

Fundraising Dinner

**To Challenge the UK ban on Liberation Tigers
Tamil Eelam (LTTE)**

18 April 2020

London



**Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam
(TGTE)**



Preface

The booklet contains a brief account of TGTE, Political Projects and Tamil Liberation struggle from 1948 to 2020.

This booklet can be a reference material to members, supporters including youths and non -Tamils.

This booklet is prepared in conjunction with the Fundraising Dinner at London to challenge the UK ban on Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

TGTE has been marching a journey towards Accountability, Justice, Reconciliation, Reparation and a Permanent Political Solution for the Tamils under the premiership of Mr. Visuvanathan Rudrakumaran.

This is a basic document and it can be developed further to suit our needs.

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1. What is Tamil Eelam and *Mullivaaiikkaal*

1.1 What is Tamil Eelam

Eelam

Sri Lanka is located on the southern tip of India. Eelam is a Tamil name for the island of Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) that was changed in 1972 by amending the Constitution without Tamils consent.

Tamil Eelam

Tamil Eelam is a proposed independent state that Tamils in the island of Sri Lanka and the Tamil diaspora aspire to create in the NorthEast of Sri Lanka.

Tamils are a distinct people, in possession of traditional homelands North East of Sri Lanka.

They are living Northern and Eastern (NorthEast) Provinces of Eelam. Northern Province consists of 5 districts namely *Jaffna*, *Kilinochchi*, *Mannar*, *Mullaitivu*, and *Vavuniya* and occupied predominantly Tamil speaking people. Vanni region consists of three districts naming *Mannar*, *Mullaitivu*, and *Vavuniya*.

The Eastern Province consists of 3 districts *Batticaloa*, *Trincomalee*, and *Ampara*. One-third (1/3) of the current population in *Trincomalee*, and *Ampara* districts are Sinhalese who were colonized by the successive Sri Lankan Governments in a well-planned manner since 1948.



1.2 What is *Mullivaaiikkaal*

Mullivaaiikkaal is a small strip of land against the Eastern sea and located in *Mullaitivu* district, Northern Province. It was the site of a “No Fire Zone” in the last stages of Sri Lankan war (May 2009) while also being the site of a massacre of Tamils, and of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.



2. Formation of Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE)

- The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam were silenced by 20 countries in May 2009.
- The Advisory Committee consisting of 12 experts¹ was established and the report on the formation of provisional TGTE was published 15 March 2010;
- The democratic elections were held for the TGTE in countries where a substantial number of Tamils live. The formation of TGTE was held from 17th to 19th May 2010 at the National Constitutional Centre, Philadelphia. The Constitution was adopted by the second Assembly from the 30th September 2010 to 1st October 2010 in New York;
- Parliamentary Term 1 of the Parliament was from 01 October 2010 until 01 October 2013.
- Parliamentary Term 2: The Parliament was dissolved on 01 October 2013 and democratic elections were held on 26 October 2013 in countries where a substantial number of Tamils live. The Parliament term was 5 years.
- Parliamentary Term 3: The Parliament was dissolved on 01 December 2018 and democratic elections were held on 27 April 2019 in countries where a substantial number of Tamils live.

About Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE)

The Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE) is a democratically elected Government of over a million strong Tamils (from the island of Sri Lanka) living in several countries around the world. It's based on the principles of nationhood, homeland, and self-determination. TGTE was formed after the mass killing of Tamils by the Sri Lankan Government in 2009.

TGTE thrice held internationally supervised elections among Tamils around the world to elect 132 Members. It has two chambers: a Parliament and the Senate. It also has a Cabinet of ten Ministers and the ministries are:

- a) Finance
- b) Coordinating Prime Minister's Office
- c) Country Structures and Sports
- d) Information and Communication
- e) Homeland Relations
- f) International Affairs and Organisational Liaison
- g) Community Health, Welfare and Education

¹ Prof Francis Boyle (USA), Prof J Chandrakanthan (Canada), N Jeyalingam (USA), J Jeyalingam (USA), Karen Parker (USA), P Ramasamy (Malaysia), V Rudrakumaran (USA), Prof Peter Schalk (Sweden), S Seevanayagam (Australia), Prof N Sriskandarajah (Sweden), Prof M Sornarajah (UK), Louis Vasanthakumar (UK).



- h) Youth, Culture and Heritage
 - i) Political Affairs
 - j) Human Rights, Mass Atrocities and Prevention of Genocide
- TGTE Secretariat –Representing United Nations

TGTE is leading a campaign to realize the political aspirations of Tamils through peaceful, democratic, and diplomatic means and its Constitution mandates that it should realize its political objectives only through peaceful means.

