



Black Tigers (“Karumpulikal”) – The Polar opposites of Individualism

NITHARSAN



The National Leader of Tamil Eelam paying tribute to the fallen BT at a BT Memorial Day commemorated on 05.07.2008.

The Black Tigers* are the ultimate elite military unit of the LTTE. This unit carried out attacks, where the rate of survival was minimal or even not existent. The actual political environment has put the Tamils in an uncomfortable situation, where they wane the legacy of the Black Tigers. But we all have to understand that the legacy of the Black Tigers is in fact a beacon which sheds light upon the shortcomings of recent Tamil polity, thus causing us to identify such misgivings.

The Black Tigers

On 05.07.1987 Captain Miller drove a vehicle filled with explosives into Nellyati Madhya Maha Vidyalayam, where the SL armed forces were stationed. Sacrificing himself, he paved way for his fellow cadres to capture the army camp at Nellyati Madhya Maha Vidyalayam, which was established during Operation Liberation. This day was later commemorated annually as BT Day or "Karumpulinaal".

**இது கரும்புலிகளின் சகாப்தம்!
இடியும் மின்னலுமாகப் புலிகள் போர்க் கோலம் கொண்டு விட்ட காலம்.**

In an address to the BT at 1993's BT memorial day, the National Leader of Tamil Eelam mentioned that, "This is the era of the Black Tigers! The Tigers are heading to war adorned with thunder and lightning." As he had mentioned, the BT had opened up a new era in the Eelam wars and they challenged the SL armed forces and their international allies on the fronts of land, water and even in the air.



BT in action and wading through varied terrain.

According to a document officially released by the LTTE, 261 BT had attained martyrdom between 05.07.1987 and 01.05.2002. In this document, it is also evident that the details of 244 BT were released. Therefore, it is likely that 17 BT were not officially declared, thus indicating that they are "Mukamkaaddatha Karumpulikal" (Karumpulikal, who do not display their faces). These BT were probably involved in high-ranking assassinations like that of SL's President Premadasa in 1993.

However, it is noteworthy that not all BT attained martyrdom through engaging in a suicide attack but also due to their engagement in combat and in accidents as well.

Defending the Black Tigers

Firstly, it is crucial that we comprehend that the BT cannot be compared with terrorist outfits such as Al-Qaeda or ISIS. The LTTE fought for a very clear goal, which has a democratic mandate and still has widespread support in the Tamil community. Furthermore, the ultimate goal of the LTTE was the establishment of a sovereign state of Tamil Eelam and not to spread fear across the island. But we Tamils have engaged in

some actions, which can be interpreted as terrorist attacks. But in reality, every single attack was well calculated and targeted. So it wasn't mindless violence.

Only 6.5% of the BT have executed acts that can be interpreted as such (within the period up until 01.05.2002) where around 33% of the attacks occurred on land and the remainder were conducted at sea. Such information portrays the weight of the task sustained by the BT - the creation and maintenance of the maritime sovereignty of Tamil Eelam.

As Tamil Eelam is surrounded by the ocean on three sides, it is essential to control the sea as in many battles the Tamils had been defeated due to the SL armed forces' ability to resupply themselves through the access which they had via the sea. This is evident through the first attack on the Elephant Pass in 1991. The Tamils besieged that strategically important military camp, when the SL armed forces landed reinforcements through the sea, which subsequently secured victory for Sri Lanka. However, 9 years later, the Tamils overran the same camp with the combined efforts of the Sea Tigers, as they landed their units behind the enemy line through the sea. Within that 9 year period, the Tamils had gained maritime sovereignty, which was established by the sacrifices of the Black Sea Tigers.**

The sea was also a crucial factor for the Tamils, as all of their supplies such as; arms, ammunition, fuel, medicine etc were received via the sea. The BT played a major role in the process of securing these supply-lines. These supply-lines were extremely crucial in nature and thus their destruction with the assistance of the USA and India had played a major role in the destruction of the LTTE in 2009.



Black Sea Tigers directing the "Muththumani" to establish and sustain Tamil maritime sovereignty.

airbase in the Sinhala territory of Anuradhapuram. 24 of 27 planes at this airbase were



A Black Sea Tiger directing an LTTE vessel to establish and sustain Tamil maritime sovereignty.

The BT's activities were not only limited to securing the maritime sovereignty of Tamil Eelam, but also extended to preserving the lives of their fellow cadres. The 21 BT, who sacrificed their life in "Operation Ellalan" in 2007 are a testament to this quality. In "Operation Ellalan", 21 BT penetrated an

completely destroyed or damaged by the BT. Had the “regular” forces of the Tigers been administered for this attack, the Tamils would have lost a lot more than 21 lives.



Pictured are the 21 BT involved in the successful BT “Operation Ellalan” which penetrated the Sinhala territory of Anuradhapuram.

If we understand these facts, we may be able to comprehend the bigger picture within which the BT's role functioned as a crucial factor of the armed struggle. Through such comprehension, we will be capable of defending ourselves against rude arguments against the Tamil struggle, where the sole purpose is only to delegitimise it.

The legacy of the Black Tigers

‘கரும்புலி’ என்ற சொற்பதத்தில் கருமையை மனோதிடத்திற்கும் உறுதிப்பாட்டிற்குமே நாம் குறிப்பிடுகிறோம். இன்னொரு அர்த்த பரிமாணத்தில் இருளையும் அது குறியீடு செய்யும். பார்வைக்குப் புலப்படாத, பூடகமான, இரகசியமான தன்மையையும் செயற்பாட்டையும் அது குறித்து நிற்கும். எனவே ‘கரும்புலி’ எனும் சொல் பல அர்த்தங்களைக் குறிக்கும் ஆழமான படிவமாக அமையப்பெற்றிருக்கிறது.

Whilst addressing BT in 1993, the National Leader of Tamil Eelam mentioned that, “The blackness is a symbol for **conviction** and the **strength of will**. From another angle it is symbolising the darkness where the darkness is portraying invisibility, enigma and secrecy - thus the word Black Tiger has several deep meanings.”

