## PHOENIX Monthly Newsletter

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## To create and record history is the foundation of survival.

#### **Phoenix TNG**

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O1.12.2023: USAID According to Economy
Next, R.
Wickremesinghe is
pushing for a Climate
Justice Forum (CJF) and
investment in the
tropical belt at the 2023
UN Climate Change
Conference (COP28) in
Dubai. He also criticised
the slow pace of action
against disasters caused
by climate change.

04.12.2023: Climate **action** - According to Economy Next, R. Wickremesinghe, and Microsoft founder Bill Gates, who co-chairs the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), spoke of working together to address global challenges and strengthen SL's key role in the world's tropical belt. Specific focus areas include the modernisation of agriculture and the establishment of data systems for agriculture. The cooperation also aims to strengthen digital public infrastructure and improve SL's expertise in the areas of climate and adaptation.

06.12.2023: **COP28** - According to Economy Next, at the United

**Nations Climate Change** Conference 2023 (COP28), governments, businesses, investors and philanthropists have announced more than USD 57 billion in support for the climate agenda in the first 04 days of the global event. 08 new declarations were announced to help transform all major systems of the global economy. These include the first-ever declarations on transforming food systems and health, as well as declarations on renewable energy and efficiency and initiatives to decarbonise emissions-intensive industries.

09.12.2023: APRC -According to Economy Next, SL will host the 37th session of the Asia-Pacific Regional Conference (APRC) of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in Colombo from 19.02.2024-22.02.2024. The conference will bring together agriculture ministers and officials from 46 countries in the region to discuss food and agriculture challenges.

11.12.2023: C188 According to Economy
Next, SL hopes to ratify
the International Labor
Organization's
Convention on Work in
Fishing (C188). C188, an
ILO international labour
standard, sets standards
and recommendations
to ensure decent
working conditions in
the fishing industry.

29.12.2023: **Espionage** - According to Economy

Next, forensic investigations by Amnesty International's Security Lab have uncovered the use of the invasive spyware Pegasus, which was used this week against Siddharth Varadarajan, the founding editor of The Wire India, and Anand Mangnale, the South Asia editor of the Organised Crime and Corruption Report Project (OCCRP). The software, developed by Israeli firm NSO Group, has raised concerns amid a crackdown on civil liberties in India and has had a negative impact on journalists, activists and civil society organisations.

#### Bilateral

01.12.2023: **USAID** - According to Economy Next, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) has partnered with the Public Utilities Commission of Sri Lanka (PUCSL) to launch an electricity dispatch database and dashboard. Developed and funded by USAID's SL Energy Program, the Dispatch Data Dashboard is a comprehensive tool that allows stakeholders to access and visualise power generation data, forecasts, costs. reservoir details and emissions, and provides insights into the complicated operational dynamics of SL's energy sector.

01.12.2023: **India** - According to Economy Next, R. Wickremesinghe met with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Dubai on the sidelines of the COP-28 global climate summit. The meeting took place amid ongoing talks between the 02 South Asian nations on separate investment and trade agreements.

03.12.2023: **UAE** - According to Economy Next, a group of investors based in the United Arab Emirates have expressed interest in renewable energy, tourism, ports and real estate.

04.12.2023: **ADB** - According to Economy Next, foreign creditors disbursed USD 1.5 billion in the 09 months to September 2023. The ADB had disbursed USD 529 million by September 2023, the World Bank USD 442.8 million and the IMF USD 343.7 million.

04.12.2023: **WHO** - According to Economy Next, SL's Health sector is to receive financial and technical support from the World Health Organization

(WHO) to improve health care in SL. The WHO will provide technical and project support for programs to combat dengue fever and prevent antimicrobial resistance, support data analysis in the development of a 10-year health policy and promote the necessary technical and professional training of the National Medicines Regulatory Authority (NMRA) staff.

05.12.2023: **Netherlands** - According to Economy Next, 06 Kandyan artefacts confiscated during Dutch colonial rule in SL have been returned by the Netherlands. These include gold and silver Kasthāné (ceremonial swords), 02 Maha Thuwakku (wall cannons) and the cannon of Lewke Disave, which were originally captured as spoils of war by the Dutch East India Company in 1765 during the siege of the palace of Kandy.

