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## THE FAILURE OF THE SRILANKAN CEASEFIRE ACCORD IN 2002 AND ITS AFTERMATH

DEEPA VISWAM

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### Abstract:

*The Tamil demand for autonomy and security led to the militant response. The state starts to address this with violence and massacres killing for a start with 7000 Tamil civilians from 1983 to 1987.*

*The Norwegians had drafted the text of the treaty. The united national front came victorious in December 2001 general elections. Since the President and the Prime Minister came from rival camps the Prime minister signed the agreement that had no constitutional authority to sign on war and peace. That authority rested with the political rival Kumaratunga.*

*The indo-srilanka accord of 1987 failed among other reasons, because the tigers were not interested and the Norwegian initiative which resulted in a ceasefire in February 2002 collapsed after mutual accusations of faith. Two weeks notice was given to Norway on January 2 and from January 14; there will be neither a dejure nor a defacto ceasefire. The LTTE began going against the spirit and letter of CFA. All out war that began in 2006 did see that CFA was observed more in breach than in practice by both the parties. The country had slipped into chaos that Sri lankan monitoring mission (SLMM) an offshoot of the CFA decided in April 2007 to suspend rulings of ceasefire violation. Rajapaksa demanded that a negotiated political settlement need to be carried out even with the abrogation of the CFA. Replacement of Norway as the peace negotiator was another election pledge.*

### KEY WORDS:

Ceasefire accord, conflict resolution, ceasefire, intervention, mediation, devolution, conflict management, third party.

### INTRODUCTION:

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Gompert, David (1994) The US and European allies are not willing to intervene militarily to stop the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia. The world should not be too hasty in accepting a peace settlement at the expense of Muslims and Croats. The brutality of the Serbs must not be allowed to go unpunished. Arming Muslims will only exacerbate the problem. A stiff set of sanctions and economic and diplomatic isolation are the only avenues toward change and a ceasefire that does not permit the Serbs victory.

Meldrum, Andrew (1993) Political turmoil threatens to engulf Mozambique. In developments similar to its neighbor Angola, scheduled free elections are on the verge of being cancelled due to delays in negotiations between rival political factions. The collapse of communism in its former ally the USSR, has forced Mozambique to discard totalitarian Marxist rule and move for free elections. The UN seeks to stabilize the situation in the country to prevent a repeat of events in Angola.

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Li, Peiyin Patty. (1998): However, with 21 out of 75 seats the PNV remains the largest presence in the autonomous regional government as it has been for the past 18 years. It is up to the PNV to form a government coalition and lead the peace process forward. Talks with Madrid will not be easy, especially when the Basque people themselves do not agree on what they want. About half of the Basque population is not of Basque descent, and it is estimated that only 20 to 40 percent support full independence. But all Basque parties would like the national government to allow the Basques to decide for themselves what their relation to Spain will be. ETA says it is willing to accept defeat at the hands of the voters, but can the Spanish government afford to give them that chance?

Bruce Matthews (Winter 2009) A 2002 ceasefire between the forces of the state and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) gave way in February 2008 to outright civil war.

Cedric de Coning, John Karlsrud and Ingrid Marie Breidlid (April-June 2013) Peace operations today differ dramatically from those of only a decade or two earlier. The international community has recognized that the period in the immediate aftermath of conflict is crucial for stabilizing conflict-affected countries, but the evolving rhetoric around peacebuilding has not been matched by necessary changes in the UN's peacekeeping and peacebuilding architecture

### METHODOLOGY

#### Research design

The study comprised a Frame analysis of news stories to the breakdown of srilankan ceasefire accord .the most event saturated period of the srilankan crisis stories highlighted by the Hindu and by the new Indian express. The study in analyzing frames distribution from one event to another.