In recent times, it has become evident that such characteristic aspects are lacking in the Tamils’ struggle. In our struggle, every single cadre wore a cyanide capsule around their neck. The cyanide was not only a symbol for the importance of secrecy in the armed struggle but also one that portrayed a readiness to die for the cause. When the BT era began, the readiness to die had reached a point, where the ultimate opposite pole of individualism had been reached. However, after the destruction of the Tigers in 2009, the

impacts of individualism upon the Tamils' struggle have been multifold and crucial in nature.

Due to the impacts of factors such as; status, career, and wealth, in our current context we are in a period where mostly there are many Tamil activists yet not any freedom fighters. Whilst it is not a crime to prioritise an individual's own life and their personal benefits, a fundamental truth must be comprehended to ensure the progression of our struggle. In so much, to reach the next stage of the struggle, there is a need for people, whose first priority is the struggle. Whilst their number may be small like that of the BT, their impact will and must be mammoth in nature.

** Hereon referred to as BT.*

*** BT who conduct BT operations on the seas. Generally, the operations were conducted through attaching explosives to their vessels.*

International News

09.07.2020: **UN** – In a written statement to the United Nations Security Council Open Debate on “Peace Operations and Human Rights”, SL requested the UN to remain impartial whilst respecting sovereign equality when interacting with member states, reports Colombo Gazette.

09.07.2020: **Afghanistan** – Following SL Cabinet approval, the GoSL announced that an agreement would be signed between SL and Afghanistan to allow the exchange of convicted individuals other than those convicted on the charges of terrorism and drug trafficking, reports Colombo Gazette.

15.07.2020: **Turkey** – In a 4th year commemoration statement released to mark the stemming of the Fetullahist Terrorist Organization's (FETO) failed coup in Turkey, the Turkish ambassador warned that FETO terrorism could return to SL as FETO had established itself in 160

countries including SL, reports Sunday Times LK.

17.07.2020: **Israel** – At the 44th Session of the UNHRC, SL called on Israel to abandon the annexation of West Bank, reports Colombo Gazette.

23.07.2020: **EU** – According to SL's Foreign Ministry, SL's ambassador to Belgium and the EU held discussions with the Executive Director of Europol to discuss the strengthening of cooperation between the 2 parties to combat terrorism, extremism and drug-related crimes, reports Colombo Gazette.

24.07.2020: **UK** – According to Colombo Page, Dinesh Gunawardena and UK's International Trade Minister discussed the strengthening of bilateral trade and investment ties during a teleconference between the 2 ministers which occurred on 23.07.2020. However, it was also reported on 17.07.2020 that the UK had

noted the deterioration of the overall human rights situation in SL in the 2019 Foreign and Commonwealth Office report on Human Rights and Democracy, reports Colombo Gazette.

27.07.2020: **Swiss** - According to army.lk the ambassador of Switzerland made a courtesy call on Major General Ruwan Wanigasooriya, Commander, Security Forces - Jaffna. Hans Peter Mock is due

to leave the country after the completion of his tenure.

31.07.2020: **UK** - The Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE), which has commenced legal action in the UK to lift the proscription on the LTTE, has never shown any remorse over child soldiers, Lord Naseby, the President of the All Party British Sri Lanka Parliamentary Group said.

31.07.2020: **Germany** - According to Colombo Telegraph, SL's Ambassador to Germany who is also accredited to Switzerland, was reported to have proposed that an Anti-terrorism Task Force should be established for cyber security measures to be utilised in the surveillance of the social media activities of Tamil youth across Europe. She was reported to have raised the issue during a video conference organised by SL's Ministry of Foreign Relations on the topic of "Strategic Communications".

Calling out Israel for appropriating Palestine When called out for appropriating the Tamils' homeland



West Bank Meme
Source: Puradsi Media – Phoenix the Next Generation

Military News

09.07.2020: **Maritime Doctrine** - According to navy.lk, they had launched a Maritime Doctrine of Sri Lanka (MDSL) for the first time.

10.07.2020: **Helicopters** - According to Daily Mirror, the GoSL had approved the

SLAF to purchase 4 Bell jet ranger helicopters to train pilots involved in peace-keeping missions overseas.

13.07.2020: **US** - The defence attaché of the American Embassy in SL and Maldives had visited SL's Naval

Headquarters to discuss matters of mutual interest and bilateral importance, reports Colombo Gazette.

15.07.2020: **Navy** – Vice Admiral Nishantha Ulugetenna was appointed as SL's new Navy Commander following the retirement of Admiral Piyal De Silva, reports Colombo Gazette. It was further reported that De Silva had been promoted from his position as Vice Admiral to Admiral by Gotabaya from 14.07.2020. Ulugetenna was assured in a call with India's Chief of Naval Staff of India on 25.07.2020 that the Indian navy is committed to assist the SL navy to strengthen its capabilities, reports Colombo Gazette.

15.07.2020: **Driving licence** – According to SL's Government Information department, discussions were being held between SL's Transport Minister, Defence Ministry and the Army to withdraw the printing of driving licences from a private company and provide it to SL's military, reports Colombo Gazette.

20.07.2020: **Security** – According to CAASL, state-of-the-art X-Ray technology machines worth USD 331, 220 had been introduced to Bandaranaike International Airport (BIA) to strengthen baggage screening and are also expected to be installed at Colombo and Ratmalana airports, reports Colombo Gazette. Securatec Lanka (Pvt) Ltd. are reported to conduct local operational training on behalf of Smiths Detection Malaysia SDN BHD to many

individuals including Major General (Rtd.) G.A. Chandrasiri.

22.07.2020: **Pakistan** - According to MOD's website an event was held at SL's Defence Services Command and Staff College. This event was held for the centennial anniversary of the Pakistan Command and Staff College (PCSC) in Quetta, Pakistan, which was organised by the Pakistan High Commission in SL. At this event 37 SL military officers, who graduated at the PCSC were awarded. As the chief guest at the event, Kamal Gunaratne was reported to have mentioned that SL would not forget the assistance which Pakistan had provided them with to help in fighting their war against "terrorism".



Kamal Gunaratne recognized at Pakistan's military event.
Source: Defense.lk

27.07.2020: **Child Abuse** – SL's Defence Ministry had jointly organised and held a meeting with the National Child Protection Authority (NCPA) at the ministry, reports Colombo Page.