06.12.2023: **ECTA** - According to Economy Next, technical talks on an Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement between SL and India are expected to be finalised by March 2024. SL is keen to expand international trade and prevent another economic crisis.

07.12.2023: **Maldives** - According to Economy Next, SL will sign an agreement with the Maldives on mutual legal assistance in criminal matters. A revised new draft, prepared in consultation with both parties, has received the approval of SL's Attorney General.

08.12.2023: **China** - According to Economy Next, SL will seek more information on foreign vessels visiting SL after geopolitical concerns and questions arose over allowing Chinese research vessels to dock and conduct

surveys in SL's ports. SL had introduced an SOP (Standard Operation Procedure) for research vessels and all ships.

09.12.2023: ADB - According to Economy Next, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a USD 200 million concessional loan to SL to stabilise its financial sector. Subprogram 01 targets short-term stabilisation and crisis management measures implemented in 2023, while Subprogram 02 is planned for 2024 and focuses on structural reforms and long-term measures to restore growth in the banking sector.

11.12.2023: **US** - According to Economy Next, the US Special Representative for Racial Equity and Justice, Desirée Cormier Smith, will be in SL from 11.12.2023-15.12.2023 to discuss minority rights. Later in the week, Special Envoy Cormier Smith will meet with Malayaha Tamils, civil society groups and government officials to reaffirm the US government's support for advancing the human rights of members of marginalised ethnic communities in SL.

13.12.2023: China - According to Economy Next, an SL Cabinet decision has awarded China Civil Engineering Construction Company the contract to design and build the railroad diesel generator set factory in Ratmalana. The project is part of the ADB-funded Railway Efficiency Improvement Project.

13.12.2023: **Korea** - According to Economy Next, SL's Central, Northern and Eastern provinces have been awarded a grant of USD 2.172 billion won to implement a community-based tourism development project in collaboration with the Korea Tourism Organization. The Sri Lanka Tourism

Development Authority (SLTDA) will enter into a MoU with the Korea Tourism Organization after it was approved by Cabinet.

14.12.2023: **FAO** - According to Economy Next, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has handed over 02 specially designed climate resilient fishing boats to SL's Ministry of Fisheries. These boats prioritise the safety of fishermen and are built to be capsize-proof and withstand the challenges of climate change, including more frequent and intense storms and cyclones.

15.12.2023: **UK** - According to Economy Next, Britain's Princess Anne, the Royal Princess of the United Kingdom, will visit SL in January 2024 to attend events to mark the 75th anniversary of diplomatic relations between SL and the UK.

19.12.2023: **Adani** - According to Economy Next, SL's cabinet has approved the hire of a number of technocrats for a committee that will assess India's USD 442 million Adani renewable wind energy project in Mannar & Pooneryn.

20.12.2023: **Australia** - According to Economy Next, SL's government will extend a Market Development Facility (MDF) programme implemented under the Australian government's grant programme. In 2017, an agreement was reached between the Australian and SL governments to implement the Good Governance for Growth programme and the Market Development Facility programme. The Australian Government has agreed to provide an additional grant of AUD 42.1 million for these programmes.

20.12.2023: **World Bank** - According to Economy Next, the World Bank announced that it is providing a USD 250 million loan to SL as budget support, which was originally approved at USD 500 million in June, 2023. The second tranche will be released after it is determined that satisfactory progress is being made on reforms, the macroeconomic policy framework remains appropriate and SL's *Banking* (Special Provisions) Act has been enacted.

20.12.2023: **Wind Power Project** - According to Economy Next, India's Adani Wind Power Project in SL is facing constant delays as a Cabinet Appointed Negotiation Committee (CANC) has raised many concerns over the project components.

22.12.2023: Bangladesh - According to Economy Next, Essential Drugs Company Limited, the state-owned pharmaceutical company in Bangladesh, donated a stock of 24 essential medicines to SL - enough for 03 months' requirement. Bangladesh High Commissioner mentioned they will continue to provide necessary support for the promotion of the health sector in SL and conduct mutual health skills exchange programmes between the 02 countries.

22.12.2023: India - According to Economy Next, the new Indian High Commissioner to SL Santosh Jha, presented his credentials to SL President R. Wickremesinghe at SL's Presidential Secretariat. The senior Indian diplomat was India's Ambassador to the European Union, Belgium and Luxembourg before assuming office in Colombo.

