were held in detention camps.

The 1972 Constitution

In May 1972, the United Front followed through on its 1970 campaign promise to promulgate a new constitution toward the transformation of Ceylon to the Republic of Sri Lanka. Under the new constitution, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government were vested in the unchecked lawmaking capability of the National State Assembly. Many important and vocal sectors of society opposed this concentration of power. The 1972 Constitution disturbed the UNP, which feared an authoritarian government might emerge because of the new document.

The distinct lack of protection for the rights of minorities in the new constitution dismayed many sectors of the population. The Tamils were particularly disturbed because the 1972 Constitution contained no elements of federalism wherein Tamil ethnic groups might gain limited autonomy on a regional basis. Instead, ethnic relations took a step backwards in the wake of a newly conferred status for Buddhism as having "the foremost place" in the culture of Sri Lanka, which replaced the provisions for minorities provided by Article 29 in the 1948 constitution.

The constitution also sanctioned measures that discriminated against Tamil youth in university admissions. Tamil youth were particularly concerned by the "standardization" policy that Bandaranaike's government introduced in 1973. The policy made university admissions criteria lower for Sinhalese than for Tamils. The Tamil community—represented by the Federal Party, the Tamil Congress, and other Tamil organizations—reacted collectively against the new atmosphere the new constitution produced, and in May 1972, founded the Tamil United Front (which in 1976 became the Tamil United Liberation Front; TULF).

A Reorganized UNP

In July 1977, the vastly deteriorated SLFP was defeated by a reorganized UNP, under the leadership of J.R. Jayawardene. Upon the appointment of Jayawardene as Prime Minister, attempts by the United Front to pursue state control of the economy were reversed, as efforts toward the revitalization of the private sector and the attraction of foreign capital were enforced.



A new constitution was drafted in 1978, renaming the former Republic of Sri Lanka to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. In the wake of the rising levels of patronage, nepotism, corruption, and unemployment that had occurred as a result of immense economic powers ensured to the *party* of the state by the 1972 constitution, the Jayawardene administration constructed a system wherein the president remained the head of state but was given a new executive power as head of government. Sinhala and Tamil were recognized as national languages, although only Sinhala was empowered with the status of an “official” language.

By 1977, however, the Tamil separatist movement had furthered its demands upon the government of Sri Lanka, insisting that a separate state—“Tamil Eelam”—be established in northern and eastern regions of the island. In the 1977 elections, the TULF had won every seat in Tamil areas, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) assumed a policy of independence by force, if necessary.

With the refusal of the TULF, on the grounds that the constitution reiterated the unitary nature of the state, to participate in the constitution-making process with the UNP, the Sixth Amendment was drafted in 1979. The Amendment outlaws “separatism” and provides for the proscribing (banning) of parties determined to be separatist. Further, an oath of loyalty may be administered by the government to any official holding office on a local, regional, or national basis within Sri Lanka. While Sinhalese, Indian Tamil, and Moor groups support the amendment, Tamil parties adamantly opposed the provision.

The wedge of ethnic conflict deepened in the wake of the 1978 constitution and the drafting of the Sixth Amendment. The TULF stated its grievances that the government had provided for an inadequate allocation of resources for Tamils in the north and east, citing the lack of access to education and jobs in the region as evidence. A perception prevailed that the government had, by appeasing the Sinhalese majority (through the provision of Sinhalese as the “official language” and the Sixth Amendment) neglected Tamil interests. Conversely, the Sinhalese felt increasingly insecure in the wider South Asian regional context, fearing the presence of fifty million Tamils living in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, situated only 34 miles from Sri Lanka.

The Escalation of Violence

The first two years of the decade of the 1980’s witnessed escalated attempts by groups representing the Tamil minority to organize insurgency, based in outposts in northern and eastern Ceylon in addition to strongholds in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, where Tamil groups received official and unofficial support. In response to the resultant heightened levels of terrorism by the LTTE, the government of Sri Lanka, in July 1983, launched offensives against Tamil-occupied areas in the north and east of the island.

The offensives initiated by the government of Sri Lanka incited what may be regarded as the most severe and devastating communal riots, from 24 to 31 July 1983, to occur in Sri Lanka since it gained independence in 1948. It is estimated that more than 2,000 people died with property damages estimated at US\$150 million. In addition to the loss of life and property, however, the riots had two significant demographic consequences.

First, the violence caused the exodus of over 100,000 refugees—victims of the government’s drive against Tamil militants—from northern parts of Ceylon to the state of Tamil Nadu in India. The second effect of the offensives was an exodus of Tamils living in southern parts of Ceylon, amidst the Sinhalese, to their “traditional homes” in the north and east. This migration led to the notion, among many Tamils, that safety might only be preserved in their “Tamil homeland,” and furthered ties with Indian Tamil counterparts.



Involvement of Indian Mediation

In combination with national security issues posed by the influx of refugees and de facto Tamil Nadu support of Tamil terrorism, the government of India, by July 1983, regarded the situation in Sri Lanka with a considerable degree of urgency.

Mediation by the central government of India began in August 1983, upon the extension of India's good offices by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. By December 1983, G. Parthasarathy, a well-respected Indian diplomat and close advisor to Indira Gandhi, had discussed issues with leaders in the government of Sri Lanka, its political parties (including the TULF), and drafted a set of proposals to resolve the conflict.

The proposals, known collectively as "Annexure C" of the All Party Conference of January 1984, suggested a union of regions within the unitary constitutional framework of Sri Lanka, with the devolution of substantial legislative and executive power to the regions and measures that would ensure the Tamil minority an adequate representation at the central government level. The proposals presented by Parthasarathy were rejected by the government of Sri Lanka, initially, due to their belief that districts (of which there are 23 in Sri Lanka) should form the basis for devolution, instead of devolution in units based on the nine provinces, as the proposal mandated. The All Party Conference ended inconclusively, however, by December 1984, as both the Tamils and the government of Sri Lanka maintained violent offensives and counter-offensives in north and east Sri Lanka.

Following a meeting between the Sri Lankan President and Indian Prime Minister in early June 1985 in New Delhi, efforts resumed toward mediation. Faced with an intensifying military conflict, both parties assumed the other would be willing to make considerable concessions toward peace. Talks were held at Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan, between Tamil leaders and the government of Sri Lanka to agree to a negotiated settlement and ceasefire. Again, negotiations proved fruitless when leaders of the LTTE staged a walkout of the mediation.

All-Out Offensive

When, at the end of April 1987, a car bomb exploded at a busy bus station in Colombo, killing 113 people, the government of Sri Lanka called for an "all-out offensive," in response to popular outcries for recompense from the responsible Tamil terrorists. The offensive was focused upon the Tamil-occupied Jaffna peninsula, and by May 1987 the army of the government had, at great costs in lives, captured much of the region.

The Indian government, arguing that the army offensive had rendered the people of Jaffna totally destitute, decided to send civilians in the region humanitarian relief. When a flotilla of Indian boats carrying relief supplies was turned back by the Sri Lankan navy, India dropped supplies by air (Operation Poomalai) and then proceeded with negotiations with the government of Sri Lanka to distribute further provisions.

Faced with increasing regional pressure from India and calls from the international community (including a resolution in the United Nations condemning the violations of human rights conducted in Sri Lanka) to more actively pursue an agreement with Tamil rebels, the government of Sri Lanka embarked upon efforts toward ceasefire. An agreement was reached between India and Sri Lanka in July 1987, with the LTTE as conciliatory agent.

Terms for Ceasefire

The agreement had three components—first, the "modalities" of settling the ethnic conflicts through devolution of power to a Tamil region combining the northern and eastern provinces; second, the guarantees and obligations of the government of India with regard to the implementation of the accord; third, the undertakings given by the government of Sri Lanka to India which are not related to the ethnic conflict but concern India's security interests in the



region. An Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was deployed to northern and eastern regions of the island in exchange for plans for devolution of power to Tamil provinces, the cessation of Indian assistance to Tamil rebel groups, a referendum to be given to northern and eastern provinces, and the LTTE concurrently pledging a token surrender of arms (while other Tamil groups completely laid down arms).

On 10 October 1987, the LTTE resumed armed conflict with an attack on the IPKF. Coinciding with the conflict in the north and east, the JVP resumed insurgency in the south of Sri Lanka as a reaction to the presence of Indian troops on the island and the perception that the central government is abdicating to the Tamil Minority by providing the Thirteenth Amendment, which modifies the “Unitary” nature of Sri Lanka and provides for devolution of powers to the provinces, and the Sixteenth Amendment, which formally recognizes Sinhala and Tamil as national languages.

The Resumption of the Tug-of-War

By May 1990, Ranasinghe Premadasa, the successor to Jayawardene as President, had made a second attempt at peace with the LTTE, and India had withdrawn all of its forces from Sri Lanka in response to escalating conflict in the north with the LTTE and growing public discontent with the Indian military presence. Talks between the LTTE and government of Sri Lanka failed shortly thereafter, and Sri Lanka engaged in an economic embargo on the north and Tamil parts of the east, serving only to gain further support for the LTTE in embargoed areas.

Following the assassination of Premadasa on 1 May 1994 and the assumption of Chandrika Kumaratunga to the Presidency on 16 August 1994, a third round of peace talks began between the LTTE and central government on 13 October 1994. Six months into the talks, however, the LTTE resumed militant activities with the bombing of two Sri Lankan navy boats. By 1995, the People’s Alliance (PA), in coalition with the SLFP, came to power on a “mandate of peace.” In response to an LTTE attack on an army camp in Mullaithivu, on 18 July 1996, the central government launched Operation Jayasikuru, wherein Sri Lankan forces gained control of Jaffna by December 1996. Subsequent attempts at mediation or ceasefire in 1997 and 1998 were scuttled immediately in the “interest of public security,” and as a result of continued advances and retreats for both the LTTE and government army in the north and east provinces.

Current Situation

Constitutional Reforms Bill and Dissent

On 1 February 2000, the government of Sri Lanka, led by President Chandrika Kumaratunga, disclosed to the international community that it would, with Norway playing an intermediary role, be pursuing a peace agreement with the LTTE. On 3 August, Kumaratunga introduced before parliament the Constitution Reforms Bill, “An Act for the Repeal and Replacement of the Constitution,” amidst much protest from the floor of Parliament and the people of Sri Lanka.