TGTE seeks that the international community holds the perpetrators of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide against the Tamil people to account. TGTE calls for a referendum to decide the political future of Tamils.

The Prime Minister of TGTE is Mr. Visuvanathan Rudrakumaran, a New York -based lawyer.





3. TGTE's Political Projects

3.1 Ongoing Political Projects

- a) Victim driven International Justice Initiative
- b) Challenge on the UK ban on the Tamil Tigers
- c) Challenge on the Indian ban on the Tamil Tigers
- d) Monitoring Accountability Panel (MAP)
- e) Yes to Referendum
- f) International Day of the Enforced Disappearances
- g) Universal Dossiers Report
- h) Lobbying Governments, INGOs and International Community
- i) Compiled a case against Sri Lanka's Sixth Amendment with United Nations
- j) Global Signature Campaign- You are not Forgotten
- k) Trees for Justice to Demand Justice for Tamils killed in Sri Lanka
- l) *Mullivaikkaal* Memorial Lecture
- m) Tamil Eelam National Card
- n) Finance

3.2 Past Political Projects

- a) Promulgation of Tamil Eelam Freedom Charter
- b) International Protection Mechanism for Tamils in Sri Lanka
- c) Legal Action against Sri Lankan Genocide
- d) International conference on "Say No to Sri Lanka"
- e) Dirty Dozen – Names of the first lot of Sri Lankan War Criminals and Genocidaires
- f) Evidence Collection Project – OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL)
- g) Refer Sri Lanka to International Criminal Court (ICC)- Million Signature Campaign

3.3 Nation Building – Massive Action Plan

15 identified Projects

3.4 Refer to the Booklet of TGTE's Ongoing Political Projects, Past Political Projects, and Massive Action Plan for details

3.5 Other Ministries and their Projects

Plan and Implement the Humanitarian Projects (Martyrs' families, Education, and others)



3.6 Meetings and Conferences

- Monthly Parliamentary Sittings, Cabinet fortnightly meetings and other regular committee meetings;
- TGTE Parliament Sittings in Philadelphia, NY x 3, Buffalo, London, Dortmund, Paris, LA;
- Publications: Annual Reports; Booklets, Souvenirs, Press Releases, Resolutions, Position Paper, Tamil Freedom Charter, Data collection;
- Meetings: London x 3, Berlin x 5, Durham, Kuala Lumpur, Paraguay, Mauritius, South Sudan x 2, Geneva UN HRC, Zurich;
- Conferences : Genocide (London), Tamil Solidarity (Kuala Lumpur and Penang), Maveerar Naal 2015 (Yangon), Vaddukoddai Resolution 40th Anniversary 2016 NY, May 18 Mullivaykkal 1st Memorial Lecture 2015 NY – , May 18 Mullivaykkal 2nd Memorial Lecture 2016 NY – , May 18 Mullivaykkal 3rd Memorial Lecture 2017 NY – Alush Ghashi Kosovo Advisor to Government; May 18 Mullivaykaal 4th Memorial Lecture 2018 - Prof Heather Ryan; May 18 Mullivaykaal 5th Memorial Lecture 2019-Mr. Ladu Jada Gubek who played a major role in South Sudan's Referendum;
- Town Hall Meetings in various cities around the world.
- For more information please visit : <http://www.tgte.org> and <http://www.tgte-us.org>.





4. The Tamil Liberation Struggle from 1948 to 2020 in Chronological order

Part 1: Post - Independence Discrimination of Tamils and other Minorities

1948 – British granted independence to Ceylon under the “ Solbury Constitution” The parliament, with its Sinhalese majority, legislated to disenfranchise Tamils of (recent) Indian origin who have lived there for generations. The Tamil people lost almost half of their representation in the Parliament.

1956- The Sinhala Language was made the only official language by legislation, disadvantaging Tamil speaking people-in dealing with the state administration and denying them equal access to education and employment. Tamil leaders who staged a peaceful protest (Gandhian style Satyagraha) outside the Parliament were assaulted by Sinhalese mob.

1957- Bandaranaike – Chelvanayakam Pact was signed between the Sinhalese Prime Minister SWRD Bandaranaike (Sri Lanka Freedom Party or SLFP) and the Tamil leader SJV Chelvanayakam (Federal Party or FP) to meet the demands of the Tamil people for a degree of self-rule in their homeland.

1958-The Pact was unilaterally abrogated by the Sinhalese Prime Minister to pacify the extreme elements among the Sinhalese Buddhists. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist monk, for his pact with Tamils in 1959. First large-scale anti-Tamil riots occurred, leaving more than 200 people dead and many homes, businesses and other assets destroyed.