24.12.2023: **China** - According to Economy Next, a logistics centre in

Colombo port involving Chinese companies CM Ports, SL Ports Authority and Access Engineering will get a 15-year tax holiday. 30 expatriates will be fully exempt from income tax.

27.12.2023: India - According to Economy Next, a former Indian Foreign Minister has said that SL should heed India's concerns about foreign ships. The concerns were reportedly raised as India and China are still engaged in a military conflict that has not been resolved as the border has not been settled.

28.12.2023: India - According to Economy Next, SL Minister of Power and Energy Kanchana Wijesekera met the new Indian High Commissioner to SL Santosh Jha at the Ministry on 27.12.2023. They discussed the partnerships in the energy sector between the 02 countries and the implementation plans for the projects identified by both countries.



## Military News

#### 04.12.2023: UN Peacekeeping -

According to SL's MoD's website the 09th contingent of SLAF departed to the Central African Republic to join the UN Peacekeeping mission. The 08th contingent is scheduled to return on 05.12.2023 after completing 1,430 flying hours in one year for the mission.

05.12.2023: New aircrafts - According to the SL MoD's website SLAF received 02 Chinese Y-12 IV aircrafts for its No. 8 Tactical Transport Squadron stationed at Ratmalana airbase. This squadron is instrumental in the logistics of SL's genocidal forces.

11.12.2023: **Gates foundation** - According to SL's MoD's website officials from Bill &

Melinda Gates Foundation met the SL **Defence Secretary** General and genocidaire K. Gunaratne. They discussed the launch of Sustainable National **Anticipatory Action** through Preparedness initiative in South Asia (SNAP). SNAP's aim is to bolster disaster preparedness, response, and recovery capacities across South Asia. They also met SL's State Minister of Defence.

16.12.2023: Foreign
Delegation - According
to Eelandu, SL
Ambassadors from
Switzerland, South
Africa and South Korea
have met SL's Jaffna
commander. Military
assistance, Social
welfare projects,
development projects
and reconciliation were
the discussed topics.

18.12.2023: US According to SL's MoD's
website, the US Pacific
Augmentation Team
(PAT) and Special
Command Pacific
(SOCPAC) officials met
SL's AF commander.
Strengthening defense
cooperation and
enhancing training
opportunities were
discussed in the
meeting.

22.12.2023: Indonesia - According to SL's MoD's website an indonesian naval ship arrived at Colombo port today.

#### Tamil Eelam

07.12.2023: **Integration**- According to Economy
Next, R.
Wickremesinghe has
appointed MP Vadivel
Suresh as Senior
Advisor to "promote the

integration of hill Tamils into Sri Lankan society". The Senior Advisor will play a key role in coordinating various initiatives related to plantation welfare,

women empowerment, child protection, addressing inequalities in Tamil schools and improving healthcare.

#### 08.12.2023:

#### **Reconciliation -**

According to Economy
Next, SL's government
will establish an
independent Truth,
Unity and Reconciliation
Commission through an
Act of SL's Parliament. A
key objective of this
process is to establish
the truth about SL's
post-conflict grievances
to enable reconciliation,
reparations and
sustainable peace.

#### 12.12.2023: Solar Power Plant -

According to Economy
Next, SL's Cabinet has
approved the signing of
a power purchase
agreement with
Australian company
United Solar Group to
invest in a 700 MW solar
power project. The solar
power project will be
installed on the surface
of Poonakary tank in
Kilinochchi district with
a foreign direct

investment of USD 1.727 million.

17.12.2023: Floods -According to Eelanadu, 2,117 individuals from 695 families were affected in Mullaitivu due to floods. In Kilinochchi, 4,505 individuals from 1,365 families were affected.

## Sri Lanka

03.12.2023: Green initiatives - According to Economy Next, SL will push for investment in green initiatives globally after the Official **Creditors Committee** (OCC) finalises SL's debt restructuring. R. Wickremesinghe together with local and international advisors. has launched 03 projects to transform climate change-related disaster funding, mostly seen as donations, into viable economic enterprises that involve private sector investment.

05.12.2023: Litigation -According to Economy Next, SL is engaged in a number of steps to expedite 1.1 million pending court cases to promote alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. To resolve land issues in the postwar period, special property arbitration boards were set up in the the occupied Tamil homeland.