Domestic News

Tamil Eelam

01.07.2020: **Journalists** – In a meeting with Tamil journalists at the Temple Trees, Mahindha requested them to inform the GoSL about the “real issues” that they faced in the North and assured that the drinking water issues faced by those in the occupied Tamil homeland would be addressed as well, reports Colombo Gazette.



Mahinda receives basket of mangoes during meeting with journalist at Temple Trees.
Source: Colombo Gazette

01.07.2020: **ITAK** – ITAK had sacked 5 of its members, reports Sunday Times LK, for posing false allegations against the party and its candidates who were to be participating in SL's upcoming general elections. The ITAK's leader of the Women's Wing had notified media in Jaffna that ITAK had received a large amount of funds in the past and that there had not been any transparency in that regard and thus was amongst the 5 sacked.

14.07.2020: **COVID-19** – According to Colombo Gazette, Jaffna University's Kilinochchi campus had been temporarily closed from the evening of 13.07.2020 as a precaution following knowledge that a student's relative had been tested positive for COVID-19.

16.07.2020: **Political Prisoners** – Former TNA member Senathirajah had requested political prisoners to be granted clemency in a letter addressed to Gotabaya, reports Colombo Gazette.

18.07.2020: **Petition** - Following the Presidential pardon of the genocidaire of the Mirusuvil massacre (Sunil Ratnayake), a former member of the SL Human Rights Commission, Ambika Satkunanathan had filed a Fundamental Rights violation petition which was considered by SL's Supreme Court on 17.07.2020, reports Colombo Gazette. The petition has been reported to be fixed for support on 24.09.2020.

20.07.2020: **Resignation** – Dr. Kumaravadivel Guruparan made his resignation letter public following Jaffna university's imposition of a ban upon him to prevent him from privately practicing law, reports Colombo Gazette.

23.07.2020: **Water** – According to Colombo Page, the GoSL had engaged in activities to implement a systematic program in Jaffna to ensure that drinking

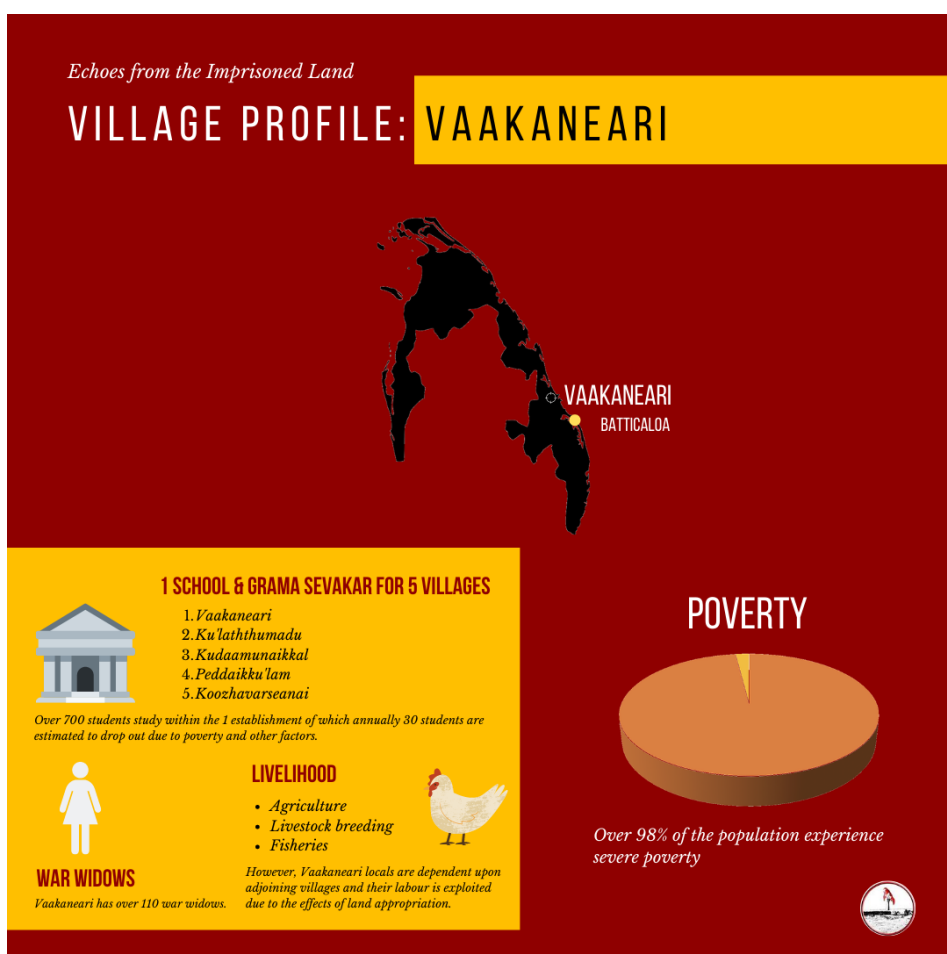
water requirements were met. Following Chamal Rajapaksa's visit to Jaffna, a project was launched on 22.07.2020 to collect rainwater from October to January of each year through connecting the Uppuara and Kappudu

areas and will be operated by SL's irrigation department. The water is reported to be used for irrigation, farming, and drinking purposes.

Echoes from the Imprisoned Land

Vaakaneari

Editor's note: Information sourced from Ilakku.org.



Vaakaneari is an abundant and historic coastal Tamil village situated within the Kiran region of the Batticaloa district. It is among many other Tamil villages - especially in the East - which are appropriated by non-Tamils, thus disrupting the Tamils' territorial integrity. The current situation in Vaakaneari is impeccable where many locals are prepared to face any extremes to maintain their livelihood. Thus, the local youth are gravely concerned of the dire consequences which could ensue and are struggling relentlessly to preserve the integrity of their lands.

Despite being a village abundant with sources, the locals of Vaakaneari are reliant upon adjoining Muslim villages such as Oaddamavadi and Kaavaththamunai. Whilst many

factors contribute to such reliance the main determinant remains the effects of land appropriation.

Due to such pressures, the local Tamils of Vaakaneari were forced to sell their lands where mostly agricultural lands were sold to neighbouring Muslims. As a result, non-Tamil landowners are reported to hoard excessive levels of profits derived through the exploitation of their workers (the Tamils). Furthermore, many plots of land are fenced off thus depriving the Vaakaneari Tamils any opportunity to pursue agricultural practices to boost their productivity and thus self-sufficiency. Furthermore, the mountains surrounding the village are also destroyed and exploited for the purposes of “street renovation”.