1965- Senanayake- Chelvanayakam Pact was entered into with another Sinhalese Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake (UNP) was never implemented by the Sinhalese-dominated government.

1969- The Privy Council in London directed the Supreme Court in Sri Lanka to review the constitutionality of the Official Language Act (Sinhala Only Act), since it violated Section 29(2) of the Solbury Constitution.

1971- The government responded by abolishing appeals to Privy Council. The Tamil people’s only avenue to seek justice through independent judiciary came to an end.

1972-The new Republican Constitution was adopted, and imposed on the Tamil without their consent, under the Prime Ministership of Srimavo Bandaranaike (SLFP).

The only legal safeguard granting rights and protection to minorities, i.e , the entrenched, unalterable Section 29(2) of the Solbury Constitution, was abolished.

The country’s name was change was changed from Ceylon to Sri Lanka (Sinhala name) and Buddhism was given ‘foremost place’ among the country’s religions, further alienating the Tamils and other minority communities. The Constitution, especially Article 9, was used



Justice for Tamils

above all by the Buddhist Sangha, to rationalise discriminatory practices, particularly in the fields of education and settlement.

1973- Through a process of standardisation and district quota systems the government restricted entry of Tamil students to Universities (Tamils, on instances, had to score up to 30% more marks than Sinhalese to enrol into certain courses). Similarly processes were adopted in state sector employment.

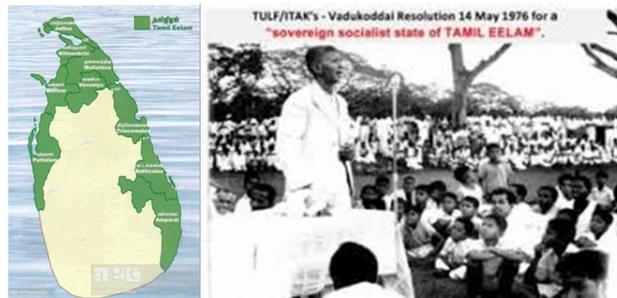
1974 Jan – The Fourth International Conference on Tamil Studies held in Jaffna was sabotaged by Sinhala-police causing deaths of 9 people and several injured on the last day of the 8-day conference.

A young Tamil, Pon Sivakumaran was seeking revenge and committed suicide on 5 June 1974 at the age of 23 years when he was cornered. He is the first Tamil “martyr”.



1976 : Tamils united under TULF – Tamil United Liberation Front

The Vaddukodai Resolution was unanimously adopted at the First National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) on 14 May 1976, Chairman S J V Chelvanayakam, to a “ Free, Sovereign, Secular Socialist State of Tamil Eelam to safeguard the existence of the Tamil Nation in this country”.



The tyranny of the Sinhalese state and its brutal repression of the Tamil people led to the formation of the **Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) – a Tamil militant group under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran.**

1977: Historical mandate of the Tamil people – The Tamil people treated the general elections as a referendum on independence, and gave a clear mandate (more than 82% Tamils voting in favour) to re-establish their sovereignty.



August 1977: Second large-scale Anti –Tamil riots occurred following the election in August 1977 few months after becoming the Prime Minister, leaving more than 300 Tamil dead. Tamil owned properties were destroyed and over 40,000 people rendered homeless.

1978: The Westminster-style was replaced by a **highly-centralized power of an executive presidency**, once again without Tamil participation, further eroding minority rights.

1979 The draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) was implemented in 1979. President J R Jayawardena (UNP) declared war against Tamils and moved armed forces into the North, under the pretext of eradicating terrorism that resulted in severe oppression and killing Tamils.

May 31- 2 June 1981: Under this PTA, **the Jaffna Public Library, the biggest in Asia and once seen as a cultural hub for Tamils, which held over 95,000 volumes of irreplaceable Tamil literature was burnt down by the Sri Lankan Government under the Premiership of J R Jayawardena.**

July 1983 -Sri Lankan state and its armed forces carried out arbitrary arrests and detention without trial, torture and rape, violence against women, and summary executions of the Tamil people. The era of mass exodus of Tamil refugees, both internally and internationally began.

A major anti-Tamil pogrom (referred to as “Black July”) took place all over the country excluding the traditional Tamil areas of the North and East. More than 3,000 Tamils died, and over 150,000 became refugees, many fleeing to India and the West.

The rioters had managed to identify Tamil homes and properties using voter enrolment lists provided by government officials, and this had seriously implicated the government’s role in the riots.

The perpetrators of the pogroms were not charged and held accountable. Tamils who suffered during any of the pogroms have never been compensated. These horrific pogroms of July 1983 instigated many Tamils to join the LTTE.