The Constitutional Reforms Bill provides for a North-Eastern Provincial Council in the traditional Tamil homeland (this province may be divided into two provinces, north and east, after 10 years. Additionally, a special status is provided to the Sinhala minority (comprising 10% of the population) in the North-Eastern Province. The North-Eastern Provincial Council cannot make any decision affecting the Sinhalese of the province without the majority of the Sinhalese in the province agreeing to it.

The government, on 8 August, decided to defer the debate and voting on the Constitutional Reforms Bill in reaction to concerns that the Bill would not be able to secure the required two-thirds majority. Kumaratunga, asserting that this may be the last available effort toward peace, announced on 11 August that the next parliament would be converted into a Constituent Assembly in order to pass the proposal. Subsequently, the ruling People’s Alliance was severely hampered by defections and resignations of three ministers of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress



(SLMC). On 16 October, following demands from coalition partners that the PA and the UNP launch a collective effort to implement constitutional reforms, the SLMC split over extending support to the People's Alliance. Further, the Sinhala Urumaya, the hard-line Sinhala Buddhist National Party also split over the issue of representation in the Parliament.

Norway as Intermediary

On 17 October, upon resolution of the PA party platform with regard to open negotiations, Foreign Minister Kakshman Kadirgamar stated in Oslo that Sri Lanka wanted "Norway to remain engaged in the process." By 1 November, Eric Solheim, the Norwegian peace envoy, met with LTTE chief Velupillai Prabhakaran, noting afterward that the meeting was "serious, frank, open, and very useful." The JVP, on 4 November, criticized the Norwegian initiative and alleges that Norway was attempting to *impose* a political solution.

The European Union, on 13 November, extended its support to the Norwegian peace initiative, calling upon both the government and the LTTE to seize the opportunity to hold a dialogue in order to find a negotiated solution to the ethnic conflict. On 21 December 2000, the LTTE announced a month-long unilateral ceasefire, and called upon the government of Sri Lanka to follow suit. The government rejected the offer, maintaining its need to quell terrorism in the north and east of the island.

The month of January 2001 was one characterized by a continuation of the existing stalemate between the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan government. Both sides continue to assert their positions of December; the LTTE says that it will not come to the negotiating table until the Sri Lankan government returns the LTTE's gesture of cease-fire; the government will not declare a cease-fire until the LTTE comes to the negotiating table. The Sri Lankan government's rationale is that they will wait until the LTTE shows a "genuine desire" for peace, citing previous attempts at peace that were scuttled by the Tamil separatists. They do not want the LTTE to be able to use any cessation of fighting to regroup and perhaps make an assault of their own, and thus the Sri Lankan government will continue its own offensive.

Norwegian peace envoy Erik Solheim arrived in Sri Lanka on 10 January with the hopes of bringing the two warring sides to the negotiation table despite each side's determination to outwait the other. Solheim has been trying for the past two years to bring leaders from the two sides to the same table, but has thus far been unsuccessful. Because of this inability, Solheim spends his time going between the two sides in an attempt at reaching some sort of agreement. Solheim's peace talks with the two sides are shrouded in secrecy due to opposition from the Sinhalese nationalists to his position as peace envoy. These groups see Solheim's efforts toward peace as unnecessary foreign interference. Many members of these opposition groups have taken to the streets in protest.

In addition to the Sinhalese protests, the Tamils have actively taken part in demonstrations. Eleven moderate Tamil parties say that they will launch a national campaign against the war against the separatist Tamil Tigers. The Tamil parties plan to join with leftist human rights groups, non-governmental organizations (NGO's), and other Sri Lankans who wish for an end to the fighting.

Despite these cries for peace and the LTTE's cry for cease-fire, the fighting continues. On 16 January the Sri Lankan Government launched a major offensive whose aim was to capture the strategically significant Elephant Pass. On the first day of fighting over 40 rebel troops and government soldiers were killed. This offensive was followed by the "strategic retreat" of LTTE forces. The LTTE made a statement that the Sri Lankan government's continued pushing at rebel territory was endangering the peace process.

On 19 January the LTTE spokesperson, Anton Balsengham made a statement, saying that the Tamil Tigers would not renew their ceasefire unless the army was to suspend their latest offensive. He further elaborated that the LTTE had made enough concessions to peace, and that



they are favorably considering the Norwegian proposals, but that they want the Sri Lankan government to lift the economic embargoes that they have placed on rebel areas. If the government were to lift these embargoes, Balsingham insisted, the LTTE would cease bombing the southern part of the island. The government responded that there were no economic embargoes currently in place on the rebel areas, so it would have a difficult time removing something that does not exist. They further said that the claims of economic embargo by the Sri Lankan government were LTTE propaganda to elicit international support.

The continuing fighting has prompted the Sri Lankan government to crack down on its civilian population. Protests in response to the massacre of 29 Tamils in October have spurred the Sri Lankan government to increase security measures in the Central Hills District. Tamils who work on the local tea plantations heavily populate this district. The government has instituted a special registration system where each household family must have a group photo of themselves posted in their home, labeled with names. In addition, the family must furnish the police with a copy of this photo along with labeled photos of each individual family member.

British Ban of LTTE

Great Britain defined the LTTE as a terrorist group under the new Terrorism Act 2000 on 19 February 2001. The ban represents a major problem for the group because their international secretariat is located in London. The LTTE also receives substantial funding from expatriate Tamils living in Britain. The proscription would limit the rebels' access to this money.

The ban would be instituted through the new Terrorism Act, which broadens Britain's former definition of terrorism that aimed largely at Irish paramilitaries. The law would give police increased powers to seize assets and arrest those they believe may be promoting terrorism outside Britain. Students in northern Jaffna have collected more than 50,000 signatures on a petition asking Britain not to ban the rebels. They, as well as civil rights groups, fear that the new law could be used against groups, such as the LTTE, that fight for legitimate causes.

Political Parties And Coalitions

When, in October 2000, the People's Alliance (PA) secured 107 seats in Parliament, elected president Chandrika Kumaratunga was faced with the need to form further party coalitions in order to ensure the support of 113 votes in the 225-seat body of parliament, the required majority to form a new government.

Following lengthy talks with two relatively minor parties, the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP), a Tamil party, and the National Unity Alliance (NUA), a Muslim party, the PA reached a "Memoranda of Understanding" with the parties in exchange for a renewed focus on party platforms pushed forth by the EPDP and NUA within the agenda of the new government. These requests included the appointment of senior government positions and diplomatic postings from each party, in addition to an ultimatum issued by the NUA that the new government would be toppled should Kumaratunga not enact a new constitution in 100 days.

In addition, calls were made by the Buddhist clergy in November 2000 for the United National Party (UNP) and PA to sink their differences and take a united stand on the Tamil issue. Reacting to these suggestions, UNP leader Ranil Wickramasinghe proposed a set of preconditions for the cooperation of his party. These preconditions related primarily to greater transparency and independence of the function of the offices of the election department, the police, and the bureaucracy. While Tamil groups do not explicitly oppose these preconditions, movements toward a UNP-PA alliance have elicited outcries from minority parties.

The disquiet has resulted from fears that should the PA and its primary opposition party, the UNP, draft a united platform, the policies of the Buddhist clergy may be taken into consideration. The



Buddhist platform endorses a Sinhalese-chauvinist agenda with limitations on minority rights. The Tamils worry that the two parties may find themselves competing for a bigger share of the majority Sinhalese votes instead of focusing on a fair solution for the ethnic issue.

Due to these concerns, moves toward a renewed UNP-PA united front have been limited, and the PA has instead relied upon the often-vacillating support of smaller, more radical, less organized parties in the maintenance of legitimacy for the new government.

Non-Governmental, Inter-Governmental, & International Organizations (NGOs, INGOs, & IOs)

A number of non-governmental organizations have operated within Sri Lanka in the wake of the dislocations caused by the conflict. In accordance with the staggering diversity of local, national, foreign, and international interest groups involved in Sri Lanka is a wide variety of focuses and roles, but for the purposes of this simulation, two primary groups will be established: observers, public empowerment operatives, service (and funding) providers.

Observer groups are organized to raise awareness of human rights violations taking place in conflict situations. These groups seek to influence international organizations, foreign national governments, and global public opinion through comprehensive reports of civil disturbances and their effect on populations in conflict. Observer NGO's have limited contact with governments and typically share resources and information on conflict with other interest groups, both foreign and local.

Public empowerment groups are designed to raise awareness among the domestic populations of nations experiencing conflict. These organizations may be sponsored by foreign national governments, and have been recorded to create separate civil societies within their spheres of influence, including educational, agricultural, and judiciary provisions without consent of national governments. Public empowerment groups are not typically endorsed by the government whose civil society is targeted, and are often viewed as "insidious" actors in the resolution of conflict.

Finally, service and funding providers, such as the International Red Cross (ICRC) and World Bank, conduct projects, often in conjunction with the governments involved in conflict, to provide necessary health services and fund micro-credit loans to the civilians of regions in conflict. These organizations, in Sri Lanka, have recently faced increasing difficulty in relations with the government of Sri Lanka, and have often been refused admission to areas in conflict. The state of relations between service/funding providers and the central government of Sri Lanka has a significant effect on decisions by the United Nations and foreign national governments to sanction or support the government of Sri Lanka, and often is an apt indicator of the escalation of conflict and attitude of Sri Lankan governmental regimes.

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Roles

The simulation includes the following roles:

People's Alliance - Representative 1
People's Alliance - Representative 2
People's Alliance - Representative 3
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) - Representative 1
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) - Representative 2
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) - Representative 3
Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP)
National Unity Alliance (NUA)
India – Minister of External Affairs
People's Liberation Front (JVP)
European Union (EU)
United National Party (UNP)
Sarvodaya
David Munnetra Kahagam (DMK)
National Sangha Council
World Bank
Human Rights Watch
United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
US Special Envoy to South Asia
Quaker Representation
Sri Lankan Business Council (SLBC)
South Asian Overseas Development Council (SAODC)



People's Alliance - Representative 1

You represent the hard-line faction within the government. You believe in weakening the LTTE militarily before negotiating with it. Your main goal is the preservation of the unitary state. You are opposed to political decentralization and are backed by a vocal and politically active support base in Sri Lanka. You represent the most powerful faction within the government and enjoy limited opposition (UNP) support as well. However, you have had to moderate your stance towards the LTTE in order to appease the donors so that Sri Lanka's supply of economic aid does not get cut off.