Vaakaneari's infrastructure is also at risk. Near an ancient Tamil temple in Vaakaneari Thidal, a mosque has been established and adjoining lands have also been appropriated. Furthermore, the Muslims of Kaavaththaimunai had uprooted Vaakaneari's post office and shifted it with the Vaakaneari sign to their village thus forcing Vaakaneari locals to travel over 10 kilometres to access their postal services. Their plight is further affected due to their lack of access to efficient transport services.

However, Ilakku reports that there is scope for the Tamils' plight to be improved:

- **Investment** - in the establishment of small-scale business industries to boost local productivity and self-sufficiency.
- **Research** - assist in research initiatives to discover methods to boost livestock breeding and the use of local resources effectively.
- **Education** - ensuring the local children receive consistent education opportunities would allow local development in a structural and sustainable manner.

Sri Lanka

01.07.2020: **LTTE** – According to Daily Mirror, a monk who had survived an alleged attack from 1987 by the LTTE in Aranthawala where 22 Sinhala-Buddhist monks and 4 civilians had been killed, had filed a Fundamental Rights petition to SL's Supreme Court. The petition called for the prosecution of any living LTTE member involved in the attack where SL's Acting IGP, State Intelligence Director and Attorney General had been identified as respondents in the petition.



Monk leaves court following filing case to prosecute former LTTE cadres involved in alleged attack in Aranthawala.

Source: Daily Mirror

05.07.2020: General Elections –

Mahindha criticised Sajith's SJB manifesto proposals as being identical to those made by Ranil in early 2019, reports Colombo Gazette. The said proposals (including many others) include the:

- Replacement of the word “unitary” with “undivided and indivisible” to describe the SL state.
- Devolution of the powers of the central government to the provinces to its utmost possible extent.

10.07.2020: Commissions – Following Gotabaya's appointment of a commission to probe political victimisation in January 2020, Colombo Gazette reports that a Gazette notification had been issued to extend the tenure of the commission to 09.11.2020 – an additional 4 months from the initial term of the commission. Colombo Gazette had further reported on 16.07.2020 that the GoSL had also appointed a 9-member hostage negotiation team.

19.07.2020: China – In an election rally held in Mahiyangana, Mahindha had criticised the previous SL government's decision to hand over the Hambantota Port to China and condemned the silence of the then ministers at the time, reports Colombo Gazette.

22.07.2020: Strike – According to Sunday Times LK, port workers had resumed their

protest campaign. 23 trade unions had participated in the protest and had demanded that the East Container Terminal's (ECT) operations should function under the SL Ports Development Authority. It was reported that they had claimed that the GoSL was going to hand over the terminal to India following SL's general elections.

27.07.2020: Parliament – According to Colombo Page, SL's Parliament had launched their first newsletter (“Parlimenthu Viththi”) as an E-Newsletter which would inform the public of the Parliament's activities, traditions and procedures.



First issue of “Parlimenthu Viththi” newsletter issued by the SL's Parliament.
Source: Parliament.lk

Imprisoned by Land, Trapped by Sea

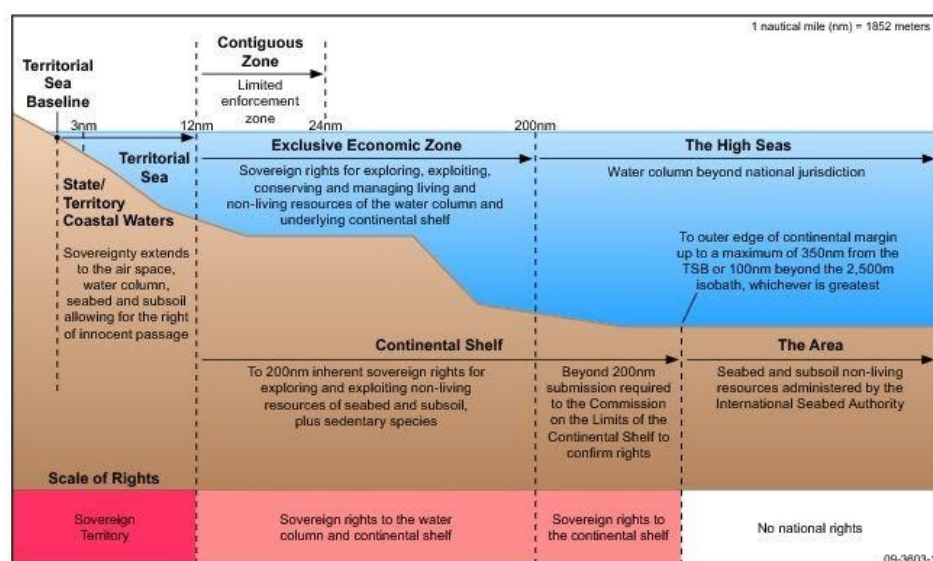
SENCHUDAR

The ongoing genocide unleashed upon Tamils has taken a multitude of forms over the decades. In that regard, the structural Tamil genocide which continues to be unleashed upon Tamils – whilst based upon a variety of purposes – is bent upon disrupting the Tamils' territorial integrity. Such attempts tend to be inflicted effectively on land through: Buddhicisation, Sinhalicisation and militarisation. Whilst all of the 3 methodologies effectively disrupt the Tamils' territorial integrity thus dismantling the continuity of the occupied Tamil homeland, militarisation has a multiplied effect where the normalisation of a military state apparatus results in a shift between distrust-trust.

However, the disruption of the Tamils' territorial integrity is not limited to the Tamils' traditional lands, but also their territorial waters, thus extending the scope of genocidal agendas. Through the deprivation of the Tamils' sources through such appropriation, their ability to pursue means of productivity for self-sufficiency is denied thus increasing their reliance upon the genocidal SL state. Through examining SL's attempts to establish themselves as a blue power, the systematic and encompassing nature of ongoing structural genocide can be comprehended thus exposing the dire consequences that it would have upon Tamil sovereignty and the livelihood of entrapped Tamils.