- 5,680 cases Supreme Court
- 4,054 cases Court of Appeal
- 6,168 cases HighCourt of Civil Appeal
- 8,363 cases -Commercial High Court
- 28,000 cases High Court
- 254,000 cases District Courts
- 791,000 cases Magistrates Courts

10.12.2023: Buddhism

- According to Economy Next, SL plans to boost Buddhist tourism by connecting SL's temples with those in East Asia. R. Wickremesinghe and SL Minister Sabry have initiated a temple-totemple program to connect 100 temples in SL with those in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations region. In the first phase of the temple-to-temple program, several monks from SL had received invitations from Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea and Vietnam.

12.12.2023: **Cybercrime** - According to Economy Next, a telephone number has

been introduced for victims of cybercrime to lodge complaints.
Anyone can submit complaints via the 101 hotline.

13.12.2023: **House arrest** - According to
Economy Next, SL is
considering the
introduction of legal
provisions to keep
suspects and defendants
under house arrest
instead of remanding
them in custody.
Reports indicate that
prison overcrowding is
a long-standing problem
in SL.

14.12.2023: Aviation -According to Economy Next, the Civil Aviation Authority of SL, SL Rupavahini Corporation and SriLankan Airlines. have signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to promote careers in the aviation sector to school children through television programs and personal briefings by SL employees. According to statistics from the **International Civil Aviation Organization** (ICAO), 27,000 new aircraft will be needed over the next 20 years

due to increasing demand - adding to the current 17,000 commercial aircraft. Over 617,000 pilots will be required to fly these aircraft.

15.12.2023: Fisheries -According to Economy Next, SL's Fisheries Ministry has announced that it will revise SL's Fisheries Act following consultations with stakeholders and experts in the field. A collaborative approach will be taken to gather expert opinions and improve the draft of the new amended Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Act. It also called for support from domestic and foreign private investment to further boost the marine industry.

21.12.2023: Police According to Economy
Next, the Bar
Association of Sri Lanka
(BASL) has urged that
following an SL
Supreme Court
judgement against the
incumbent SL Inspector
General of Police, no
person who has violated
fundamental rights or
against whom a criminal

case is pending should be appointed as SL's Commissioner of Police. The BASL urges that the appointment of SL's Inspector General (and all other appointments) should be made in a transparent manner to increase public confidence in the appointment process.

22.12.2023: Refugee **camps** - According to Economy Next, the plight of Sri Lankans in India's refugee camps was discussed at a meeting between SL's President and leaders from the occupied Tamil homeland at SL's Presidential Secretariat on 21.12.2023. The meeting focussed on the provision of land rights to the residents of the Tamil homeland, implementation of laws related to resettlement and reconciliation and district development.

#### ECONOMIC PROFILE - December 2023

Remittances November 2023 1 by 40% from a year ago to USD 537.3 million

Gross FOREX Reserves by end 2023 around USD 4.0 billion

Credit

Private credit October 2023 ↑ by LKR 7,206 billion

Debt September 2023

External debt USD 36,384 million
Multilateral debt USD 10,82 million
Bilateral debt USD 10,812 million
Domestic debt USD 51,223 million
Public debt USD 91,112 million

Exports October 2023 ↓ 14.6% from a year ago to USD 898 million to the US ↓ 13.8% to USD 206 million

to the US  $\downarrow 13.8\% \text{ to USD 206 million}$  to the UK  $\downarrow 9.7\% \text{ to USD 63.5 million}$  to India  $\downarrow 22\% \text{ to USD 65 million}$  to the EU  $\downarrow 23\% \text{ to USD 213 million}$ 

**Inflation** December 2023 ↑ to 4.0 % from 3.4% in November

RANJINI
AP Economic Analyst
& Coordinator

# **Economic News**

04.12.2023: Loans -According to Economy Next, SL will provide loans to entrepreneurs at an interest rate of 02% using LKR 30 billion provided by GoSL and the ADB as funds to provide capital. Prasanna Ranaweera, SL Minister of State for Small and Medium Enterprise Development, mentioned the target is to increase the number of entrepreneurs from 2.7 % -10 % by 2028.