Your basic stance is that the civil war is a purely internal matter best left to the government and the people of Sri Lanka. The LTTE in your view is a terrorist organization that must be eliminated. As far as you are concerned most Tamil grievances have now been met - it is the intransigence of the LTTE that presents the most important obstacle to achieving peace. Any unsolicited outside intervention in the conflict is an infringement upon the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. The conflict in the north is an internal matter, where you are trying to liberate the Tamil population from the fascist LTTE. You want to ask why other countries (such as India) which have similar problems, are not treated with the same disregard (for national sovereignty) as Sri Lanka. You should not be amenable to peace talks unless the LTTE lays down its arms.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You have to convince both the other members of the government as well as the mediators that the LTTE must lay down its arms as a precondition for any peace talks. The LTTE has proved time and again that it is not genuinely interested in peace talks. The items that you are willing to discuss once this condition is satisfied, include lifting the economic blockade on north and east, the rehabilitation of the LTTE into the political mainstream, and the conduct of elections for the northern and eastern provincial councils.

You want to actively prevent the EU from being involved in the mediation process as it exercises considerable leverage over the government in the form of economic aid. You should also mobilize support against other representatives from being actively involved if they a) grant legitimacy to the LTTE cause or, b) violate the sovereignty of the state of Sri Lanka. You do not want any party with considerable clout over the government to become an important player in the mediation process as they might force you into making concessions that are detrimental to the territorial integrity of the country and the safety of the majority of Sri Lankans. You want to inform the mediators of your grievances and of LTTE atrocities so that they understand what the real nature of the problem.



People's Alliance - Representative 2

You represent the moderate faction within the ruling People's Alliance (PA). As a moderate voice in the People's Alliance, you are open to the idea of negotiating with the LTTE. You believe in a political rather than military solution. You are opposed to the idea of a separate state for the Tamils, but are open to discussions on political devolution. You have no opposition to granting some degree of political devolution but firmly believe that legislative power should rest with the national parliament. You want try to persuade the more hard-line member(s) of the government to accept your strategy to deal with this situation. At the same time, this faction is an important ally against those within the government, who might favor that more radical items (such as power sharing arrangements) be included in the agenda. You should also be aware of LTTE supporters within the government who are intent on promoting the interests of the LTTE under the guise of ensuring the welfare of the country. The LTTE has used peace talks in the past to refresh and resupply its troops and to win valuable breathing room. You want to make sure that this does not happen again. You are open to beginning negotiations before declaring a ceasefire.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

The LTTE must show a 'genuine desire' for peace talks. The LTTE should not to be allowed to use this opportunity to regroup. There can be no discussion of the status of the LTTE as a proscribed terrorist group by the government or by other international actors. While negotiations for peace are encouraged, war may be the last resort should no compromise be available.

You support the idea of peace talks, albeit without the outside involvement. Outsiders will raise the prestige of the LTTE and make an internal problem a matter of international concern. Furthermore, the international community has the capacity to enforce coercive measures that would violate Sri Lanka's sovereignty. You want a mediator who has had longstanding concern about the conflict and who does not have 'enforcement capacities'. You should make sure that the international community understands that you have addressed some of the basic grievances of the Tamils (Tamil is now an official language, devolution has been achieved through the establishment of provincial councils). You believe that a political solution can be found once the LTTE stops fighting.

You have to be suspicious of some of the IGOs and NGOs. Some of the international NGOs such as ICRC, Human Rights Watch etc. show complete disregard for the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. These organizations harshly criticize the government while being silent about LTTE atrocities. They sometimes serve as the spokespeople for the LTTE. On the other hand, you do want to cultivate international support for the government. So, you have to engage with these organizations and persuade them to be on your side.



People's Alliance - Representative 3

You represent the 'liberal' faction within the government. PA liberals have pushed to have discussions with the LTTE at a negotiating table and argue that a ceasefire may best be agreed upon through negotiations. You support the establishment of a federal political order as a solution to the current problem. You enjoy the support of large businesses, especially the English speaking elements of it. Your primary support base is primarily composed of upper and middle class English speakers who wield considerable economic but not political power. Your position is that a federal system of governance and an open market economy represent the best possible options for Sri Lanka. You believe that a more transparent political framework accompanied by greater liberalization of the economy would lead to peace and prosperity. One of your goals should be to make sure that the issues of political and economic reform get placed on the agenda for talks. You might also want to solicit the support of other like-minded groups to lobby other members of the government and the LTTE of the importance of these issues towards the resolution of the Sri Lankan conflict.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You support the idea of peace talks but condemn the high-handedness of the UN/donors in forcing the government's hand in this direction. However, the UN led initiative gives you an opportunity to persuade others within the government of the importance of a truly decentralized political framework in order to solve Sri Lanka's ethnic problem. You have to provide leadership for the forces within the government that support political negotiations for decentralization. You want to convince the other members of the government of the importance of adding the issue of decentralization onto the agenda for peace talks. This represents the last hope for a political solution. The government's willingness to place the issue of decentralization on the agenda will win it enormous goodwill from the international community. Plus, if the LTTE rejects this initiative, it will be a major public relations victory for the government. While persuading other members of the government to consider decentralization, you should attempt to let the mediators know that there are elements within the government that support decentralization. With regard to the LTTE, you should request that it lays down its arms as a precondition for talks.

You probably do not want to publicly endorse international support as that would be political suicide. However, the EU and Norway are acceptable choices. You have to be somewhat wary of the EU. If the EU pushes the government too hard into talking with the LTTE, then it would not be politically wise to endorse them. You should be wary of India as well given your history with India. In addition, you have to keep in mind that India is a major rival competing for foreign investment.



Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) – Representative 1

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tigers) were formed 1976 in order to secure the freedom of the Tamil people from Sinhala controlled governments, which disregarded the grievances of the Tamil people. Originally Tamil leaders attempted to bring about social and political change via peaceful demonstrations, however, after several years of failures the LTTE emerged. In the 25 years since its founding, the LTTE has gained full support of the Tamil people, and has managed to amass a substantial army of more than a thousand soldiers. The LTTE's military even includes a Navy, which has become a force to be reckoned with in the region. The Tamil people see the LTTE as their major impetus for gaining back their homeland, Tamil Eelam. Increasing hardships and racist policies imposed by the successive Sinhala governments have ostracized the Tamil people further and further, which has led to increased support for the LTTE amongst all Tamil people.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You represent the 'true' wing within the LTTE that will not settle for anything less than the establishment of a separate state for the Tamils. You are here because you do not want your fund raising in Europe to be disrupted and because refusing to consider the possibility of peace talks will damage your international image. In addition, the involvement of international mediators and to a lesser extent the EU, confers a certain legitimacy on your organization and its goals. However, on the other hand you have to be wary of outside parties, especially the World Bank getting heavily involved in the mediation process as you DO NOT want observers or peacekeepers in Sri Lanka. You could on the one hand, pretend that you are interested in peace talks, while on the other hand make sure that these talks never materialize to anything. In doing this you have to convince the third parties that you are amenable to the idea of peace talks. You want to make sure that the mediators understand the historical grievance perpetuated against the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

You could suggest that the government lift the economic blockade on the northern peninsula as a sign of goodwill prior to the peace talks. Also, request that all LTTE prisoners held by the government to be released. In exchange you will release POWs held in the north. You request that the Thimpu Principles form the cornerstone of any framework for negotiations. They are a) the Sri Lankan Tamils be recognized as a distinct nationality; b) an identified Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity be recognized; c) the right of the Sri Lankan Tamils to self-determination be acknowledged. This will be your position on the subject of peace talks. You also reject the idea that you should lay down arms as a precondition for any negotiations.

You have already established some rapport with the Norwegians given their previous efforts at facilitating talks between you and the Sri Lankan government. They understand your position and have no agenda of their own. In addition they, unlike the UN do not have the capacity to coerce you into accepting any unsatisfactory settlement. You are wary of the Indian government as it seems as if the pro-Tamil faction within the Indian government is losing power vis-à-vis the less pro-Tamil center. The Tamil question is no longer an important issue to the Indian government. The EU could be a potential threat because of its ability to impede your organization's propaganda and fund raising activities in Europe. The EU probably views the Sri Lankan case as an opportunity to establish its position as an emerging major international player. Plus, it is also concerned about the growing problem of asylum seekers from Sri Lanka in EU states.



Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) – Representative 2

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tigers) were formed 1976 in order to secure the freedom of the Tamil people from Sinhala controlled governments, which disregarded the grievances of the Tamil people. Originally Tamil leaders attempted to bring about social and political change via peaceful demonstrations, however, after several years of failures the LTTE emerged. In the 25 years since its founding, the LTTE has gained full support of the Tamil people, and has managed to amass a substantial army of more than a thousand soldiers. The LTTE's military even includes a Navy, which has become a force to be reckoned with in the region. The Tamil people see the LTTE as their major impetus for gaining back their homeland, Tamil Eelam. Increasing hardships and racist policies imposed by the successive Sinhala governments have ostracized the Tamil people further and further, which has led to increased support for the LTTE amongst all Tamil people.

You are here because you do not want your fund raising in Europe to be disrupted and because refusing to consider the possibility of peace talks will damage your international image. In addition, the involvement of the UN and to a lesser extent the EU, confers a certain legitimacy on your organization and its goals. You are bent on establishing a separate state for the Tamils, but recognize that entering into peace talks may be beneficial for your organization at the present time. You want to make sure that the mediators understand the historical grievance perpetuated against the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You could suggest that the government lift the economic blockade on the northern peninsula as a sign of goodwill prior to the peace talks. Also, request that all LTTE prisoners held by the government to be released. In exchange you will release POWs held in the north. In addition, you should also request a ceasefire as a precondition to the talks, so that your troops can gain some breathing room. You request that the Thimpu Principles form the cornerstone of any framework for negotiations. They are a) the Sri Lankan Tamils be recognized as a distinct nationality; b) an identified Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity be recognized; c) the right of the Sri Lankan Tamils to self-determination be acknowledged. This will be your position on the subject of peace talks. You also reject the idea that you should lay down arms as a precondition for any negotiations. In addition, you want to request a ceasefire as an additional precondition for talks with the Sri Lankan government.