Coding scheme

The nature of the breakdown of ceasefire accord fell into (20) distinct frames

#### Quasi ceasefire

The 48 hours of talk between Srilankan President Rajapaksa and the Indian external affairs Minister Pranab Mukerjee in Colombo did allow the Srilankan refugees caught between the srilankan army and liberation of tigers of Tamil Eelam to exit the scene but the ministry of Defense press briefings announced that it was merely a safe passage for civilians seemed to be an ambiguity for two days as it is too short period for 2,50,000 civilians to move out even assuming that the bulk of them do not mind in being in government run refugee camps.

#### Bone of contention

Under the 1987 Indo-Lanka accord until the Rajapaksa government no Colombo governments did not tamper with the merger of Northern and eastern governments. The Indian peace keeping force did with draw in 1990s. But in 2006 colombo began to dismantle the consensus reached under the Indo-srilankan peace accord and moved the supreme court to annul the northeast merger and in principle recognized a Tamil majority region. All party representatives committee (APRC) was worked out in 2006 as president Rajapaksa found it expedient to have one for political settlement. Two years later, 2008 President Rajapaksa imposed his own proposals on the APRC which were feeble reflection of what was envisaged under the Indo-Srilankan accord. New Delhi found that the proposals were mere eyewash and did not address the real aspirations of Tamil people.

#### Conflict resolution as seen by media

All keep the fingers crossed until the rajapaksa juggernaut would deliver on the 13th amendment. The LTTE believed that negating the negotiations and war would finally push the strategy in its favor and militarily weakened especially after Karuna split, the Sinhalese established hegemony over the minorities. The reality is that military force alone cannot defeat adversary. The LTTE must lay down arms and release civilians from the no fire zone .2.The srilankan government order a ceasefire and under take crash rehabilitation programmed 3.the people to go free Sri Lankan government initiate a political dialogue with the srilankan Tamil leaders for a practical and lasting dispensation. India has a wealth of experiences regarding different forms and degrees of devolution in the northeast and J&K and through articles 371A to I. This is not for the first time that key information of the U.N document that consisted of sensitive

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information and numbers of satellite pictures of the srilankan terrain were leaked to the media which showed craters created by shelling. Tamil united Liberation front leader V.anadasangree touts the “Indian model” of devolution in which autonomous states co-exist with the centre. The related demand made by the United Nations Security Council and all sensible people is that LTTE must lay down arms and surrender. The Sri Lanka government is ready to give conditional amnesty to the lower rungs of the LTTE holed up in the remaining area of the no fire zone if they give up arms and surrender to the military. Tamil united national front leader V.anadasangree in a letter addressed to srilankan President Mahinda rajapaksa has suggested that an international agency acceptable to the government be selected to visit wanni and persuade the LTTE to allow innocent people to go free with an offer of general amnesty to LTTE cadres who surrender with arms. The LTTE that started out in 1970 should have been based on emaciate vision and not pol potist in extremism. The constitutional protection of minority rights through a federal system based on Swiss model. The Swiss federal system canton system, the co-existence of very different size, sharply distinguished from one another by race, language and religion. Kumaratunga tenure a draft constitution was introduced which if implemented could have transformed lanka from a unitary state to a union of regions with Substantial inputs from UNP and TULF. The need of the hour is for the international community to persuade Colombo to devise the draft constitution of 2000.

### **Indian intervention**

India's intervention would help them prevail on the displaced and settle them fast instead of being in Sinhalese settlements on their lands. Instead of playing with human sentiments on both sides of Palk Strait concrete measures need to work to smoothen the relationship. Leaders of India would make a clear distinction between the criminal actions of the LTTE against unarmed civilians instead of goading the latter to doom. The India –srilanka agreement of July 1987 and the Indian peace keeping force operations had ensured the enactment of the 13th amendment to the constitution – a giant step in devolution of power to the northern and eastern provinces resulting in the merger as a single Tamil majority north eastern province which had always been Tamil dream for their traditional home land. Today even after obtaining majority of the portion the north and the east has been de-merged and provincial autonomy compromised.