11.12.2023: **Tax** - According to Economy Next, the VAT (Amendment) Bill, which provides for an increase in VAT from the current 15 %-18% and the removal of a number of goods from the list of exemptions, was passed with a majority of 45 votes.

13.12.2023: IMF According to Economy
Next, the IMF has
approved the release of
USD 337 million for SL
as part of the first
review of its program
and called for the swift
implementation of debt
agreements reached
with official creditors.
All performance criteria
except for the
expenditure arrears
criterion were met.

13.12.2023: Budget According to Economy
Next, SL's Parliament
considers by 41 votes
passing the 2024 budget
with key measures to
implement a reform
agenda agreed with the
IMF. The budget
includes measures to
increase tax revenues,
the introduction of a
mandatory tax file and
salary increases for
public sector workers.

14.12.2023: IMF -According to Economy Next, the IMF has called for a recapitalisation plan for SL's Central Bank after an extension of the maturities of government bonds held by SL's Central Bank to meet the lender's gross funding requirement (GFN) targets led to valuation losses. GoSL must immediately expedite the modalities of recapitalisation of the CBSL.

18.12.2023: Tax According to Economy
Next, SL's Inland
Revenue Department
(IRD) will launch a
mobile service to extend
access to individuals to
file their tax records.
The aim is to increase
tax revenue by 47% to
LKR 3.82 trillion by
2024.

22.12.2023: **Agriculture** - According

to Economy Next, the decentralised budget for SL's districts amounting to LKR 11,250 million will be distributed to all district secretaries in January 2024. In addition to the funds allocated to the individual districts, additional financial support will be provided to the interior areas.

29.12.2023: VAT According to Economy
Next, SL expects to
collect LKR 1,400 billion
from VAT in 2024 after
broadening the base and
increasing the tax rate.
Although LKR 600
billion were expected
from VAT in 2023, only
around LKR 450 billion
has been collected so
far.

30.12.2023: Arrears - According to Economy Next, SL closed 2023 with the payment of all certified expenses, the first year in 25 years to end with no arrears. The arrears of converted pensions, which had accumulated for 18 months by the end of 2022, had also been paid by 2023.

31.12.2023: **Inflation** - SL has ended 2023 with a 4.0%increase in 12-month consumer prices to December.



## Jppression & Resistance

01.12.2023: **Death** - According to Eelanadu, another Tamil inmate had died under mysterious circumstances in the custody of an occupational Kokkadicholai prison in Batticaloa. He fainted and was brought to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. An autopsy is reported to be conducted.

02.12.2023: Arrest According to Virakesari,
a woman was arrested
under the PTA for the
alleged purchase of a
cake for V.
Prabhakaran's birthday
in Batticaloa. The
Batticaloa court judge
ordered her to be held
in detention until
12.12.2023.

O2.12.2023:

Commemoration - The 39th commemoration of the Orhiyamalai massacre in Mullaitivu, was disrupted by an occupational SL police team led by Oddusuddan police OIC Ranjith Bamunusinghe, reports JDS Lanka.

04.12.2023: **Protest** - Relatives of forcibly disappeared join journalists in Vavuniya to protest occupational SL Police bid to frame Tamil journalists with

falsified charges, reports Lanka Files.

04.12.2023: Protest - In protest of the death of 14-year-old N. A. Dharsanth in an SL-state owned probation centre in Kalmunai, local residents and relatives carried his coffin to the occupational SL police station on 03.12.2023, reports Lanka Files.

04.12.2023: Protest - A protest was staged opposite the occupational Vaddukoddai police station seeking justice for Nagarasa Alex who died in custody with multiple injuries to his body, reports Lanka Files.

08.12.2023: Media
Intimidation - Tamil
journalist Letchumanan
Thevapratheepan, a
provincial
correspondent working
for IBC Tamil in
Batticaloa, has been
summoned to the
occupational
Valaichenai police
station for an
unspecified inquiry,
reports Lanka Files.

11.12.2023: Arrest - According to Eelanadu, 01 individual was arrested under the PTA in Matale for displaying an LTTE sticker on his motorcycle.

10.12.2023: Protest According to Lanka
Files, relatives of
forcibly disappeared
Tamils staged a protest
in Mullaitivu to mark
International Human
Rights Day. A protest
was also staged outside
Batticaloa's Regional
Office.

