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Association Des Etudiants Tamoules de France UPR Joint Submission: Sri Lanka

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Joint Stakeholders Submission for the Universal Periodic Review of Sri Lanka

Submission by:

In special consultative status with UN ECOSOC

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Association Bharathi Centre Culturel Franco Tamoule

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DISAPPEARANCE – The prolonging agony

SUMMARY

Eight years after Sri Lanka's three decade old war came to an end in May 2009, the country has still not come to terms with its massive problem of enforced disappearances. In 2013, the U.N. Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances reported that Sri Lanka has the second highest number of unresolved disappearance cases in the world, second only to post-war Iraq.¹

Several thousand are alleged to have disappeared during the last stage of the war (2008 to May 2009) after having surrendered to the army or after arrest by security forces. Hundreds likewise disappeared before or after the final stage of the war in white van abductions or post-arrest by Army, Navy, military intelligence, or the police.

Families of the disappeared live each day in anguish, hoping for answers about their missing loved ones, some of whom were last seen in state custody. They file petitions with the police, Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka, and the ICRC, and they brave harassment and threats to file cases and testify before domestic commissions.

Various governments have attempted to address the problem through flawed commissions of inquiry that have left families of the disappeared no closer to finding the truth. Nearly 10 commissions were formed by successive governments from 1991 to 2013 to look in to the long standing issue of the missing. ²

Further, the government has failed to abide by the obligations of Resolution 30/1 that they undertook as a co-sponsor at the UNHRC in October 2015. Operative paragraph 6 of the Resolution states that the Government of Sri Lanka is to establish a Commission for Truth, Justice, Reconciliation, and Non-Recurrence; an Office of Missing Persons; and an Office for Reparations; and stresses the need for these mechanisms to be independent, impartial, and transparent, as well as, led by individuals known for professionalism, integrity and impartiality.

Enforced disappearance of Tamil peoples remains one of the widely known human rights violations in Sri Lanka. The machinery that had been set up during the past to perpetrate such incidents appears to have slowed down as a consequence to the passing of a Resolution at the UNHRC in September, 2015. However, this machinery could be switched on again if those in authority so desire. Dismantling this machinery and destroying the remains, is a challenge the government has to face.

The government has to now deal with an untenable number of complaints of disappearances that have been lodged with various national and international institutions calling for help to trace those who have disappeared. A bulk of the complaints relate to either the disappearances of persons after being abducted, handed to the security forces by wives or other relatives in response to a call by the military during the closing days of the war, or of those who surrendered to them in the presence of witnesses. There are also allegations of torture and sexual abuse of persons who had been in custody. Having to deal with these complaints along with those of enforced disappearances, to the satisfaction of the victims, is a daunting legacy the government has to face.

¹ A/HRC/22/45, at 17-18 (Jan. 28, 2013). The U.N. Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance sought to visit Sri Lanka since 2006 but was denied by the Rajapaksa administration. The Sirisena administration invited the Group to a visit in late 2015.

² Justice in Sri Lanka: Rule of Law, the Criminal Justice System, and Commissions of Inquiry (Jan. 2010). 3 Gazette No. 6

Long years of Emergency Rule and the availing of the obnoxious provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, have blunted the knowledge of the Police and the security forces of the manner in which they should deal with law and order issues during peace time. Extracting information and/or confessions from suspects by torturing them, continues to be the norm. The forces appear to know no other way in which investigations into allegations against suspects could be conducted. The government is now left with a legacy of a Police force that has gained experience in performing more military duties than civilian functions. Bringing about a metamorphosis in their mentality and methods of investigation is another challenge the Government has to face to restore law and order

Persistent pressure on the Government to remove the Emergency Regulations (ER) made the previous regime, remove it ostensibly. But soon afterwards the much maligned provisions of the ER were tagged on to the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) making it more virulent than it was before.

It is the provisions of the PTA that enables persons to be abducted and detained instead of being arrested. Consequently there has arisen a need to remove the PTA from the laws of the land. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka has stated recently that soon a British style anti-terrorism law will be introduced in place of the existing PTA. Let us hope that the new law does not turn out to be the same wine in a different bottle.

The culture of impunity became endemic among the police and the security forces of Sri Lanka some years ago. That legacy contributed to enforced disappearances becoming so widespread. Many members of the Police and Security Forces who had been perpetrating abductions, torture and enforced disappearances in the past, have a mind-set that makes them feel they will not be made to face the consequences of their misconduct. Courts require evidence beyond reasonable doubt to deal with alleged perpetrators. The Central Zone Commission made a specific recommendation to take disciplinary action against police officers who had violated departmental procedures while dealing with complaints of enforced disappearances.