Continental Shelf

The genocidal state of SL continues to await approval from the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) for a submission which it had made on 08.05.2009



to extend its outer limits of continental shelf by 1,000 nautical miles (nm) from its current territorial seas – a request which would entitle SL to a maritime presence 25 times larger than its current landmass. Such authority would result in an extension of SL's sovereignty where a majority of the state's sovereign powers would

Offshore extent of the Maritime Zones recognised under International Law.

Source: neaa.org

lay within the South of the Bay of Bengal rather than upon the “state’s” lands.

According to international law each maritime state is entitled to an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) which permits an additional 200nm from the state’s 12nm territorial seas. However, an extension of such entitlements would require an application to be made to the CLCS. Whilst conducting a genocidal onslaught against Eelam Tamils at the time, the SL state engaged in attempts to exploit the geopolitics of its adjoining seas to further its sovereign powers.

Geopolitical diplomacy

Submission

During the peace process period, SL had established an expert team to manage the Delimitation of the Outer Edge of the Continental Margin (DEOCOM) project in 2003. This team was appointed by Mahindha Rajapaksa and comprised of Sinhalese authorities. The lack of Tamils upon the team and the timing of the formation of it are a reflection of the diplomatic intentions with which such initiatives were being conducted. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that SL had received assistance and advice from various foreign advisors from the following countries thus reflective of the effect of international complicity in such endeavours:

- Australia
- Germany
- Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Russia
- UK
- USA

Representatives and experts from the above countries were deployed to assist SL to prepare their submission which was due by 13.05.2009, thus reflective of the fronts (politico-military, economic, maritime) upon which such global players as well as many others had engaged to further Tamil genocide and the destruction of Tamil sovereignty. Whilst, the submission was mainly funded by NORAD of Norway, the engagement of such a wide array of Western Powers are a reflection of the powers’ intentions. Convinced of making oil and energy-related gains through such assistance due to the geostrategic nature of SL, such global powers willingly remained complicit in Tamil genocide and remain to do so today as well.

Aftermath

In addition to the geopolitical dimensions of the process pursued by SL to make its submission to the CLCS, the ensuing geopolitical context is also crucial to comprehend SL's attempts to assert its authority as a blue power.

According to the Daily Mirror, SL's claims to the continental shelf had also interfered with India and Bangladesh's continental shelf territory. Whilst the Executive Summary of SL's submission to the CLCS had indicated that their claims would not "prejudice to the delimitation of maritime borders between states with opposite or adjacent coasts", the nature of their claims were blatantly obvious. The resulting tensions which ensued between India, Bangladesh, SL and the Maldives have seen the 3 countries' formal objection to SL's claims. This is especially evident through a statement made by Bangladeshi officials in 2016 where they had condemned SL's claims and rejected the state's attempts to negotiate with Bangladesh. However, it must be noted that there are possibilities for bilateral negotiations to be held between SL and the other countries involved which may result in a change in such positions.

Despite the tender nature of the circumstances, the return of the Rajapaksa brothers denotes a return to an emphasis placed upon extending SL's sovereign powers – especially within maritime realms.

Blue Power

Whilst SL has claimed to uphold their historic policy of ensuring that the Indian Ocean region remains a peaceful one, Gotabaya has assumed a role where this stance has been emphasised on various accounts. This stance remains one which is engrained within the scope of establishing SL as a blue power and its sovereignty as unquestionable. A blue power is conventionally defined as any power which establishes authority through developing an economy through the use of ocean resources for economic growth.

As examined in "China's diplomacy: Growing empire or geopolitical limbo?", the territorial waters of both SL and occupied Tamil Eelam are abundant in rich maritime resources including sea life and energy. As a result, Gotabaya has expressed a renewed commitment to ensuring "peace" within the Indo-Pacific region to maintain the credibility of SL's EEZ and thus the state's "undifferentiated" Sri Lankan identity.

Gotabaya's unwavering geopolitical outlook which encompasses such an extension of SL's sovereign powers have especially been emphasised in his talks with both Japan and India. This sentiment has further been lauded by major SL media such as News First LK.

During a meeting with Japan's foreign minister on 13.12.2019, Gotabaya had been invited by the minister to engage with them in their Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) initiative to further bilateral ties between the two states. However, Gotabaya had declined such offers to ensure that the Indian Ocean Region remained a "peaceful

region free of conflict". However, reports made by News First LK in covering the occurrences of the meeting had claimed that SL's EEZ should be referred to as the "Sri Lankan Sea" or the "Sea of Lanka" and lauded the unwavering stance Gotabaya had assumed during the talks. A similar statement was made during Gotabaya's first official visit to India as SL's President in November 2019 where he had mentioned to Modi that SL would cooperate with India to ensure that the Indian Ocean remained "a zone of peace". Therefore, the genocidal SL state's aims to establish itself as a blue power through an extension of its sovereign borders into maritime areas becomes apparent.

Deep-water Navy

Gotabaya's attempts to establish SL as a blue power through an extension of SL's sovereign powers, encompasses a shift in their supposed reconciliation process with Tamils as well as the transformation of SL's navy as a deep-water navy.

In that regard, another statement made by News First LK should be observed in the context of the Eelam Tamils. When congratulating Gotabaya on his stance against Japan's FOIP initiative, the media had mentioned that the usage of the term "Indian Pacific Ocean" was systematically being used to erase the identity of SL's EEZ. A reference to the notion that global powers should also desert attempts to impose a "one country, 2 systems arrangement" in Sri Lanka, is reflective of the inherent linkages which exist between SL's aims to establish itself as a blue power through an extension of its sovereign powers and thus imposing its identity upon Tamils.



**Trinco underwater museum unveiled by SL Navy
10.07.2020.**

Source: Sri Lanka Mirror

Similarly, a shift in Gotabaya's "reconciliation process" has been reported to divert from one centred upon politics to economic development – an initiative which he proposes to achieve through establishing infrastructure throughout the occupied Tamil homeland. However, in addition to the current genocidal activities of Gotabaya's Presidential Task Force on Archaeological Development, the establishment of supposed infrastructure throughout the Tamil homeland will further present the genocidal state an opportunity to appropriate Tamil lands and thus disrupt the Tamil homeland's continuity. Such disruption has a tendency to then trap the Tamils within their respective areas and disrupt any form of communication and cohesion throughout it. Such deprivations would further increase the Tamils' dependency upon the SL state and prevent any avenues for self-sufficiency thus countering any possibilities for the Tamils to exert their sovereign rights.