### **EU-political solution**

As soon as the LTTE had call on the co-chairs the EU, Japan, Norway, US to bring ceasefire the EU had urged that LTTE had laid down arms. The report in the Hindu on (Feb. 24, 09) the headline read as “EU calls for political solution” but the express on the same day( February 24, 2009) stated that “LTTE sets terms for ceasefire”. The express (Feb. 24, 09) also had reported that “the LTTE had taken part in numerous peace efforts, but none of this it was insisted that the outfit should lay down arms”

### **Mediation**

Though the EU call for settling down the arms ,the LTTE in a letter to the co-chairs of srilanka (US, Norway ,Japan, and EU)argued that it was not helpful to lay down arms and was ready for internationally supervised ceasefire.

The UN document estimated that the average daily death toll was 63 even at the safe zone. The guerillas who were cornered around 10-12 sq km of territory on northeast coast were still putting stiff opposition even though the united nations security council Mexico's President Claude Heller insisted the LTTE must give it up. Srilankan president Mahinda Rajapaksa was receptive to India's concern when M.K.Narayan and shivshankar menon arrived amid concern over the political fallout of the ongoing army campaign.” Silence of the envoys after the srilankan trip' reported the new Indian express. Rajapaksa lambasted the leading powers of the world for pestering the Lankan government to allow special representatives into war zone to see the conditions of Tamils there. Britain had wanted to send Das Browne, France was thinking of mission, The US sought safe passage for LTTE's leadership but Colombo refused to receive Des Browne, rejected the French plan and the US appeal. The visiting Special Envoy from Japan, Yasushi Akashi was informed that Rajapaksa government was determined to free civilians being held hostages by the tigers with the military advance into the remaining seven square kilometer area inside the no-fire zone.

### **Propose devolution**

A group comprising Srilankan central government ministers like Dr.Senaratne, Tissa

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Vitharan, DeW Gunasekara, Dilan perara and Douglas devanada eastern province chief Minister s.Chadrakaharan alias pillayan and former western province Chief Minister Reginald cooray.

The provinces had the full power over acquisition of land but distribution of land should be subject to approval of central government. Power over the police or law or order the group felt that the provinces could have control over minor crime. However major crimes and those relating to national security should come under the purview of the centre. As per the 13th amendment passed under pressure from the Indian government in 1987 powers of land and the police are devolved to provinces. But these provisions have remained unimplemented for the last two decades. While the Tamil minority has been demanding devolution for northern and eastern provinces where they are in a majority. Sinhalese dominated Srilankan governments have refused to hand over powers. The fear of land grabbing by minorities in provinces where they are numerically strong and fear of separatism have prevented the centre from devolving any power over land and law and order. The 13th amendment was a significant step in the devolution of powers between the majority and minorities and the centre and provincial councils. Given the experience of Tamils it was mere decentralization and devolution. Central authority was introduced in agrarian transport corporation services, though charactering a school as national school it came under the purview of the state though education was a devolved.

### **Peace mission fails**

The peace mission over srilanka failed with the intervention of Vijay Nambiar. The LTTE had not responded to international demands to release the civilians it was holding hostage. Rajapaksa referred that a hostage rescue operation was something like the Entebbe rescue mission where in 1976 Israeli operation to rescue more than 100 hostages at Entebbe airport. The expenditure involved in resolving this conflict amounts to Rs.11, 55,835. The information obtained through an RTI application by social activist V Madhva states that the expenses were borne by the government.

### **Norway stripped of peace mediator role**

Srilanka stripped of Norway its role as the mediator bringing an end to a decade long effort to halt the civil war. The move after srilanka embassy was attacked in Oslo. Srilanka took an exception to Norway arranging a conversation between a senior LTTE leader and UN envoy to discuss the crisis.

### **Ban LTTE**

Prabhakaran is not terrorist a lofty claim by karunanidi wherein Osama bin laden is deemed to be idealist Islamist and not a terrorist but the al-queda is. LTTE is seen as a terrorist organization as it has massacred several scores of innocent Tamil people-Tamil, Muslims, Sinhalese but not prabhakaran.