You have already established some rapport with the Quakers given their previous efforts at peace building. They understand your position and have no agenda of their own. In addition they, unlike the UN or the EU do not have the capacity to coerce you into accepting any unsatisfactory settlement. You are wary of the Indian government as it seems as if the pro-Tamil faction within the Indian government is losing power vis-à-vis the less pro-Tamil center. The Tamil question is no longer an important issue to the Indian government. The EU could be a potential threat because of its ability to impede your organization's propaganda and fund raising activities in Europe. The EU probably views the Sri Lankan case as an opportunity to establish its position as an emerging major international player. Plus, it is also concerned about the growing problem of asylum seekers from Sri Lanka in EU states.

You also want to cultivate international support by trying to influence the international NGOs who will be present during the talks. You want to make sure that they understand the complete disregard that the government has for human rights and humanitarian issues. You should voice your concern about the indiscriminate bombing of Tamil areas and the arbitrary arrests and torture of Tamil youth by the government.



Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) – Representative 3

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tigers) were formed 1976 in order to secure the freedom of the Tamil people from Sinhala controlled governments, which disregarded the grievances of the Tamil people. Originally Tamil leaders attempted to bring about social and political change via peaceful demonstrations, however, after several years of failures the LTTE emerged. In the 25 years since its founding, the LTTE has gained full support of the Tamil people, and has managed to amass a substantial army of more than a thousand soldiers. The LTTE's military even includes a Navy, which has become a force to be reckoned with in the region. The Tamil people see the LTTE as their major impetus for gaining back their homeland, Tamil Eelam. Increasing hardships and racist policies imposed by the successive Sinhala governments have ostracized the Tamil people further and further, which has led to increased support for the LTTE amongst all Tamil people.

You represent the more moderate wing of the LTTE. You have come to the conclusion that a separate state is virtually unachievable. The donor initiative represents the best opportunity for the LTTE to establish itself as a political actor in Sri Lanka. However, you cannot afford to let down your military guard while doing this. Your goal is to aim towards some sort of devolutionary scheme that will enable you to have political, military, and perhaps even fiscal control over the north and the east. Basically, you want some sort of autonomy that falls short of a separate state, with you in charge. The possible participation of the UN is a positive aspect in that it enhances the image of the LTTE in the international community. The LTTE and the Tamil cause would acquire a certain recognition and legitimacy that would destabilize Sinhalese attempts to deny any recognition to the claims of the Tamils. In addition the majority of the diaspora (who contribute large amounts of financial aid to your cause), supports this initiative. You have to convince other members of your group to give up the demand for a separate state, and work towards establishing a federal system of governance that will give the north and the east considerable autonomy.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You could suggest that the government lift the economic blockade on the northern peninsula as a sign of goodwill prior to the peace talks. Also, request that all LTTE prisoners held by the government to be released. In exchange you will release POWs held in the north. Negotiations between the government and you should focus on transferring legislative, economic, and military power to the regional governments from the center.

Be wary of India given the fiasco with the Rajiv Gandhi government. You agreed to the cease-fire called by the Indo-Lanka Accord in 1987 as a result of extreme pressure by the Indian government. However when things went wrong, India betrayed your trust in them by attempting to coerce you into agreeing to the Accord. The EU and the World Bank are strong enough to enforce sanctions against your legitimate international fund raising efforts especially in Europe if you do not follow their wishes. Norway does not have this power. You want a 'soft' mediator with no enforcement capacities.



Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP)

You represent the Eelam People's Democratic Party a Tamil ex-militant organization that entered politics under the Indo-Lanka Accord of 1989. Now you form a small, yet indispensable part of the government coalition. Your concern is to weaken the LTTE militarily and politically so that once a solution can be achieved, you can emerge as the leading political actor in the north and the east. You aspire to represent Tamil interests and opinion in the north and the east.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation”

You endorse the peace talks but want to make sure that any solution must include weakening the LTTE's military power in the north and east. You agree to the idea of peace talks but have to make sure that the agenda for the peace talks must include the elimination of the LTTE's military capabilities. You want to campaign within the government for the inclusion of the devolution issue in the agenda. You want to identify and ally with segments of the government that support further devolution against those who oppose devolution. You should push for outside facilitation in implementing any agreements that arise from the negotiation process. Included in the agenda should a provision allowing for outside observation of the implementation of any agreements. This will dissuade both the government and the LTTE from backing down from any compromises made to each other. You could also push the government to lift the economic embargo on the north immediately as a token of the seriousness of its intent to find common ground with the LTTE. As a representative of the Tamils in the north and east, it is important that you persuade the international community and the mediators of the humanitarian crisis in the north and the east. Medicine and essential goods are in short supply because of the economic embargo; diseases abound in refugee camps. You want to include humanitarian concerns in the agenda.

You are wary of India playing any major role in the mediation process. Although you and India were allies against the LTTE in the aftermath of the Indo-Lanka accord in 1987, you are aware that a faction within the Indian government still supports the LTTE. An a mediator would be your best choice given that it has the military capabilities to enforce any peace agreements. You should definitely argue for observers in the mediation process.



National Unity Alliance (NUA)

Muslims are dispersed throughout the island but have a sizeable concentration in the Northern and Eastern Province, and Colombo. Economically, they present a diverse picture. The Colombo Muslims are a rich business community, especially prominent in gem trading, whereas the Eastern Muslims are mostly in agriculture. There is a distinct gap between the North-East Muslims and the Colombo Muslims. In the violent atmosphere of the North and East, it was realized that the Colombo Muslims were not adequately addressing their grievances. Talks on devolution heightened their fear of being reduced to a 'minority within a minority'.

You represent the National Unity Alliance which is a Muslim party within the government coalition. Your main concern is the security and welfare of the large number of Muslims who live in the areas demarcated by the LTTE as constituting a separate Tamil state. You should be wary of decentralization proposals that sacrifice the interests these Muslims in order to settle the grievances of the Tamils. Your job is to make sure that the issue of the Muslims is included in any framework for peace talks. If possible you want to brief all mediators on the countless human rights abuses committed by the LTTE towards Muslims.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You support the idea of peace talks with the LTTE. However, you should try to determine whether the LTTE is serious about the peace talks. You should try to get the LTTE to publicly admit to the grievances it has caused to the Muslims while trying to secede, as a precondition of your participation/approval to the peace talks. You have to make sure that any agenda for peace talks includes the issue of the Muslims in the north and the east. You want to take a hard line with respect to the LTTE as you do not want them control any future political system in the north and especially the east. Therefore, you ask that the LTTE be disbanded as a military group before it can enter the political process. You can also request that the northern and eastern areas be administered separately. Muslims are a majority in the east and hence your party has a favorable chance to play a dominant role in any future administrative system there. However, uniting the north and the east might weaken this possibility, given that Tamils form an overwhelming majority in the north.

You do not want India to play an important role in the mediation role given that elements within the Indian may still be sympathetic to the LTTE. In addition, the stance towards the Muslims of India does not give you a great deal of confidence about India's potential role in the mediation process. You want to push for the EU to play a major role as it can exert considerable pressure on the LTTE by impeding their fundraising in Europe. Additionally, you want to make sure any mediator understands that the safety of the Muslims is as important as the safety of the Tamils. You could lobby the UN to recognize the issue of the Muslims.



India - Minister of External Affairs

Sri Lanka and India share ethnic as well as historical ties. The southern state of Tamil-Nadu is majority ethnic Tamil. Sri Lankan Tamils number 3.5 million, or 18 % of the island's population. In the early 1980's the Indian government, under pressure from their Tamil population, gave sanctuary to Tamil guerrillas (the LTTE), and supported training camps. The guerrillas operated from these camps across the Palk Strait into Sri Lanka. In 1987, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi tried to mediate a settlement between the two parties, but when no headway was made, the Sri Lankan government sought to create a solution by using military force. India, fearing a hostile response from Tamil Nadu, air-dropped supplies to besieged Tamil separatists. Rajiv Gandhi and Sri-Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene made an agreement through secret negotiations giving the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) the right to enter into Sri Lanka. Neither Sinhalese nationalists nor the LTTE were in agreement with the accord, and the IPKF was soon fighting the guerrillas. The forces were ordered out of the country in 1989, but the India's presence in Sri Lanka had not come without price; over 1100 Indian soldiers were killed and 2800 wounded. Later India was to receive yet another wound from its involvement in Sri Lanka; its Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, was assassinated by Sri Lankan Tamil separatists.

Currently India and Sri Lanka share a healthy diplomatic relationship, with frequent visits between the two governments. In addition, the economic relationship between the two is very important. Sri Lanka's exports to India have steadily increased over the last five years, and according to statistics, over 50% of Indian joint ventures and wholly owned subsidiaries in the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) region are located in Sri Lanka.¹ These close ties have caused the two countries to agree to establish a Free Trade Area between India and Sri Lanka.

India's official position on Sri Lanka is to "[maintain] close, cordial and co-operative relations with that country, building on the considerable legacy of historic links, common culture, shared commitment to democracy and a general orientation towards non-alignment in foreign policy. The Indian government's policy toward Sri Lanka consists of a three-fold commitment:

- (a) to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka;
- (b) to the restoration of lasting peace in Sri Lanka;
- (c) to a peaceful, political process being the only means of achieving a lasting peace, through a negotiated settlement which would meet the aspirations of all communities.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You are interested in strengthening bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka, especially the economic sector and political area. A resolution of the conflict is important to you due to both the influx of over 100,000 Sri Lankan refugees in India and the mounting pressure from ethnic Tamils in the state of Tamil-Nadu. Tamil-Nadu has made several calls for political autonomy from India, and you do not want political upheaval from the peoples in Tamil-Nadu.