In a similar manner, the occupational SL navy's recent activities are also a reflection of an extension of such genocidal programmes. Such a tendency is evident where SL's navy is attempting to establish itself agency through conducting various social

development initiatives which are conventionally not under their responsibilities. Traditionally, engagement in such matters should be of concern to locals or specialised government departments. Furthermore, the preservation of our lands and sources are issues which we must tackle ourselves. A tendency which emerges in the SL navy's engagements into such initiatives are an indication of its attempts to develop into a deep-water navy and deprive Tamils any agency in their preservation or maintenance of their territory.

After the unveiling of SL's first underwater museum in April 2020 which was constructed by SL's navy in Galle, a second such museum has been constructed within the territorial waters of the Tamil homeland. The second museum was opened in Trincomalee on 10.07.2020 and was also constructed by the occupational SL navy hence reflective of the appropriation of Tamils' territorial waters and lands hence having a dualistic effect where the Tamils' territorial integrity is disrupted, and their livelihood is also stripped. In a similar manner, the following incidents from this month are an indication of an extension of the SL navy & genocidal state's intentions:

- **Cleaning programmes** – SL's Northern Naval Command launched a series of beach cleaning programmes between 04.07.2020 - 05.07.2020, 18.07.2020 – 19.07.2020 and 25.07.2020 – 26.07.2020 across the Jaffna Peninsula. This project was specifically reported to be held to conserve coastal belts under the Green and Blue Project. Beaches cleaned in this programme include those of:



Beach Cleaning Programmes.
Source: Navy.lk

1. Analaitivu
2. Mankumbam
3. Pallikuda
4. Delft
5. Wallan
6. Marsankudal
7. Chundikulam and other beaches alongside naval bases
8. Casuarina
9. Mandaitivu
10. Near Kankesanthurai harbour
11. Mawalithurai
12. Sambilthurai
13. Vettalakerni
14. Kovilan beach
15. Vinayasod Fishing Harbour beachside

- **Plantation projects** – SL's navy further launched many mass scale plantation initiatives. A campaign to plant cashew saplings was initiated at the Northern Naval Command on 19.07.2020. An additional mangrove plantation programme was launched in light of the "International Day for the Conservation of the Mangrove Ecosystem 2020" at Ponnalai lagoon where over 400 mangroves were planted by many occupational naval sailors.
- **Drinking water** – 2 Reverse Osmosis plants had been installed by the SL Navy in the Pothuvil and Komari areas of Amparai to address drinking water requirements and were opened on 24.07.2020. These plants were established by the Navy under the Corporate Social Responsibility project.



Opening of Reverse Osmosis Plants.
Source: Navy.lk

These are merely a tip of the iceberg of the activities conducted by the occupational SL navy forces and are indication of their attempts to not only increase their presence across the Tamils' lands through engaging in such Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) initiatives, it is also an indication of their goals to strip Tamils of their agency within their own territorial lands and waters.

Lair of entrapment

As evident through the tendencies which emerge in SL's attempts to expand its sovereign powers, the multi-dimensions of structural Tamil genocide are exposed. Whilst it is often assumed that most of the attempts bent on stripping Tamils of their sovereign rights were executed on land, it has become evident that the Tamils are being locked into their appropriated lands and entrapped by the seas – hence disabling both fronts from providing them their basic livelihood.

The limitation of the Tamils' ability to maintain cohesion throughout their occupied homeland through the introduction of such obstacles are in direct contrast to life in the Tamils' state of Tamil Eelam. The strategic timing with which each of SL's such maritime efforts had been implemented clearly indicates how the LTTE were a threat to both the geopolitical powers and Sri Lanka to engage in such violation of the Tamils' rights. Thus, the ensuing occurrences reflect that the Tamils' security can only be derived in a sovereign Tamil Eelam. Nonetheless, a failure to acknowledge the disproportionate and wide array of fronts mobilised by the genocidal state and geopolitical powers to further Tamil genocide both within the Tamils' lands and territorial waters, will have dire consequences upon the Tamils' already diminishing livelihood.

Economic News

02.07.2020: **World Bank** - According to Sunday Times LK, SL had been downgraded from an upper-middle income country to a lower-middle income one under the World Bank's country classification by income level.

02.07.2020: **USA** – According to Daily Mirror, SL is interested in diversifying its exports to the US as its current export is restricted to the apparel sector. The US has been identified as one of SL's top export destinations and amounted to USD 3.139 million of SL's exports in 2019.

13.07.2020: **USA** – US Department of Defence-funded rescue boat engines and lifesaving equipment were donated to SL Life Saving to assist SL's search and rescue capabilities during monsoon and flood seasons, reports Colombo Gazette.

14.07.2020: **Singapore** – According to Daily Mirror, a Presidential Committee had been appointed to review the SL-Singapore Free Trade Agreement (FTA) due to a Fundamental Rights petition filed by several parties. According to the petitioners, the agreement was in contradiction with SL's constitution.

16.07.2020: **Employment** – According to Daily Mirror, Mahindha had stated at an election rally that contracts for the construction of expressways would only be provided to SL contractors to strengthen SL businesses, contractors and its construction industry. Colombo Page had further reported on 23.07.2020 that a

program to provide 100,000 jobs would be enacted after SL's general elections had occurred due to instructions from SL's Elections Commission.

20.07.2020: **COVID-19** - The UN Office for Project Services (UNOPS) had supplied USD 1 million worth of essential medical equipment to SL authorities to assist their initiatives against the COVID-19 outbreak, reports Daily Mirror. SL's Health Ministry, UNOPS and the Embassy of Japan in SL had announced their collaboration to combat the outbreak.

24.07.2020: **COVID-19** - According to PMD News, LKR 36 Million from the COVID-19 fund will be transferred to SL's Health ministry to carry out PCR tests.

24.07.2020: **Sustainable Development** – A Working Group appointed by Dinesh Gunawardena to assess the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and Sustainable Development Goals presented a report outlining its progress status to him, reports Colombo Page.

24.07.2020: **India** – The High Commission of India announced that the Reserve Bank of India had signed a USD 400 million currency swap facility to SL until November 2022, reports Colombo Page. Colombo Gazette further reported that the 2 countries were engaged in technical discussions to reschedule SL's bilateral debt repayment following a video conference held on 22.07.2020.