During its investigations it found that Police Information Books in some stations had been destroyed despite a specific circular issued by the IGP to preserve them. Detention Registers of certain Police Stations did not contain the names of persons taken into custody while they were there in the Diet Registers of the Station. No disciplinary action was taken in such cases. A clear case of a witness to an incident relating to disappearances who had given evidence before the Commission, being threatened by the alleged perpetrator, is reported in Interim Report VII of the Central Zone Commission with a recommendation to deal with the officer concerned. This had been disregarded. Similarly, in spite of some of the Commissions of Inquiry into enforced disappearances finding evidence indicating certain persons responsible for causing said disappearances, hardly any of them have been held accountable. Perhaps the same fate awaits those who may be found to responsible by the current Commission on Missing Persons. Such matters contributed to the growth of impunity.

The mandates of the Commissions appointed by President Chandrika Bandaranaike and the mandate of the Paranagama Commission have overlapping periods. Consequently the question arises whether the government has decided not to accept the findings of the Commissions appointed in 1994 and 1998 in respect to enforced disappearances during the overlapping period. The presence of many reports of Commissions of Inquiry into enforced disappearances makes it necessary for a comparative study into the findings of all these reports, to taken any meaningful action.

Among the findings of the set of Commissions appointed during President Chandrika Bandaranaike's time, is evidence on the many mass graves and torture chambers in different parts of North East of the country. These have not been probed in depth, despite a recommendation to do so. If the Government is determined to wipe out impunity and make enforced disappearances a thing of the past, these recommendations need to be taken seriously.

Recently in a case of a writ of mandamus at the Magistrate's Court of Mullaitivu, a military officer who testified had stated on December 2015 that the names of the persons referred to in the case concerned, were not on a list of the names of persons who had surrendered. When this case came up before the Magistrate on 17th February, 2016, the officer concerned was ordered by Court to furnish the list to Court on the next date, viz. April 20th. On that date neither the witness nor the State Counsel attended Court with the document. The case had then to be postponed for 17th May 2016.

Whether the document would be produced on that date is anybody's guess. The absence of cooperation by the military to let the judiciary deal effectively with cases concerning enforced disappearances is another of the challenges the government has to face.

The need to include enforced disappearances as a crime was accepted by the Government only in September 2015. It had agreed to ratify the UN Convention on Disappearances of Persons in December 2015. It is still to be made part of the domestic laws of the country. According to international law, the crime of enforced disappearance is a continuous crime. It gets completed as a crime only at the point at which the fate and whereabouts of a disappeared person is finally determined. In the absence of retrospective legislation, there will be a juridical barrier to prosecutions in such cases. This has to be dealt with if the government is keen to put an end to the continuing agitation of the families of the victims of enforced disappearances who are still waiting for justice.

The Government has stated recently that laws to create a permanent office on missing persons to deal with the various issues relating to enforced disappearances, is in the process of being finalized. Let us hope that it is not going to be another mirage.

A recommendation made by UNHRC resolution to deal with the human rights violations that took place during the conflict speaks of the need for such cases to be dealt by a hybrid court. Whether this would actually happen is yet to be seen.

In dealing with perpetrators of disappearances, the Attorney General has to get the services of the Police Department to get necessary investigations done and statements recorded. Whether the police would co-operate in doing so, especially if the perpetrator is a police officer, is debatable. Past performances of the police in such matters speak for themselves. Besides, can the present government deal with such cases diligently, while it is faced with the legacy of the Attorney-General's Department consisting of personnel most of whom are known to be loyal to the regime that failed to deal with complaints of enforced disappearances of persons effectively? This was one of the issues raised by the International Independent Group of Eminent Persons when they found the Attorney General's representative leading evidence before the Commission of Inquiry into Certain cases of Serious Human Rights Violations also known as the Udalagama Commission.

That eventually led to IIGEP to abort their mission stating that the government does not have the will to promote or protect human rights. Whether the current government would take the necessary steps to avoid being branded in that manner, is to be seen.

A recommendation had been made in the Reports of two of the Disappearances Commission appointed by President Chandrika Bandaranaike on the need to create an independent Public Prosecutor with powers to institute criminal prosecutions after collecting sufficient evidence through his own investigating officers instead of through the Attorney General. This recommendation remains to be acted on.

Amnesty International had pointed out in one of its reports, that intimidation of witnesses can rise to the level of the witnesses themselves being abducted and caused to be disappeared. Effective

measures to protect witnesses are yet to be taken. Whether the Witness Protection Authority set up recently can perform this function effectively, is to be seen.