The recent troubles in Sri Lanka have caused you a great deal of concern. You are closely monitoring the evolving situation and have offered your services to mediate between the disputing parties. As you see the situation, there are four approaches you support to help resolve the conflicts in Sri Lanka. First is an absolute commitment to the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and full respect for the aspirations of the Tamil minority. Second, you believe that a political objective can only be achieved through negotiations between Colombo and the LTTE. Third, based on past bitter experiences, you do not support putting India's troops in harm's way once more in Sri Lanka. Finally, you believe that there is no room for military or political intervention by other international powers in the Sri Lankan conflict.

¹ <http://www.indiagov.org/foreign/sl.htm>



Balancing the position of trying to foster a peaceful solution in Sri Lanka and responding to the pressures in Tamil-Nadu will be a challenge. During the discussions, it is important that you are supportive of the peace process yet attentive to the voices in southern India.

As the discussions unfold, you would like to see an immediate cease-fire between the warring factions. You recognize that a devolution of some of the government's power to local levels would allow some degree of autonomy to the Tamils. You may not advocate for this during open discussions, however you privately believe this may be one way to preserve the Sri Lankan state. In addition to these items, you have India's best interests at heart. A timeline for the return of refugees from India to Sri Lanka is crucial. Also, any agreement that is reached must preserve Tamil-Nadu as an entity of India. The territory can not, in any way, be incorporated into a Tamil Eelam state. Keep in mind that you are not entirely supportive of intervening outside powers, such as Norway, the EU, or the US. You are willing to mediate between parties or groups to resolve conflict and promote India's interests.



JVP

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) is committed to fight for a Socialist revolution in Sri Lanka. The JVP has operated as both an electoral political party as well as an underground organization. Appealing to the youth of Colombo University in particular, the JVP came to limelight in April 1971 when it decided to capture state power by attacking police stations in the country. Between 1977 and 1983, the JVP became a fast-growing political force in Sri Lanka.

The JVP launched a reinvigorated underground movement that surfaced from 1987 to 1989 in reaction to the occupation of northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka by the Indian Peacekeeping Force. The change of strategy from a “Socialist revolution through class struggle to a Socialist revolution through patriotic struggle” marked a recourse to violence, as uprising pockmarked the countryside of western Sri Lanka and brought the country to a virtual standstill and paralyzed the ability of government forces to control Tamil rebels.

As the JVP has adopted new strategies “in tune with the changes in the Socialist world,” the party remains a threat to once again emerge a formidable military force should it decide to revert back to earlier militant strategies.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

As the JVP representative you believe that in order to solve the Sri Lanka conflict, it is essential to understand the problem correctly. Tamil diversionists believe it is making them free from the pressure of the Sinhala the bigger national or obtaining right of making self-decisions. According to nationalists it is merely a terrorist movement. All these are not the total truth. According to foreign mediators and the government, this is an ethnic problem. You do not consider the problems as “ethnic” in nature. Truthfully there is no ethnic problem, in Sri Lanka. You assert that there is a “national problem.” It is a problem of not having equal opportunities and democratic rights for all.

Therefore, any method for solving this national problem and establishing national peace and unity should be based on granting equal rights to all the nationalities and strengthening democracy. The government has a diverging policy—one face is shown to international powers; the other face is shown to the people of Sri Lanka. In addition, the government has attempted to further split Tamil groups from the Sinhalese and have denied equal rights to each group. It is evident, therefore, that the ruling People’s Alliance is a puppet of international actors who bring ulterior motives to any negotiation for settlement of the otherwise internal conflict.

You would like to restrict any foreign intervention in the resolution of the conflict or maintenance of peace. This includes the United Nations, India, the European Union, the United States, and Norway. Furthermore, you question the motives of the delegation from Norway for their voluntary mediation of the settlement. In general, you reject the Constitutional Reforms Bill and wish to emphasize the importance of equal rights for all citizens of Sri Lanka (particularly the Sinhalese majority). As for the future of the country, you encourage the development of nationwide state-run enterprises in the rejuvenation of the Sri Lankan economy.



European Union

The European Union is built on an institutional system which is the only one of its kind in the world. It is a result of a process of cooperation and integration which began in 1951 between six countries (Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands). After nearly fifty years, the EU today has fifteen Member States. The Member States delegate sovereignty for certain matters to independent institutions which represent the interests of the Union as a whole, its member countries and its citizens. Democracy and the rule of law are therefore the cornerstones of the structure.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

Given the potential you have to influence both the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government, you could be an ideal mediator in the process. You can withhold aid to the government and crackdown on LTTE funding from activities in Europe. The Sri Lankan situation also gives you an opportunity to establish your role as an important player in the international arena. Your involvement in the Sri Lankan situation is motivated primarily by two factors: One, this represents a good venue to exercise your capabilities as an emerging global force, and two, there has been a recent backlash in Europe against asylum seekers. The influx of asylum seekers has raised the costs of providing welfare services in your countries.

You believe that decentralization should be the focal point of any negotiations. You should persuade the parties to the conflict to agree to negotiate on the specifics of a decentralized government. The LTTE so far has rejected the devolution proposals forwarded by the government. However, they do not seem to be completely opposed to the idea of decentralization. Your task is to mediate between both of the parties so that an agenda for discussing decentralization can be drawn up. You have the power and resources to oversee the implementation of any settlement. This window of opportunity is unprecedented and is not likely to be repeated in the near future. Therefore, you want to take advantage of it to find a solution to Sri Lanka's problem. Beware, all parties may not find your mediation efforts acceptable. This may cause to find other ways of exerting your influence or to create a coalition of mediators.

You believe that Norway has so far been an ineffective mediator in the conflict. India too has failed in its mediation efforts and, as you see it, too be preoccupied by its internal interest in the conflict. However, India is an important player because of its regional stature, and any agreement should have its blessing. Therefore you need to persuade the Indian government to support your mediation efforts. India is also important as it still exercises some influence over the leadership of the LTTE. You may want to offer special incentives, maybe even in conjunction with the World Bank or business councils, to give Indian exports special privileges in the EU market.

During discussions be alert to any disagreement among members of the LTTE and the government. You may be able to make more progress with some representatives over others in the same party.



UNP

Throughout the history of the independent state of Sri Lanka the UNP has remained an extremely important factor in the determination of government domestic and foreign policy. It may be argued that the UNP occupies a position, though not the ruling party, of primary significance. As the major opposition party to the People's Alliance, the United National Party has the flexibility to accept or deny peace efforts made by the ruling PA government in the form of alliance or a "no confidence" vote, respectively.

Although the base of support for the UNP has existed primarily in Sinhalese central, western, and southern areas of Sri Lanka, the party has not been [tacitly identified as a Sinhalese-chauvinist organization in the same vein as the SLFP.?] Maintaining its status as a party from the moderate right, the UNP has the capacity to simultaneously work with the Sri Lankan Muslim Congress, the JVP, and the LTTE.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You are currently involved in a complex set of alliance building measures in anticipation of the agenda setting discussion. Primarily you would like to create a strong opposition to the PA leaders and fill their posts with members of the UNP. In strong opposition to the provisions of the Constitution Reform Bill, the UNP has successfully attracted peripheral members of the PA and garnered support for a vote of "no confidence" against the current Administration.

The UNP is strengthened with every dissension and fracture from the People's Alliance, with the understanding that no peace negotiations can prove ultimately successful without your endorsement. As the discussions proceed, it is important that you do not antagonize any parties that might swing away from the People's Alliance. In doing so, you may need to have an agreeable position with all parties or representatives that you encounter. Subtle attempts to undermine the consensus of the People's Alliance are encouraged, and opportunities for party re-alignment may arise.

During the agenda setting sessions, your position must be played with a great deal of care. You must appear to have the best options for peace without being too sympathetic to the LTTE. You may argue that the government makes too many concessions and the LTTE is not giving enough. You should lean toward advocating for peace in the broadest terms. If the Constitution Reform Bill is discussed, you may see it as "inadequate" and recommend that other steps be taken in advance of any attempts to address devolution (i.e. economic rejuvenation, eliminating fascism from the People's Alliance, free and fair elections, etc.) In your quest to further your ideas, you may need to feel out members of the PA to see if they are sympathetic to your ideas. This may be one way of subtly working your way into the party ranks. Look to the EU, Quakers, or US to support your objectives or mediate your position with hard to reach opponents.



Sarvodaya

The Sarvodaya interpret their name as “sharing of time, thoughts, and energy for the awakening of all.” Throughout its history, the paradigm that has shaped the movement is the introduction of Buddhist values into development work. The founder of the movement, Ariyaratne, went to a poor village with a group of colleagues and students to do eleven days of development work as part of a program designed to provide the urban upper class with insight as to the actual living conditions of their fellow citizens. By 1966, Ariyaratne had decided to carry out a “Gramodaya Programme” (village awakening) in one hundred selected villages in Sri Lanka.

Ten fundamental human needs have been identified by the Sarvodaya movement as principal features of and factors for meaningful peace: A clean and beautiful environment; Adequate supply of clean water; Minimal supplies of clothing; An adequate supply of food; A modest house; Basic health care; Basic communication facilities; A minimal supply of energy; Holistic education; and, Spiritual and cultural needs.

The concept of social development advocated by the Sarvodaya Movement defines development as a task to be undertaken across all sectors: cultural, economic, social, ecological, and political. Today, the movement is active in more than 15,000 villages in Sri Lanka and has developed short- and long-term plans for the mediation and amelioration of violence on the island.

Analysts within the Sarvodaya Movement have asserted, “The problem is not LTTE or the Government. The problem is *violence* and the conditions that nurture and support it. The Sarvodaya goal is to eliminate war and violence from our consciousness: to make war unthinkable.” To this end, Sarvodaya operations focus on peace issues including Shanti Sena, which organizes over 77,000 youth into “Peace Brigades” and “Amity Camps.” In addition, the Sarvodaya Legal Services provide legal advice to Sri Lankan citizens in conjunction with massive efforts toward peace mediation and training to more than 215,000 Sri Lankans.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You believe that the external war cannot be “won.” The government cannot “win” the war. The LTTE cannot “win” the war. All they can do is continue it. This war cannot be won; it can only be transcended. Sarvodaya can help Sri Lankans transcend the war. In order to have an authentic peace, we must recognize that violence arises from deep conflicts within a society. These conflicts must be healed. The roots of violence must be eradicated for real peace to be achieved. Military-style “peacekeepers” cannot bring peace. We must envision a true post-conflict society.”