### **The LTTE demand for ceasefire**

The pro- Tamil website demanded political head B.Nadesan that the tigers were ready for a ceasefire monitored by third party. The LTTE reiterated its appeal to the international community to pressure the government to halt the military offensive and offered to hold unconditional talks.

### **Critical view of LTTE ceasefire**

The LTTE is known for its unilateral ceasefire when it is cornered. Two examples the tigers declared such a ceasefire immediately after the 9\11 attacks to duck attention on terrorism and again resorted to a ridiculous ceasefire in august 2008 to coincide with SAARC summit in Colombo.

### **President Rajapaksa 's manovero**

Rajapaksa had ruled out amnesty for prabhakaran and the LTTE surrender their arms. Sri lanka president Mahinda rajapksa turned down a fresh request by the United Kingdom (U.K.) for a pause in the military action. Rajapaksa invited the UN secretary general ban-ki-moon to visit IDP and nearly two lakh civilians trapped in the no fire zone.

The diplomats were told by rajapksa that the government was in the process of completing a master plan for a long term reconstruction of the war ravaged region and all party representative committee is formulating a set of political proposals which would be submitted once the environment is free of

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terrorism.

### **Surrender to a third party**

Srilanka would not allow the LTTE to surrender to a third party as demanded by the US state department as there was no reason why a rebel group should surrender its arms to a third party.

### **Interview**

In the interview to the cnn-ibn President rajapaksa had assured the implementation of 13+ for tamil political rights are protected in This country. Prabhakaran did not standby with 13th amendment and it was not implemented.

### **LTTE responsible for the present impasse**

From 1948 the Tamil felt that they were dispossessed of their rights and demanded parity with the sinhala majority. The LTTE which was a beacon of light in the support of Tamil minorities tried to establish autocratic Eelam by nabbing the Tamil people, extracting tax etc. Prabhakaran also established his own government, imposed tax on the northern and eastern province; Its success in 2004 and 2005 made them to go for all out war. Tamil united liberation front was ineffective in countering sinhala majority. It was in the mean time Tamil with great aura leaped into the scene like TELO, PLOTE, and EPRLF. The path breaking achievement brought by indo-srilankan accord of 1987 had a paradigm shift and promised a genuine federal structure which was undermined by the LTTE. Prime minister chandrika Kumaratunga offered a union of regions which has strong federal connotations which beyond the 13th amendment. But it was rejected by LTTE. The Napoleonic era saying attributed to Talleyrand "it was worse than a crime a blunder". That the LTTE made the peace process falter.

### **Post conflict management**

This is for the first time the news report seemed to quote on post conflict (May 7, 2009, TNIE). UN secretary general Ban ki moon made rajapaksa offered post conflict peace facilitation for the first time in a bid to convert the island government's victory over the LTTE into a durable settlement of the underlying Tamil question. The srilankan government renamed the remaining area under occupation by the LTTE inside the No fire zone as new safety zone. Post-prabhakaran need to address two big tasks 1. rehabilitation of hundreds of thousands of Tamils and an enduring political solution based on far going devolution of power to the Tamils in their areas. There was an interview to the Hindu by President rajapaksa on the human drama of 300000 Tamils fleeing the LTTE in the weeks before its elimination as a military force and their present condition in the vauniya IDP camps. The camps in the country are the best with the supply of money from the EU giving electricity, water, television and schools. (July 6, 09).

### **Mediation lackluster**

Mediation though offered by different governments found no favors owing to its diabolical and dubious distinction. They either play a soft corner towards the militants and at the same time rivet to double standards in protecting the territorial integrity of the state which has termed the mediator role as ambivalent and has failed to bring amiable settlement between the disputing parties. Newspapers can serve as envoys in achieving the target of this record.