8 August 1983: Sixth Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution

The 6th amendment was passed to the constitution banning the advocacy for the establishment of a separate state in the island of Sri Lanka.

Part 2: Tamil Militancy and Sri Lankan Military Offences

1984 – Eelam war 1 erupted. Tamil residents in Manal Aru (area linking the Northern and Eastern provinces) were murdered and chased away, and vacated areas were colonised with around 25,000 ex-convict Sinhalese settlers. “Security Zones” were set up stifling freedom and economic activities in the NorthEast.



1985: First attempt at peace talk between the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the Tamil militants, known as Thimpu talks, was mediated by India. The Tamils presented preliminary four demands: (1) the Tamil to be recognized as a distinct community, (2) recognition and guarantee of the territorial integrity of the traditional homelands of the Ceylon Tamils, (3) right of self-determination of the Tamil nation, and (4) recognition of citizenship and fundamental rights of all Tamils who regard Ceylon a their home. These demand were rejected by the GoSL.



1987 Conflict in the North drove 850,000 people to starvation, and India intervened. India and Sri Lanka signed the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord and Sri Lanka accepted India's offer to send a peace-keeping force (IPKF) into the NorthEast of the country to oversee peace in the area.

Provincial Council Bills and the 13th Amendment to the 1978 Constitution granting limited devolution of power to provinces was adopted, and the Northern and Eastern provinces were temporarily merged into a single administrative unit.

1988- War broke out between the IPKF and the LTTE. IPKF with more than 100,000 personnel was found to have committed many atrocities including rape and murder of Tamils (over 8,000 Tamil civilians were killed) and the LTTE put up a strong resistance.

1989 – Ceasefire and peace talks between President Premadasa (UNP) and the LTTE.

1990- The IPKF departed from Sri Lanka (after losing around 1250 personnel), and the NorthEast Provincial Council was dissolved. Talks between the GoSL and LTTE failed, and **Eelam War II** erupted. GoSL declared economic embargo against NorthEast in the island of Sri Lanka.

1991 – The former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was killed in an explosion in Southern India.

1993 – The former Sri Lankan President Premadasa died of a bomb explosion in Colombo.



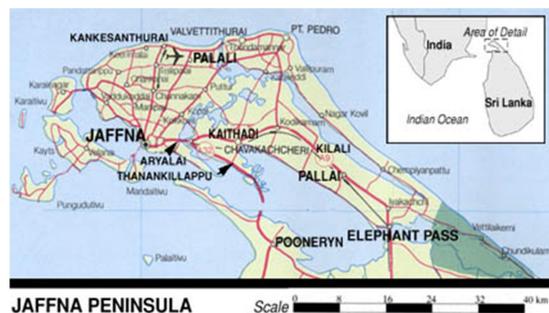
1994-1995 – Ceasefire and four rounds of peace talks took place between President Chandrika Bandaranaike (SLFP) and the LTTE. Peace talks failed and Eelam War III began. Sri Lankan armed forces started indiscriminate aerial bombing and shelling of population resulting in large scale casualties.

October 1995 – Historic Exodus- The entire Tamil population of over 400, 000 evacuated the Jaffna peninsula in one night fleeing the advancing Sri Lankan State Forces that for almost two weeks carried out aerial, naval and land operations (‘Riviresa 1’). They captured a ‘ghost city’ and the Defence Minister hoisted the Lion Flag in Jaffna, further humiliating the Tamil people. The government reacted angrily to the magnanimous appeal made by the UN Secretary – General for aid to the displaced victims.

1996- GoSL put out a draft proposal to resolve the ethnic conflict, and due to severe opposition from Buddhist clergy and sections of Sinhalese parties, it was further watered down, later scrapped.

2000 - Areas captured by the Sri Lankan army over three years were re-captured by the LTTE within a few weeks (“Operation Unceasing Waves”).

In April 2000, the LTTE captured Elephant Pass, thought to be the largest and impregnable military complex in the island. The battle of Elephant Pass, is considered as the biggest military debacle in the history of the Sri Lankan military.



LTTE established a de-facto state covering almost two-thirds of the land mass of the Tamil Homeland.

Part 3 : Failure of Norwegian Mediated Peace Talks and the End of War

2002 – Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) was signed between the GoSL and the LTTE with Norway as the chief facilitator (also involved were US, EU and Japan). In September, after a long delay, the ban on LTTE was lifted by the GoSL to enable them to take part in peace negotiations.