In order to “transcend” war, you advocate for a transformation of the economy. You believe that poverty breeds violence. The biggest force driving the war is the continued poverty that haunts the Sri Lankan island. First, peace mediation must take place to remove the war from the hearts and thoughts of the populace of Sri Lanka. Next, all of the victims of the war—including the combatants, their families, civilians, and children—must be healed in a climate of peace. Emotional healing must take place, and bridges must be built between the Sinhalese and Tamil people. These ties may be established at the village level—through inter-community work, thoughtful discussion, and the identification of the universal “ten basic needs” of all Sri Lankans. Finally, a national conversation on the future of Sri Lanka must take place, and must include every village, town, and city on the island, erecting the basis for a new, inclusive Constitution.

During the discussions you would like to see a complete and unconditional ceasefire by all parties. Efforts toward economic rejuvenation at the level of villages, towns, and cities are essential. While you are in favor of some World Bank policies to end poverty, you are critical of programs that take away the community bonds and spirit. A restructuring of the Constitution toward further inclusion of all ethnic groups and minorities is also important to you. You would like to see a commitment to programs which help individuals disabled by war (including physical, emotional, psychological, and spiritual disabilities). In addition, the rehabilitation of Sri Lankan youth and re-integration into the civilian population as participants in a nationwide village re-



awakening programme would help ensure a lasting peace. You may want to explore the possibility of building a coalition with other like-minded organizations or finding a mediator to further your ideas.



Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)

The DMK is the major political party in Tamil-Nadu, one of India's southernmost states containing a large Tamil population which supports Tamil militants in Sri Lanka. They are among the most vocal of the parties crying for more autonomy from India. The position of the DMK is that they would like Indian controls limited to defense, foreign affairs, interstate communication and currency. In 1991 the DMK government of Tamil Nadu was dismissed by the prime minister for failing to control the activities of the Sri Lankan Tamil militants.

In the early 1980's the Indian government, under pressure from their Tamil population, gave sanctuary to Tamil guerrillas (the LTTE), and supported training camps. The guerrillas operated from these camps across the Palk Strait into Sri Lanka. In 1987, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi tried to mediate a settlement between the two parties, but when no headway was made, the Sri Lankan government sought to create a solution using military force. India, fearing a hostile response from Tamil Nadu, air-dropped supplies to besieged Tamil separatists. Rajiv Gandhi and Sri-Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene made an agreement through secret negotiations giving the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) the right to enter into Sri Lanka. Neither Sinhalese nationalists nor the LTTE were in agreement with the accord, and the IPKF was soon fighting the guerrillas. The forces were ordered out of the country in 1989, but the Indians presence in Sri Lanka had not come without price; over 1100 Indian soldiers were killed and 2800 wounded. Later India was to receive yet another wound from its involvement in Sri Lanka, its Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, was assassinated by Sri Lankan Tamil separatists.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

During the discussions you should defend the unanimous opinion of the people of Tamil Nadu that India should neither send its troops nor supply arms to help the Sri Lankan Government. India should not lend itself to the massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka. That being stated, you have supported the LTTE in its efforts to secure independence, in the hopes of creating a unified Tamil Nadu/Eelam state.

Since you are supportive of your Tamil brothers in Sri Lanka and their quest for a separate Tamil State, you will want to meet with the LTTE and find out how to help them meet their quest for a separate state. You do not have a preference on how a separate state is created, and will be happy if the LTTE get Tamil Eelam through negotiations or armed conflict. By no means do you support any move by the LTTE on Indian soil. Furthermore, the Indian government will not allow the LTTE to use Tamil Nadu as a base to conduct its activities. You must walk a fine line between the appeasement the Indian government and supporting the LTTE cause.

Other items of importance to you include a removal of the ban on assistance to LTTE. In your efforts to feel out the PA representatives to see if you have any support. You may suggest meeting with the government on behalf of the LTTE. If the government will not agree to meet with you, they may accept a meeting with another interested party, such as the Quaker representative, on your behalf.



National Sangha Council

The National Sangha Council is the most influential group of Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka. The monks wield enormous influence in the nation, where 76 percent of the citizens are Buddhists. The Sangha are highly respected and closely integrated into the life of the Sinhalese community, especially at the village level. With the division of the country traditionally beyond comprehension, the Sangha have played a major role in the politics of Sri Lanka and in shaping opposition to Tamil self-determination. In particular, the war is seen as a struggle to preserve the Theravada strain of Buddhism, which thinks of Buddha as the “World Sovereign.” Though Buddhists worldwide recognize the principle of “ahimsa” – not harming living creatures through thought or deed, the Buddhists feel that the conflict in Sri Lanka threatens their very existence. As such, the monks have been at the forefront of the movement to defeat the LTTE militarily.

In recent years, the Sangha's cultural power has been attenuated by universal modern education and an open market economy. Contemporary politicians exploit as much as defer to their influence. With the publication of the PA government's peace package in 1997, a significant number of monks came out in favor of devolution. This break from tradition caused unprecedented debate and disagreement among the Sangha, though the majority of the clergy is staunchly opposed to devolution.

The rationale for fighting the LTTE derives primarily from cultural and historical reasons. Because Sri Lanka is the most prominent country in the world for Orthodox Buddhism, the country's territorial integrity is of primary importance to Buddhists all over the globe, offering free Buddhist education and dispatching missionaries.

Historically, the National Sangha Council has been known to seek support from any group that would help crush the Tamil resistance. In May 2000, the NSC met with the Indian government to seek military assistance in suppressing the rebellion, and specifically sought air and naval support for government troops. Though the Indian government refused to provide support, the monks have still sought their support repeatedly.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You consistently and loudly oppose any proposal that might grant the LTTE political autonomy. In a letter published in The Island your Sanga stated that “It is our conviction that what prevails in our country is a Tamil racist policy of terrorism and not an ‘ethnic’ problem. The only solution is to use the power of the State to crush terrorism and firmly establish the writ of the government and law and order throughout the country.”

You believe that the government must fight the LTTE until they surrender. In addition, you remain deeply suspicious of Norway's attempts to broker peace between the two parties. In particular, you feel that the involvement of Norway will serve only as a precursor to an intervention of foreign armies into internal affairs, leading to destabilization of the country and the entire South Asian region.

Your hard-line Buddhist compatriots have also opposed the government's move to grant citizenship to several thousand Tamils of Indian origin, who to this point have no rights. In effect, the monks feel that by granting political rights and autonomy to the Tamils, the political power of the monks will be diluted. To express your views, you have led numerous demonstrations against the peace talks and have initiated student sit-downs, hunger strikes, and some members have even resorted to lighting themselves on fire as a way to draw attention to their cause.

Your demand is simple: a renewed commitment by the Sri Lankan government and the major political parties to eradicating the LTTE. You stand firm on your belief that the conflict is the primary fault of the LTTE and their refusal to abide by the constitution. You feel that it is in the best interests of the Sri Lankan government to resist any peace agreement due to the feared foreign interventions (excluding India) and the potential reduction of political and cultural power.



On the agenda you would like to see an international condemnation (including NGO's) of the acts of aggression by the LTTE terrorists. You do not want any members of the LTTE involved with politics or affiliated with the government in any way. The Sri Lankan state should be preserved without partition. Given that India is committed to a unified Sri Lanka, you may wish to further your position by meeting, or forming a coalition, with other like-minded representatives. Keep in mind that you can approach other people present at the discussions to serve as a mediator or advocate your position.



World Bank

The World Bank is the world's largest source of development assistance, providing nearly \$16 billion in loans annually to its client countries. It uses its financial resources, highly trained staff, and extensive knowledge base to help each developing country onto a path of stable, sustainable, and equitable growth in the fight against poverty.

Since joining the World Bank group in 1950, Sri Lanka has received \$2.5 billion in support of development. The continuing conflict between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government poses the single largest obstacle to long-term economic prosperity. The direct costs of the conflict such as budget commitments for military campaigns, infrastructure replacements and pension plans have dictated the spending initiatives of the government. Coupled with these expenses are the indirect costs resulting from distortions to labor markets, disruptions to commerce, and the lower foreign investment and tourism that have resulted from the instability of the conflict.

Sri Lanka is South Asia's most open economy, and its per capita income ranks second in the region. Economic growth has been relatively healthy due to good macroeconomic management, and progress in trade liberalization, privatization, and financial sector reform.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You realize that Sri Lanka's enormous potential will first require an end to the war. Your research on the situation in Sri Lanka shows that peace would set the stage for a sustained economic boom if accompanied by sound developmental policies and programs. As the World Bank representative, you advocate for the following policies: 1) strengthening macroeconomic management within Sri Lanka and with other regional organizations; 2) promoting private activity through improvements in the incentive and legal frameworks, and by policy reforms in agriculture, the financial sector, and infrastructure; and 3) raising the efficiency and implementing the capacity of the public sector.

Your goal is to help design a self-sustainable economy. You are not so much interested in the "winners" and "losers" in the conflict, but that the war is resolved and the money invested in Sri Lanka should be utilized effectively. The peace negotiations should be used as a pretext for economic reforms in the country.

While you do not openly support one side or another, you seek to use the situation of the peace talks to urge the Sri Lankan government to implement various structural and governmental reforms which would aid the economic development of the nation. Should the government introduce constitutional reforms, the World Bank would look favorably upon them, provided that the mechanisms increase the efficiency of the government. Furthermore, there is a growing realization that the government is under-utilizing the funds provided by the international community as evidenced by the fact that while once on par with Korea, Malaysia and Singapore in terms of per capita income in the 1960's, the Sri Lankan economy has continued to stagnate.