### **Tamils butchered**

The women and men who escaped from the no fire zone had witnessed forcible siege of young boys and girls to be used as shields to the panic of parents and tortured to meet the ends of the army. The UN procured satellite images aired on BBC and Al-Jazeera purportedly showed craters created by shelling and aerial bombardment by the military inside the no-fire zone (NFZ).

### **Humanitarian crisis**

The EU is deeply concerned about the humanitarian crisis of the victims caught in the conflict zone. The interviews with civilians in the camps in the north of the country were conducted by a reliable

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third party whose identity is known as guardian. The names of those interviewed have been changed to protect their identities. Access to the camps has been restricted by the government. United Nations human rights council is an intergovernmental body and they have adopted srilanka's counter resolution with some of the proposals in the EU draft and not Swiss-EU draft resolution in identifying war crimes.

**CONCLUSION**

In reporting international news this tendency of the commercial media is often emulated by the state and public media as well. International conflict often tends to divide the world community into at least two camps. The national media tend to take the side of their own country. All media thus tends to dichotomize, demonise and dramatise. International conflict is often reported as the goodies against baddies cowboys against Indians us against them.

Truth tends to be the first casualty of international conflict and its media coverage. Instead of providing in depth analyses of the contexts of international conflicts the news media tend to focus on the episodic and fragmentary accounts of the most dramatic moments largely leaving out the preceding causes and antecedent consequences. What is worse, the global media are also creating an illusion of knowledge.

Sample	Date	Newspaper	Direct News	Editorial	Feature	Cartoon	Interview	Photograph	Letter to editor
Sample-1	January 24, 2009	The Hindu	3						2
Sample 2	January, 26, 2009	The Hindu	1						9
Sample 3	January 27, 2009	The hindu		1					6
Sample 4	January 29, 2009	The hindu							3
Sample 5	January 31, 2009	The express		1					
Sample 6	January 30, 2009	The express	1						
Sample 7	February 2, 2009	The express		1					
Sample 8	January 25, 2009	The express	1						
Sample 9	February 4, 2009	The express	1						
Sample 10	February 4, 2009	The express			1				
Sample 11	February 4, 2009	The hindu		1					
Sample 12	February 5, 2009	The hindu	1					1	
Sample 13	February 6, 2009	The express	1					2	
Sample 14	February 6, 2009	The hindu	1					1	5
Sample 15	February 18, 2009				1				
Sample 16	February 24, 2009	The hindu	1						
Sample 17	February 24, 09	The express	1						
Sample 18	February 25, 09	The hindu	1						1
Sample 19	March 8, 2009	The express	2						



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sample	date	nps	Direct news	editorial	features	Letter to the editor	photograph	interview	cartoon
Sample 1	May 3, 2009	The express			1				
Sample 2	May 2, 2009	The hindu		1					
Sample 3	May 4, 2009	The hindu	2						
Sample 4	May 7, 2009	The hindu	1						
Sample 5	May 7, 2009	tnie	1						
Sample 6	May 8, 2009	The hindu	1				1		
Sample 7	May 9, 2009	The hindu	1						
Sample 8	May 21, 2009	The hindu			1		1		
Sample 9	May 29, 2009	The Hindu	1						
Sample 10	May 19, 2009	The hindu		1					

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Sample	date	Newspaper	Director news	editorial	feature	photograph	Letter to the editor	cartoon	Interview
Sample1	April18,2009	The express		1			3		
Sample2	April22,2009	The hindu		1					
Sample3	April24,2009	The express	1						
Sample4	April22,2009	The express	1			1			
Sample5	April 27,2009	The Hindu			1				
Sample6	April 26,2009	The express	1						
Sample7	April 29,2009	The express	1						
Sample8	April 29,2009	The hindu							1
Sample9	April 25,2009	The Hindu	1						
Sample10	April 21,2009	The express	1						
Sample11	April 24,2009	The hindu			1				
Sample12	May 1,2009	The express	1						
Sample13	May 3,2009	The express	1						
Sample14	May3,2009	The hindu	1						

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