25.07.2020: **China** – According to Colombo Gazette, China had established a deal with SL's Transport Ministry to install a smart card system at SL's railway stations.

30.07.2020: **COVID-19** - According to PMD News, the 'ITUKAMA' COVID-19 Healthcare and Social Security Fund balance had surpassed LKR 1549 million.

28.07.2020: **Bonds** - The Central Bank of SL had sold bonds worth USD 100 million, reports News First LK.

'83 Black July Resistance (83BJR) : Resist Tamil Genocide, Reject Silent Policy

A shift in the commemoration of the genocidal Black July pogroms of 1983, was denoted through an initiative undertaken by diaspora Tamil youth. Through recognising the significant effect that Black July had upon mass mobilisation, the youth attributed Black July as a period denoting mass resistance. Whilst the effects of genocide upon the psyche of the Tamils remains to be multi-dimensional in nature, the mass resistance of 1983 which marked the commencement of Eelam War I can be attributed to 2 main factors:

- A resistance of ongoing Tamil genocide
- The rejection of years of failed Tamil polity

As a result, the youth emphasised the necessity of such a shift in the direction of the struggle especially in a post-Mullivaikkal context. An ensuing state of limbo combined with misguided and failed Tamil polity, requires immediate change to ensure that Tamil sovereignty is not compromised.

In this light, the youth undertook 2 initiatives to denote the requirement for such change:

- Online global Post-it Campaign
- Virtual remembrance event co-organised by the youth of Australia and New Zealand

In a similar manner, it is crucial for Eelam Tamils to engage in united inter-diaspora efforts to propel the struggle where the ongoing structural Tamil genocide must be resisted. However to ensure that such external resistance would be effective, it is essential for internal collective Tamil misgivings to be rejected and corrected, thus ensuring the progression of the Tamils' struggle for liberation to be accelerated.

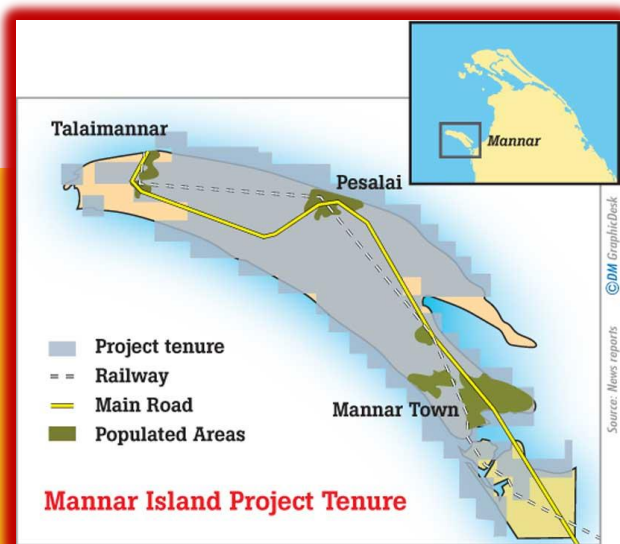
News about Oppression & Resistance

02.07.2020: **Symbols** – The incorporation of Tamil resistance (Pandara Vanniyan against European colonisation and Maaveerar against Sinhala colonisation) into awards presented to children in sports events across schools in Vanni were portrayed as the indoctrination of terrorism into the minds of the young generation by SL's Defence Ministry, reports TamilNet. As a result, the Director of the Northern Provincial Department of Education had instructed the school principals to refrain from the use of such symbolism.

02.07.2020: **Mining project** - According to Daily Mirror, the Australian mineral exploration company Titanium Sands Limited (TSL) had issued a press release. In this press release, they had mentioned that the TSL was only engaged in exploration activities rather than any mining activities in Mannar. They were further reported to have mentioned that all of their exploration activities had been authorised by the Geological Survey and Mines Bureau (GSMB). This press release emerges following an article published by the Daily Mirror which exposed the TSL's mineral extraction project planned to be executed in Mannar. It is noteworthy that the TSL holds 5 exploration licences for heavy mineral sands on Mannar Island and the adjacent mainland.

03.07.2020: **Surveillance** – SL has increased the surveillance of the Northern coast following reports that refugees in India were attempting to

enter SL, reports Colombo Gazette. Whilst the government alleges that surveillance has been increased to prevent the entrance of refugees following the outbreak of COVID-19, accusations of mass exodus have been denied by Tamil Nadu authorities. This further emphasises the GoSL's ulterior motives to increase the surveillance of the Tamils' occupied territorial waters.



Mannar Island Project Tenure map.
Source: Daily Mirror

05.07.2020: **Arrest** – Former NPC member, Sivajilingam who was reportedly arrested by the occupational Valvettithurai Police following a warrant issued by the Jaffna Magistrate, was later released on bail after being produced before the Paruthithurai Magistrate, reports Colombo Gazette. A warrant was issued against Sivajilingam in relation to a roadblock protest in Mullaitivu which was held in 2018 in opposition to the occupational navy's attempts to survey

over 600 acres of land appropriated by the occupational forces.

05.07.2020: **Remembrance** – Karumpulinaal was commemorated in the occupied Tamil homeland despite intimidation from occupational forces.

06.07.2020: **Political prisoners** – According to TamilNet, Colombo New Magazine Prison's authorities had transferred 20 Tamil political prisoners to Anuradhapura prison on 04.07.2020. It was reported that 5 prisoners who had narrowly survived rioting at the Anuradhapura prison on 21.03.2020 were also transferred back despite concerns.

09.07.2020: **Attack** – Occupational SL navy sailors conducted an unprovoked attack on Tamils in Puthumaaththalan Mullaitivu with batons and robbed them of LKR 317, 000 resulting in the wounding of 5 individuals, reports TamilNet.

10.07.2020: **Remembrance** – The 25th remembrance of the Navaali massacre was commemorated in the occupied Tamil homeland despite intimidation from occupational forces.

12.07.2020: **Surveillance** – SL denied the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association's claims made on surveillance against SL, reports Colombo Gazette. The Rapporteur had submitted a report to the UNHRC following a visit to SL between 18.07.2019 – 26.07.2019.