Article 6 of the UN Convention on Enforced Disappearances makes it obligatory for Governments to take 'measures to hold any person who commits, orders, solicits, induces the commission of, or attempts to commit' such an offence, criminally responsible for the offence. This is not yet part of the law in Sri Lanka. The Government will have to face the challenge of having to adopt appropriate laws after ratifying the Convention, as it has agreed to do so. This Convention does not condone the causing of disappearances even during a war.

The Government is faced with the legacy of persistent misrule by a regime that thought it was invincible. Condoning and overlooking the breaches of the rule of law by its agents led to its demise. If that pattern is allowed to continue unchecked and appropriate remedial measures are not taken diligently, the perpetrators of human rights violations and disappearances in particular, would continue to be a law unto themselves. The current regime has to face the challenge of disciplining the very same State machinery that brought disrepute to the previous regime and the Country itself. The lessons learned should not be in vain. It is hoped that the State would henceforth be seen as protector of its citizens and not as a perpetrator of abductions, torture and enforced disappearances or as protector of persons who had committed such offences.

The Office of the Missing Persons (OMP)

The Office of the Missing Persons (OMP) was drafted prior to consulting civil society or victims themselves and was rushed through parliament. It was established to try to search and identify about 65000 missing people who have been missed during the long civil war in the country. There are many factors that are still unclear such as:

- With the OMP in place is there a need for a special independent mechanism to investigate into complaints without undue delay? Functions of the OMP need to be detailed out more clearly.
- Roles of government bodies such as Human Rights Commission and Attorney General's Department in terms of investigations have also not been clearly stated.
- Further it does not clearly state whether an international independent body would monitor the process and the progress of the mechanism.

OMP lacked genuine consultation with affected communities, human rights activists and civil society. This is an ideal example of government's lack of transparency and noninvolvement in the national consultation. However, the OMP has not come into force as the government has failed to handover the office to a Ministry could also be deemed as reason. If it has been handed over, then the Minister of the certain Ministry is responsible to inform officially the implementation of the Office through a gazette notification.

The OMP does not consist of a judicial mechanism and it lacks authority to carry out investigations. Right to Information Act will not be applicable when it comes to OMP and therefore, the reason for the formation of such a weak office is to ensure protection of the security forces. This has been clearly stated in the FAQs on OMP of the SCRM official website.³

The civil society and the affected communities are left in the dark not knowing what action the government would take, since the government had failed to take any action even after establishing OMP.

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³ OMP: the Facts, http://www.scrm.gov.lk/faq-omp

Civil society and human rights groups fear that OMP was formed to ensure protection of the military and the police. This was captured in the official website of the Secretariat for Coordinating Reconciliation Mechanisms where the FAQs on OMP points towards supports the said concern.

It must be noted that the Prime Minister has insisted on more than one occasion that those disappeared are dead.

On a positive note the government became a signatory on December 10, 2015 to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances and ratified the Convention on May 25, 2016. The Convention was proposed as a draft legislation by the government and the Bill was gazetted on February 9, 2017. However, it is yet to be made a law by the parliament.

However, it must be mentioned there is lack of political willingness on the part of Sri Lanka's institutions to effectively provide for truth or justice in Sri Lanka and this well evident through the pass judgments of Sri Lanka Courts particularly where the victims are Tamils.

Many question that credibility of the OMP claiming that it would be no different to countless commissions that were formed in the past.

Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanisms (CTF)

The recommendation part of the Final Report of the Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanisms, CTF recommends a hybrid Court with a majority of national judges as well as a sufficient number of international judges. This will ensure at least one international judge per bench and pre-empt delays due to the absence of one or more judges. It also recommends international participation in the Office of the Special Counsel of prosecutors and investigators, in addition to the provision of technical assistance. There should be clear guidelines and criteria spelt out and made public in respect of all aspects of international participation. International participation should be phased out once trust and confidence in domestic mechanisms are established and when the required expertise and capacity has been built up, nationally.

However, the recommendation to include international involvement does not appear without any reason, but was based on a rational argument which emerged from the consultations. One of the reasons for demanding international involvement was, the perceived 'failure of the existing justice system.'

According to the report of the CTF, the failure of the existing justice system also grounds the call for international involvement and/or supervision and the need to reform the existing system alongside any special justice mechanism.

There are many places in the CTF report where people have expressed their mistrust in the existing justice system.