12.12.2023: **Intimidation** - SL's TID questioned Uthayan journalist former president of Jaffna **University Arts** Students' Union, Rasarathnam Dharshan for over 3 hours regarding the alleged playing of Tamil nationalist songs during the Tamil genocide commemoration held at Jaffna University campus in May 2022.

14.12.2023: **GTF** - Tamil organisations reject the Global Tamil Forum's (GTF) engagement with several Senior Buddhist monks without prior consultation with Tamils in the occupied homeland or diaspora, reports Lanka Files.

#### 15.12.2023: **Intimidation** -

According to Kumanan, a Sinhala Buddhist mob led by
Ampittiyasumanarathna
Thero, has blocked the

Thero, has blocked the road and threatened Tamil Parliamentarians

including G.G.
Ponnambalam and S.
Kajendran who had
visited the occupied
Mylathamadu area.

16.12.2023: TNA - ITAK spokesperson M.A. Sumanthiran who participated in an event to accept the GTF-Buddhist monk joint statement promoted by R. Wickremesinghe denies any involvement in the declaration to Tamil press following mass discontent, reports Lanka Files.

18.12.2023: Mass Graves - According to Ceylon News, the determination of the gender and age of collected human remains from the mass graves is to commence shortly, reports Lanka Files.

18.12.2023: Press - 03
Tamil journalists have been summoned to SL's Anti-Terrorism and Investigation Division for questioning regarding commemoration, reports Lanka files Files.

19.12.2023: **Bill** - SL cabinet approves publication of "Truth, Harmony and Reconciliation Commission" bill in the GoSL gazette, reports Lanka Files.

20.12.2023: GTF Around 70 Tamil
religious leaders,
grassroots & civil
society activists,
associations and
federations in have
rejected the
joint Buddhist monk GTF "Himalayan
Declaration" naming it
deceitful and
misleading, reports
Lanka Files.

20.12.2023: Release - S. Navajeevan, A. Newton, S. Nitharshan & 19 yr old N. Danujan, from Vantharumoolai Central College, who were arrested for participation in Maaveerar Naal commemorations in Batticaloa, were released on bail on 19.12.2023 by Valaichchenai District Magistrates' Court, reports JDS Lanka.

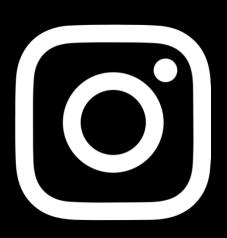
26.12.2023:

Commemoration - The 19th commemoration of the Asian Tsunami was conducted by locals across the Tamil homeland.

27.12.2023: HRCSL -HRCSL wrote to SL's Attorney-General regarding the torture and deaths in custody involving SL Police including 200 instances of complaints in a letter. 27.12.2023: **Roundups** - According to Uthayan, SL's occupational Police have started to roundup and arrest people under the guise of combating drugs. Since 27.12.2023 3,666 individuals have been arrested.

27.12.2023: Thaiyiddi - According to Uthayan, a protest has been staged for the second consecutive day in Thaiyiddi. In Thaiyiddi lands from Tamils have been seized and a Buddhist vihara was constructed illegally.

27.12.2023: Release - According to Uthayan a 24-year-old Tamil has been released on bail. He was arrested for wearing a shirt with the tiger symbol and a picture of the National Leader of Tamil Eelam on it. He was detained under PTA.





## SIGNS OF STRUCTURAL GENOCIDE

Any occurrence which reflects the implementation of Tamil genocidal ideology in a structural manner.

04.12.2023: **Land Grab** - According to Eelanadu SL's Department of Wildlife Conservation is planning to seize 354 acres of land from Araly to Ponnalai.

08.11.2023: **Court Case** - According to Eelanadu, SL's Department of Wildlife Sanctuary filed a case against 130 Tamil residents in Mullaitivu. These residents live close to the Kariyal Vayal and Chundikulam villages. The residents are accused of illegally settling in these places and are destroying the flora.

27.12.2023: **Buddhicisation** - TNPF activists appealed in Sinhala to Buddhists visiting the occupational Tissa Vihara constructed in Valikamam north, KKS, Jaffna to refrain from unlawful worship on occupied lands.

#### **AKKINIP PARAVAIKAL**

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