14.07.2020: **Surveillance** – Village-by-village collection of data by mostly occupational navy officials who seek to update information regarding the

current status of all former LTTE-cadres have been escalated due to fears that there may be a regrouping, reports TamilNet. Targeted villages include:

- Paaddaalipuram
- Uppooral
- Mukaththuvaaram
- Pallikkudiyiruppu

According to TamilNet, occupational SL military and police squads as well as a secret unit led by an SL Police DIG are also reported to detain Tamil youth due to such fears where it has been reported that 13 of the 16 families who had reported the cases of arrest had filed complaints with the SL Human Rights Commission.

19.07.2020: **Protest** – According to TamilNet, many activists in fisheries societies had decided to commence a boycott protest from 19.07.2020 – 24.07.2020 against the illegal and destructive fishing methods used within the coastal waters of the occupational Tamil homeland. It is noteworthy that the Tamil fishers from Vadamarachchi had also formed an independent federation.

22.07.2020: **Identification** – According to SL's Registrar General's Department, all future SL birth certificates would remove particulars on race and religion on their newly designed digital birth certificate and be issued as "Sri Lankan", reports Colombo Gazette.

22.07.2020: **Release** - According to Sunday Times LK, a Tamil political prisoner and ex- LTTE cadre ("Kannathasan") had been released from a life sentence by SL's Court of Appeal. It had been

alleged that he had forcefully conscripted an individual who later perished in combat. It has been further reported that the AG department had planned to launch a fresh probe into an investigation regarding the matter.

22.07.2020: **PTA** - The Outgoing German Ambassador to SL was reported by the Sunday Times LK to have raised concerns regarding the detention of a German national under the PTA for over 5 months. He was reported to have discussed the issue with Mahindha during his outgoing meeting with him at the Temple Trees.

23.07.2020: **Remembrance** – Black July was commemorated across the occupied Tamil homeland – especially by Tamil university students.

27.07.2020: **Protest** - According to TamilNet, occupational SL forces had blocked a protest organised by the families of forcibly disappeared individuals from occurring in Earavoor Batticaloa, through hastily obtaining a court order to cancel the protest despite having approved the protest earlier in a verbal assurance.

Signs of Structural Genocide

04.07.2020: **Buddhicisation** - A member of Gotabaya's Presidential Task Force, Panamure Thilakawansha Thero visited Veaththuchcheanai with 15 occupational army officers and threatened Tamil locals to stay away from their deity and refrain from entering the nearby playground to prevent locals from renovating the playground site. The monk was further reported to have claimed that the land was a Buddhist archaeological site, reports TamilNet. In response, locals had organised a protest on 05.07.2020 despite being threatened by occupational police officers. Reports also indicate that a vehicle was driven into the group of demonstrators causing one woman to become wounded.

07.07.2020: **Mineral excavation** – According to TamilNet, mineral reserves from Pulmoddai beach in Trincomalee to



Panamure Thilakawansha Thero seen threatening locals in Veaththuchchenai.
Source: TamilNet

Vadamarachchi in Jaffna are being targeted to excavate ilmenite minerals. Reports indicate that extended exploitation could result in an environmental disaster.

08.07.2020: **Colonisation** – Sinhala colonist farmers from Dehiwatta have been reported to have cut recently re-established bunds in the Kangkuveali reservoir and drained it to illegally appropriate over 55 acres of the catchment area's 200 acres, reports TamilNet.

10.07.2020: **Appropriation** - According to Ceylon Today, SL's second underwater museum which had been constructed by the SL Navy had been declared open in Trincomalee. There are tendencies of appropriating the Tamils' territorial seas which will disrupt the territorial integrity of the Tamils and thus could be considered to be a sign of structural genocide.

15.07.2020: **Cultural Genocide** – According to TamilNet, unknown individuals had removed the trident of a local deity and removed its seat from a heritage hillock in Kurunthoormalai Mullaitivu, in violation of a court order. Locals reported that the SL Archaeology Department and Sinhala Theravada monks were involved in the desecration.

18.07.2020: **Illegal Fishing** – The occupational SL navy has allowed illegal fishing near a prohibited zone along the coast of Vaakarai Batticaloa, reports TamilNet. Their countless naval bases established along the coast facilitate such deprivation of Tamils' territorial waters.

22.07.2020: **Heritage occupation** – According to TamilNet, Tamil civil society representatives had submitted a statement to the Batticaloa District Government Agent expressing concern regarding the Presidential Task Force's attempts to disturb the Tamils' territorial integrity through their activities – especially through Panamure Thilakawansa Thero who had requested 500 acres of land from SL to construct a Buddhist temple in Pulmoddai. They had further requested the dissolution of the task force and the introduction of other remedies to ensure the preservation of the rights of local communities.

22.07.2020: **King Ravana** - According to Sunday Times LK, The Environment, Research and Project Section of the CAASL has initiated research on "The King Ravana and Lost Heritage of Aviation Dominance." It is believed that this research would be ongoing in nature and would be used to declare the Tamil king Ravana as Sinhala Buddhist.

24.07.2020: **Heritage Genocide** – According to TamilNet, locals reported that unknown attackers had desecrated the Kusalaanamalai Saiva Kumaran Temple in Batticaloa and destroyed the temple deity, following an earlier inspection of the temple by a Sinhala – Buddhist monk. Local Tamil farmers were reported to have contextualised the attacks as part of ongoing acts of heritage genocide which continues to be unleashed across the occupied Tamil homeland.

25.07.2020: **Cultural Genocide** – According to Colombo Page, the PMD had announced that Gotabaya intends

to appoint a committee to examine how amendments could be made to the Antiquities Ordinance to strengthen the preservation of antiquities and historical national heritage. The committee is reported to include members of the Maha Sangha and other experts in the field. It is noteworthy that the formation of such a committee, in addition to the Presidential Task Force on Archaeological Development, displays an institutional tendency to further a cultural genocide against Tamils in the name of "the cultural preservation of Buddhism."

26.07.2020: **GPS** - According to TamilNet, employees of SL's Archaeology Department had attached a GPS Tracking device to a stone used to burn camphor at Chiththaandi Murukan Temple on 24.07.2020. It was also reported that the occupational Earavoor police had refrained from registering a complaint which was attempted to be filed by the Temple's board.