Further, both the President and Prime Minister even avoided formally receiving the report of the Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanisms – a Task Force appointed by them which had recommended a minimalist hybrid mechanism. The report which included recommendations of the affected communities and civil society was neither received by the President, Prime Minister, nor any responsible person in the government. The Consultation Task Force was compelled to hand over the

report to the former President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga who has no decision making authority in terms of policy reform.⁴

Sri Lanka's Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Committee (LLRC)

The LLRC National Action Plan During its public sittings and field visits, Sri Lanka's Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Committee (LLRC) heard from a large number of families of the disappeared, who testified about abductions, enforced or involuntary disappearances, and arbitrary detention.⁵

The LLRC expressed alarm at the volume of reported cases and affirmed:

Relatives of missing persons shall have the right to know the whereabouts of their loved ones. They also have the right to know the truth about what happened to such persons, and to bring the matter to closure'.⁶

The LLRC emphasized that, given the magnitude of the problem, the Government had a duty to take a comprehensive approach to investigate disappearances and ensure accountability. As the LLRC explained, 'if a case is established of a disappearance after surrender to official custody, this would constitute an offence entailing penal consequences'.⁷

The LLRC stressed that the 'failure or refusal by the police to record an arrest, detention and transfer or to record complaints of abductions and failure to investigate the same would constitute a criminal offence and steps should be taken to prosecute such wrongdoers'.⁸

CHRD Advocacy

Since 2000, CHRD has operated at least 20 mobile legal clinics per year in the north and east, advising families of the disappeared on how to navigate the legal process. CHRD is also a member of the North-East Coordinating Committee for Enforced Disappearances (herein, the "Coordinating Committee"). In January and February 2015, documentation interns from the Coordinating Committee conducted a house-to-house survey in the north and the east to collect information on disappearances, gauge families' needs and priorities, and provide legal assistance.

CHRD and the Coordinating Committee have statistics of 2,922 families of the disappeared (of which all but 33 are Tamil) that have sought legal advice from CHRD and the Coordinating Committee since 2000 with the intention of pursuing legal options. These 2,922 families reflect a small fraction of the overall number of missing persons in the north and east and do not reflect disappearances across Sri Lanka as a whole. Moreover, the data is limited to the numbers gathered by CHRD and its partners in the Coordinating Committee since 2000 and is not necessarily a representative sample.

Focusing solely on the 2002 to 2011 period covered by the LLRC and the U.N. OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka⁹, disappearances were high in the eastern districts of Trincomalee and Batticaloa in 2006 and 2007, just as the fighting intensified in those areas. Likewise, each of the

⁷ Id., ¶ 9.23.

⁴ Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation handed over final report, Lanka Business Online, 5 January 2017, http://www.lankabusinessonline.com/consultation-task-force-on-reconciliation-handed-over-final-report/

⁵ LLRC Report, supra note 16, ¶ 9.46.

⁶ Id., ¶ 9.49.

⁸ Id., ¶ 9.55

⁹ See OISL Terms of Reference, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/OISL.aspx. Although the LLRC was mandated to look into events between 21 February 2002 and 19 May 2009, the Commission looked at a broader time period to understand 'the causes underlying the grievances of different communities' and 'post-conflict issues that affect vulnerable groups and the citizens at large'. LLRC Report, supra note 16, at ¶ 1.22 and page 4 (preamble).

northern districts—and in particular, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu—saw a marked increase in disappearances in 2009, just as the armed conflict between the LTTE and government forces reached its peak in those areas.

Each disappearance left a hole in a family, depriving children of their father or mother, depriving spouses of their wife or husband. It is critical to remember the human stories behind the numbers.

Together with its partners in the Coordinating Committee, CHRD has monitored each of the public sittings of the Paranagama Commission on behalf of families of the disappeared. CHRD has noted several concerning trends, including harassment of families who attempted to provide evidence; pressure exerted for families to accept death certificates; grossly inaccurate translations; and ineffective lines of questioning by the Commissioners. Despite the change in government in January 2015, the new administration continued with the previous administration's approach for truth and accountability, without rectifying the concerns raised by civil society and those affected.

Frustrated with the process, some families began to boycott the proceedings, demanding a credible inquiry with international oversight. On February 28, 2015, the Coordinating Committee sent a letter to the Commission explaining the families' reasons to boycott the proceedings. The letter expressed concern with (i) death certificates being issued in parallel to the Commission's work; (ii) the questions asked by the Commission, which seemed to focus on reparations and livelihood support, rather than tracing the missing; and (iii) the Commission's capacity to investigate war crimes pursuant to its expanded mandate.

Thereafter, the Coordinating Committee arranged meetings for families of the disappeared with Chandrika Kumaratunga, in her capacity as head of the Office of National Unity and Reconciliation, and with Mano Ganesan, in his capacity as the head of the National Executive Council. During these meetings, the families expressed their frustration with the proceedings and pressed for a credible mechanism to trace the missing. The Coordinating Committee also wrote to President Sirisena on May 19, 2015 seeking a meeting and awaits a response.