You are in a unique position in that you can offer economic incentives to both the LTTE and the government in exchange for good faith efforts toward peace. You can also work with the NGO's to finance and implement programs that foster economic development. During the discussions you would like to see items that contribute toward maintaining macroeconomic stability and strengthening public institutions in Sri Lanka. You may recommend to others that an increased privatization among national industries especially telecommunications would be especially beneficial in Sri Lanka. The current poverty reformation has left the poor and disadvantages very vulnerable to political changes, which has failed to provide an adequate standard of living for the poor. You may want to collaborate with Human Rights Watch, the ICRC, and the members of the business council to ensure your interests are represented on the agenda.



Human Rights Watch

Human Rights Watch is the largest human rights organization based in the United States. Human Rights Watch researchers conduct fact-finding investigations into human rights abuses in all regions of the world and then publish those findings in dozens of books and reports, generating local and international attention to the issues. This publicity provides an awareness of abusive practices for oppressed peoples as well as citizens around the world. Human Rights Watch will meet with government officials to urge changes in policies and practices -- at the United Nations, the European Union, in Washington and in capitals around the world. In extreme circumstances, Human Rights Watch presses for the withdrawal of military and economic support from governments that egregiously violate human rights. In moments of crisis, Human Rights Watch provides up-to-the-minute information about conflicts while they are underway. Refugee accounts, which were collected, synthesized and cross-corroborated by researchers, helped to shape the responses of the international community to recent wars in Kosovo and Chechnya.

During the course of the Sri Lankan conflict, human rights defenders campaigned against political violence. Trade unions and media free groups joined them in opposing censorship and other emergency measures. At the end of January, two hundred participants from around the world commemorated the life and work of Neelan Tiruchelvan, a renowned Tamil human rights activist who was killed in a LTTE suicide bombing in 1999. The gathering launched the Neelan Tiruchelvan Memorial Fund, dedicated to the promotion of human rights, minority rights, and the resolution of ethnic conflict.

Renewed fighting between Sri Lankan government forces and the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has overshadowed other developments and generated serious abuses. Although the government has continued to press for constitutional changes aimed at a political resolution to the conflict, it has failed to secure the necessary parliamentary support.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You are deeply concerned for the safety of Sri Lankan citizens as military operations proceed and possibly escalate. During past offensives, combatants on both sides of the war have committed gross human rights abuses against civilians and engaged in indiscriminate attacks on residential areas. Since 1983, security personnel have been allowed to arrest and detain suspects, restrict basic freedoms, and have censored the media. The government has taken some steps to address past human rights violations by the security forces, including exhuming the remains of 15 people who were reported to have "disappeared" in mid-1996. Members of the LTTE were responsible for deliberate and arbitrary killings of civilians, torture, hostage-taking and abductions. The government announced an end to the practice of automatic commutation of death sentences in force since 1976.

The armed conflict has been described as a "no mercy war", given the number of combatants on both sides who appeared to have been deliberately killed on the battlefield instead of being arrested. This practice appeared to continue throughout 1999. There was concern about violations of humanitarian principles by both sides. The killing of 23 civilian in a bombing raid by the Air Force in the Puthukkudiyiruppu area of Mullaitivu district in September indicated a lack of precautions to avoid harming civilians. The government claimed it had hit an LTTE camp, whereas independent sources confirmed that all those killed were civilians.

You are very concerned with the current struggle for control of key territory in the northern part of the island. These battles have claimed scores of civilian lives and displaced some 250,000 people, bringing the estimated number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) nationwide to more than one million. The LTTE in particular has been implicated in a series of suicide bombings that have killed and injured hundreds of civilians. Another priority for you is the LTTE practice of recruiting and deploying child soldiers and the physical attacks to intimidate critics of the LTTE.



You would like to see both the Sri Lankan government and its opposition, especially the LTTE, agree to respect international standards on the conduct of warfare. You are particularly interested in the rules designed to protect the people who are victims of the conflict and not actively involved in its continuation. You believe that the international standards of human rights apply to all people equally, and that sharp vigilance and timely protest can prevent the tragedies of the twentieth century from recurring. You are intent on making sure that the warring factions devise a peaceful solution to the conflict that includes a requirement of both parties to follow the international standards of human rights. This specifically includes a moratorium on the use of child soldiers, an agreement to attack military rather than civilian targets, and the allowance of observers to investigate and document any alleged human rights abuses.

Much to your chagrin, Human Rights Watch has been portrayed as an organization lacking in leadership and resources. You hope to dispel these perceptions while promoting the grave human rights abuses taking place in Sri Lanka. Not only are you seeking to shed light on the terrible atrocities taking place, you are representing all other local and state human rights organizations in Sri Lanka.

During the discussions you would like to see a commitment to abolishing human rights violations through a negotiated end to the use of child soldiers by both sides, an agreement to suspend violence against civilian targets, international investigations of human rights abuses, disarmament of military forces, and a guarantee by Sri Lanka/LTTE of equal rights for all citizens. You may wish to create an alliance with like-minded organizations such as the ICRC or ask the Quaker representative to help promote your interests. You should be wary of motives from governments or business representatives that put economic interests above human rights.



United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1950 — one of several attempts by the international community during the 20th century to provide protection and assistance to refugees. Today, UNHCR is one of the world's principal humanitarian agencies. During its half century of work, the agency provided assistance to at least 50 million people, earning two Nobel Peace Prizes in 1954 and 1981.

Refugees are legally defined as people who are outside their countries because of a well-founded fear of persecution based on their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group, and who cannot or do not want to return home. As a humanitarian, non-political organization, UNHCR has two basic and closely related aims — to protect refugees and to seek ways to help them restart their lives in a normal environment.

The intensification of conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka and the separatist LTTE since late 1999 has led to the renewed displacement of over 200,000 people in the northern Jaffna Peninsula and in the Vanni region. By September 2000, some 13,000 displaced persons remained in the UNHCR-supported Madhu Open Relief Centre. At the same time, in the districts of Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Mannar, conditions in government-controlled areas have permitted the return and relocation of some 3,000 people. In the districts of Killinochchi and Mullaitivu, some 15,000 people have also been able to return to their homes following a geographical shift in the area of conflict. The flight of refugees to India has continued; recently some 1,605 people have arrived in the southern Indian State of Tamil Nadu.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

To ensure safety and facilitate freedom of movement of internally displaced persons (IDPs), you wish to maintain a regular dialogue with the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE, and intervene as necessary. You want to maintain your presence in both government-controlled and LTTE-dominated areas. You try to keep informed on the refugee situation by monitoring conditions at the government housing centers for displaced people. UNHCR intercedes with the authorities on issues such as freedom of movement and the issuance of travel passes. You will continue to support the Sri Lankan authorities and other agencies, helping them to build up the resources and expertise necessary to protect the displaced in emergency situations. This involves raising awareness of UNHCR's mandate among the military, the civilian population, government officials and the LTTE. You also promote the UN's 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' as a normative framework for defense of the rights of the IDPs, including the right to return to their homes. You provide legal assistance to IDPs regarding documentation, land and other matters pertaining to their basic rights and the attainment of durable solutions.

Your continuous presence in both the government-controlled and LTTE-dominated areas, as well as ongoing dialogue with both sides, will improve access to national protection and humanitarian assistance for IDPs and alleviate the consequences of displacement. Improved coordination will ensure coherence of humanitarian action by various agencies and duplication will be avoided. UNHCR's support for reintegration will not only increase economic opportunities for those who have returned or resettled, but also contribute to social cohesion. UNHCR will ensure that impediments to respect for basic rights, or to the attainment of durable solutions, will be overcome.

During discussions you would like to see items related to improved access to national protection and humanitarian assistance for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the north and northeast of Sri Lanka. The parties should make efforts to minimize internal displacement and facilitate the return and reintegration of displaced populations. You may wish to establish an alliance with Human Rights Watch or the ICRC to aid in your goal of extending the capacity of the Government, NGOs, people who have been detained without cause, and displaced communities



to bring about lasting solutions. The Indian Government, Quaker representative, and others, may be interested in helping you place these items on the agenda.

International Committee of the Red Cross

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance. It directs and coordinates the international relief activities conducted by the Movement in situations of conflict. It also endeavors to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles.

During armed conflicts the ICRC, based on the Geneva Conventions, provides the following services: bringing relief to wounded and sick; visiting prisoners of war; taking action in behalf of the civilian populations; ensuring that civilians within the territory of parties to the conflict or in occupied territories are treated according to the law; aiding displaced persons and refugees; undertaking relief operations; and, visiting persons detained in connection with the armed conflict.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

In the other violent situations less intense than armed conflicts - internal disturbances for instance - the ICRC bases its action on the Statutes of the Movement, which grant it a right of initiative in humanitarian matters. It may in fact offer its services in any situation which requires the presence of a specifically neutral and independent intermediary.

Taken together, all these rights constitute the permanent mandate assigned to you by the international community. They endorse the initiatives you have taken to bring aid to the victims of war and disturbances. To date all of your efforts made to obtain access to the north (Jaffna peninsula), where fighting continues, have failed since no agreement could be reached with the parties to the conflict. You have therefore been unable to provide an undetermined number of civilians who are stranded in the area with protection and assistance.

Grave human rights abuses were reported in the context of the protracted armed conflict between the security forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the main armed opposition group fighting for an independent state, Eelam, in the north and east of the country. Hundreds of thousands of civilians were displaced as a result of the conflict creating a refugee problem in India. You are very concerned with the current struggle for control of key territory in the northern part of the island. These battles have claimed scores of civilian lives and displaced some 250,000 people, bringing the estimated number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) nationwide to more than one million.

You are deeply concerned about the conditions on the Jaffna peninsula. Both the government and the LTTE have manipulated the freedom of movement and access to food and medicine of the IDPs. The government has taken some steps to address past human rights violations by the security forces. You may need to once again remind both the Sri Lankan security forces and the LTTE of their obligation to comply with international humanitarian law, which provides for the protection of the civilian population against the effects of hostilities.

You want to consult with UNHCR, HRW, and/or the Quaker representative to ensure that your interests are represented on the agenda for peace. The items you are most interested in include ensuring the distribution of medicine; an agreement to prisoner of war standards, including abolition of torture; a Moratorium on the use of child soldiers; and, an agreement on end to violence, disarmament of military regimes.