On April 30, 2015, the Coordinating Committee wrote to the Commission, discussing specific concerns and offering constructive recommendations. That same day, the Coordinating Committee met with the Commission. On June 16, 2015, the Commission sent a response to the Coordinating Committee. While appreciating that the Commission took time to respond, their letter failed to critically engage with the Coordinating Committee's concerns.¹⁰

The LLRC acknowledged the rights of families to know the whereabouts of their loved ones—and the duty of the State 'to ensure that these allegations are properly investigated into and perpetrators brought to justice'. Regretfully, the Paranagama Commission has failed in both regards.

Families of the disappeared are clear in their demands for truth, justice, redress, and guarantees of non-recurrence. It is critical to address the enormous problem of enforced or involuntary disappearances in Sri Lanka by tracing the missing, determining what happened, and prosecuting those responsible. This will be an important first step in dealing with the past.

Moreover, the State should endeavor to build trust with war-affected communities, who are weary about participating in yet another flawed domestic mechanism purporting to address enforced or involuntary disappearances.

¹⁰ The Coordinating Committee replied by letter dated August 3, 2015.

¹¹ LLRC Report, ¶¶ 9.46, 9.49

Recommandations

Enforced Disappearances

- a. Initiate and implement effective witness and victim protection.
- b. Adopt measures to investigate, prosecute and punish those responsible for serious human rights crimes such as enforced disappearances, in accordance with international norms and in a transparent manner.
- c. Facilitate to the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to victims family without intimidations.
- d. Families of the disappeared are clear in their demands for truth, justice, redress, and guarantees of non-recurrence. It is critical to address the enormous problem of enforced or involuntary disappearances in Sri Lanka by tracing the missing, determining what happened, and prosecuting those responsible. This will be an important first step in dealing with the past.
- e. Moreover, the State should endeavor to build trust with Tamil Nation affected by war, who are weary about participating in yet another flawed domestic mechanism purporting to address enforced or involuntary disappearances.
- f. The pain and loss suffered by the people is immense and indescribable and therefore, it is important that they should be a part of the transitional justice process especially in formulating the framework of the four reconciliation mechanisms. It is imperative that the Government of Sri Lanka and UN understands the suffering and yearnings of the affected Tamil Nation. If not, search for truth and justice would be just another failure.

Anti-Terrorism Legislation

- g. Repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act and abolish the system of administrative detention;
- h. Ensure that security measures adopted in the context of armed violence comply with international human rights law;
- i. Release all individuals arrested under emergency or anti-terrorism laws, unless they are charged with recognizable criminal offences and remanded by an independent, regularly constituted court. Any trials must be held promptly and in regularly constituted courts with all internationally recognized safeguards provided.

National Human Rights Action Plan

j. Promptly implement the concrete human rights commitments contained in the National Human Rights Action Plan, particularly those that will protect against ongoing gross violations of human rights and ensure an end to impunity.

National Institutions

k. Strengthen and ensure the independence of human rights institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission,

Witness Protection

l. Initiate and implement effective witness and victim protection, in line with commitments made during the previous review but not yet implemented.

Torture and ill-treatment

m. Implement the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on torture, including to strengthening legal safeguards for eliminating all forms of ill treatment or torture in prisons and detention centres.

Death Penalty

n. Abolish the death penalty and commute all death sentences to terms of imprisonment.

Extrajudicial Executions

o. Investigate and prosecute all allegations of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary killings and bring the perpetrators to justice in accordance with international standards.

Impunity

- p. Take all necessary measures to prosecute and punish perpetrators of violations of international human rights law and humanitarian law.
- q. Stop to protect war criminals and promote them as high level diplomats

War crime, Crime against Humanity and Genocide

- r. We request you to take measures to judicially address the Genocide against the Tamil people as called upon by the unanimous resolution adopted by the Northern Provincial Council of Sri Lanka in February 2015.
- s. Recognise the obvious pattern of sexual abuse against Eelam Tamil women as being carried out with genocide intent.
- t. Initiate an independent international investigation into the genocide of Eelam Tamils on the island to bring perpetrators of the crime of genocide to justice.
- u. Application of international criminal law, including war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide;

Ratification and implementation of international human rights treaties

- v. Ratify and implement the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance;
- w. Implement the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;
- x. Ratify the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
- y. Establish procedures in law to consider modalities for implementing the views of the UN Human Rights Committee.
- z. Referendum for the Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka, so that Tamil Nation can decide their political destiny.