US Special Envoy to South Asia

The United States enjoys cordial relations with Sri Lanka that are based, in large part, on shared democratic traditions. U.S. policy toward Sri Lanka is characterized by respect for its independence, sovereignty, and moderate, non-aligned foreign policy; support for the country's unity, territorial integrity, and democratic institutions; and encouragement of its social and economic development.

After 1977, the US interest in Sri Lanka increased due to the opening up of the Sri Lankan economy and a cooling of the relations between the Sri Lankan and Indian governments. Since the end of the cold war, and the gathering rapprochement between the US and India, the potential for US investment in Sri Lanka and the warmth of relations between the US and Sri Lankan governments has further increased. US special forces have trained the Sri Lankan army, even in combat situations. The US has played an increasingly high profile role in denouncing the 'terrorist' activities of the LTTE.

U.S. assistance has totaled more than \$1.3 billion since Sri Lanka's independence in 1948. Through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), it has contributed to Sri Lanka's economic growth with projects designed to reduce unemployment, improve housing, and develop the Colombo stock exchange. In addition, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers are active in much of Sri Lanka; the Voice of America operates a radio transmitter; and U.S. Naval vessels are in regular contact with Colombo. In recent years, the U.S. delivered millions of dollars in aid, including free wheat, low interest 40-year loans for additional wheat, and a variety of other direct assistance activities.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You have the ability to be an important broker in the peace process but you are a supporter of the Norway-led mediation effort and have strict instructions not to get directly involved. Because you want to ensure that the region remains stable, you are interested in seeing that both parties take steps toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict. You primarily support a lasting peaceful solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka, and maintain the Western bloc advocacy of a single Sri Lankan state with devolution as is dictated by Tamil referendum and the principles of the Constitutional Reform Bill.

During discussions, you may be best served to act as a facilitator of communication or as a mediator for the other representatives and NGO's. You are willing to meet with anyone, but you do not support all of the representatives in the room. You must pick and choose as to who you wish to form alliance with or befriend. Remember, you have the ability, through economic aid programs and international backing, to persuade others or to apply pressure on the parties.

At present, India, China, the United States, and Israel are supplying the government with arms and equipment to continue its assault against rebel-held territory. In addition, loans from the International Monetary Fund have been channeled into the economy of Sri Lanka in an attempt to stem exploding inflation rates as a result of continually overrun national budgets. In the case of arms supply and monetary supply.



Quakers

The Quaker delegation in Sri Lanka is a team of peacemakers and development practitioners from different backgrounds. They work with people, communities, governments and other organizations to build a better society which fosters the creative and non-violent resolution of conflict, participatory development and the respect of self and others. This is done through mediation, awareness-raising, capacity-building and the development of sustainable peace models.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

Having been involved in this conflict, you understand the complexities and specificities of the conflict. You understand the LTTE's desire for a separate state as well as the government's position against it. You are also aware of the difficulty in discussing issues related to the transformation of the political system of Sri Lanka without first building goodwill between the parties. In your opinion the parties first need to be given an opportunity to express their grievances and goals. You believe that being receptive in this manner will help you gain the trust of both parties. You want to keep a low profile in doing this in order to avoid raising unwelcome attention to your efforts. You could act either as a liaison between the parties or in an independent capacity with NGO's. You do not believe that trying to get the parties to meet each other on a face-to-face basis is always a valid strategy.

You believe that a gradual approach is best given the high level of mistrust between the conflicting parties. You want to discourage people who are trying to coerce the two parties into entering into an agreement in a hurry. You believe that it is impossible to find a lasting solution in this manner. You should consult with India given its role in the conflict and its status as a regional power.

Your neutral views toward the parties extend to the issue of human rights. You are very concerned with the human rights abuses but also do not place the blame on any one party. However, you are aware that respect for human rights should play an important role in the negotiations. You may want to suggest that the government and the LTTE be more transparent with respect to human rights issues.

You have noticed that the EU is not overly concerned with human rights issues. Plus, the EU's (which includes Sri Lanka's former colonizer, the UK) approach does not seem to take into account the aspirations of the parties to the conflict. You believe that a peace imposed by outsiders has very little chance of being successful. However, given the leverage that the EU poses over both the government and the LTTE, it could succeed in doing just this.



Sri Lankan Business Council

The Sri Lankan Business Council strives to promote local community business interests and socio-economic development in Sri Lanka. The Council acts as a catalyst for business and industrial development in the country; reinforces the business community's commitment to the society; provides advisory services to the government and lobby as and when required in formulation and execution of business and industry-related policies; acts and fosters cooperation with related national and foreign organizations; provides up-to-date information services to business and government and the community at large; and, creates awareness and support for business and industry efforts on quality, environment, industrial relation, management, marketing.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

You are present and available to share information on the evolving economic situation in Sri Lanka. The US economy is showing some signs of slowing down. If the impact is felt in South Asia, as it usually is, Sri Lanka will have a difficult time handling economic impacts from abroad, as well as the heavy government expenditures associated with conflict. Increased defense spending, declining foreign reserves, unemployment, recessions and inflation are only a few of the areas impacted by war. You feel that there needs to be decisive action to bring about the rule of law and order. Delivering justice through constitutional means should bring a much needed stability to Sri Lanka. You are vehemently opposed to any form of violence be it government or terrorism.

Your proposal is to encourage others to look toward the local business community. You want support for local initiatives, to help communities get their projects underway as quickly as possible. Local business men and women are conscious of what they are doing in Sri Lanka unlike the foreign investors who have to see a lot of convincing evidence of profit to make an investment decision. The country reports prepared by international investment banks and international commercial banks show a picture of gloom. But local investors know better as they have now lived through this trying situation.

You should promote the great potential information technology has in Sri Lanka. It would require thousands of new graduates and trained personnel to undertake massive demand for people power in IT projects. This is one area the country can target very safely and assist local entrepreneurs. You feel that if the government were to be constructive at this moment of difficult times, some attention to these matters should be given.

A second area of economic growth is in agriculture. You can also ask for assistance in fishing and farming. These two areas are where most people are employed. It is in the government's best interests to fund popular policies and provide some economic stability. You may need to turn to outsiders if the government will not respond. Be careful to not accept programs that would decrease you own trade and production.

Overall, you are very concerned about the impact the war is having in the economy. It is crucial to you that the government and LTTE continue on a track toward peace, including economic reforms. You are more supportive of the government due to the direct impact its policies will have on the economy and business in general. You are sympathetic to the LTTE and especially the Tamil populations in Sri Lanka because of the great potential of economic growth that exists. During the discussions you may want to consider working with the World Bank to create and implement programs promoting agriculture, such as fishing, reconstruction, and technology. You should also approach representatives from India, the EU, and US to explore economic incentives that they may be willing to offer in exchange for a continuation of the peace talks.



South Asian Overseas Development Council

The South Asian Overseas Development Council (SAODC) was established to support and encourage the South Asian small business economy. It consists of many people interested in business development and Sri Lanka has been of particular interest. The SAODC works closely with the small to medium sized businesses in southern India and Sri Lanka specializing in non traditional products including herbs, oils, and pharmaceuticals. Until SAODC's interest, these products had been largely neglected in the region or were a privilege of the of larger trade sectors represented by trade chambers that support the industries. Small-time importers and exporters of such products went unrecognized by the Government and the Banking fraternity. To reverse this trend, a small group of dedicated import-exporters founded the ASODC.

Initially, the Council took upon itself the mantle of being the regional representative largely of the interests of small and medium import-export oriented industrialists and of those aspiring to come into this field. It filled a much needed vacuum representing all import-export sectors without promoting secular interests and to laid the foundation for Sri Lanka's export led development. Since then, the SAODC was able to break through many obstacles that stood in the way of achieving their business objectives. The Council lobbied very successfully on behalf of its members and gained influence in making policy decisions at micro level in the larger interests of the country.

Your Perspective on the Current Situation:

While you do not openly support one side or another in the Sri Lankan conflict, you have more support from your colleagues who are sympathetic to the LTTE quest for autonomy. Tamil populations have been very supportive of your business interests and, through their products, you have been very successful. Though the number of Sinhalese living outside of Sri Lanka are much smaller, you also represent their a long established, but small, business groups. Ironically, you have been a supplier of similar resources from both groups in the region. It seems that the request for weapons from both sides of the conflict has been in great demand. The LTTE sympathizers feel that their demands can only be achieved by taking forceful measures. Supporters of the Sri Lankan government feel that they can only control the terrorism through military force.

You can see both sides of the argument. Even though you do not particularly want to make the arms available, your organization does profit from the sale and your clients keep providing you with a generous supply. As you see it, this is a simple supply and demand issue. If you don't sell the weapons another larger 'investor' or country will. Clausewitz quoted in *Philosophers of Peace and War* puts it best, "The would be conqueror is always a lover of peace, for he would like to enter and occupy our country unopposed. It is in order to prevent him from doing this that we must be willing to engage in war and be prepared for it."

In addition to the LTTE and government, you may want to appeal to some of the hard-line groups that are desperate for their goals and ideals to be recognized. The DMZ or NSC may be worth approaching. It is crucial that your cover is not exposed. Many people in the room will expose you, if you are not careful. This means the manner in which you approach people is important. You are a reputable business person representing a particular interest group. You see the process of peace one that can be fought for and won. Often peace has to be enforced and you are just providing the means necessary to do so.



Related Web Links

USIP Sri Lanka Web Links

http://www.usip.org/library/regions/sri_lanka.html

Amnesty International: Reports on Sri Lanka

<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/countries/sri+lanka?OpenView&Start=1&Count=30&Expandall>

Human Rights Watch: Human Rights Developments in Sri Lanka, 2001.

<http://hrw.org/wr2k2/asia10.html>

Official Website of the Sri Lankan Government's Secretariat for Coordinating the Peace Process (SCOPP)

<http://www.peaceinsrilanka.org/>

ICRC Report on Sri Lanka, 2001.

[http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/9503FCD7F62E6A81C1256C0500521B94/\\$File/SRILANKA_AR_2001.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/9503FCD7F62E6A81C1256C0500521B94/$File/SRILANKA_AR_2001.pdf?OpenElement)