2003 – Six rounds of peace talks took place. In the Oslo talks (2002), both parties agreed to “**explore a political solution founded on the principle of internal self-determination in areas of historical habitation of the Tamil-speaking people, based on a federal structure**



within a united Sri Lanka". However, the talks were temporarily suspended due to differences over non-implementation of the agreements reached during the earlier sessions.

In October 2003, the LTTE submitted its proposal for Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA), i.e., a proposal for self-rule within Sri Lanka. But, President Kumaratunga rejected it out rightly claiming it was against the interest of national security.

2004- The Tamil National Alliance (TNA), which pledged its political support to the LTTE, won almost all 22 seats available for the NorthEast Tamils during the Parliamentary elections.

The Tsunami struck Sri Lanka on Boxing Day, causing the death of nearly 35,000 people and irreparable damage to the infrastructure. The worst hit regions were the NorthEast coast (i.e, Tamil areas) facing the Bengal Sea. Distribution of the tsunami relief to the Tamil speaking areas was slow due to Sinhala-dominated government giving priorities to Sinhala-speaking area.

2005- After a long delay, the Provisional Tsunami Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS) was established with representatives from GoSL, LTTE, and the Muslim community to manage about US\$4.5 billion worth of aid promised by donor countries for rebuilding the Tsunami affected Tamil areas. Extremist Sinhala – Buddhist parties opposed P-TOMS), and blocked its implementation through court order.

Undeclared **Eelam IV** started.

2006 –The merged NorthEast province (enacted according to the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka accord) was de-merged through Supreme Court order for technical reasons, and the government seized the moment to divide the Tamil homeland permanently by establishing a separate Provincial Council for the East against the Tamil people's will.

2008-In January - GoSL unilaterally ended the CFA with the LTTE after six years, during which six rounds of peace talks were held facilitated by the Norwegian Government. Escalation of conflict was mainly due to the failure of the GoSL to implement agreements reached between both parties.

September- GoSL ordered UN agencies and International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGO) to leave Tamil areas, and banned foreign aid into the region. It announced its decision of an aggressive military attack on the Tamil Region, and barred media reports from the war zones reaching the International Community.

2009- The Sri Lankan government despite calls from International Community as well as many human rights groups, escalated its military campaign against the LTTE in the North. The 30 year civil war came to a close with massive civilian casualties with aerial bombardment and shelling.



February- Sri Lanka warned Western diplomats, foreign journalists and aid groups that they would be “chased” out of the country if they appeared to favour the Tamil Tiger rebels.

17 May - The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam silenced their guns for the last time. The last battle took place in *Mullivaaikkaal*.

Many surrendering senior LTTE cadres and their family members were allegedly killed by the Sri Lankan forces.

18 May – The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam were silenced by 20 countries. Sri Lanka declared a total military victory.

Part 4: Post-War Scenario

Genocidal *Mullivaaikkaal* War in May 2009



August 2009- UK Channel 4 News presented shocking video footage showing Sri Lankan troops summarily executing Tamils (Note: the GoSL- called the video a ‘fake’; however, the UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions carried out extensive investigations and concluded on January 2010 that the video was authentic.

The pogrom in May 2009 prompted UN Secretary- General Ban Ki-moon to appoint a Panel of Experts to report on the scale of killings. The three investigations by United Nations Council were undertaken.

31 March 2011- Secretary-General’s Panel of Expert’s Report on Accountability in Sri Lanka

The Secretary -General appointed as the members of the Panel Marzuki Darusman (Indonesia), Chair; Steven Ratner (United States); Yasmin Sooka (South Africa). The panel formally commenced its work on 16 September 2010. The Panel’s mandate is to advise the Secretary – General regarding the modalities, applicable international standards and comparative experience relevant to an accountability process, having regard to the nature and scope of alleged violations of international humanitarian and human rights law during the final stages of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka.



The panel found credible allegations associated with the final stages of the war. Between September 2008 and 19 May 2009, the Sri Lanka Army advanced its military campaign into the Vanni using large-scale and widespread shelling, causing around 330,000 civilians were trapped into an ever decreasing area.

Please visit for more information:

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/POE_Report_Full.pdf

Secretary General's Internal Review Panel on United Nations Actions in Sri Lanka (Petrie Report)

The Panel of Experts stated that “[a] number of credible sources have estimated that there could have been as many as 40,000 civilian deaths”. Other sources have referred to credible information indicating that over 70,000 people are unaccounted for (para 34 of the report). It is feared that casualties could have exceeded 100,000.

Please visit for more information

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/The_Internal_Review_Panel_report_on_Sri_Lanka.pdf

15 July 2014 -OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL) (A/HRC/30/CRP.2) Mandated by Human Rights Council Resolution A/HRC/25/1

In March 2014, the HRC adopted resolution A/HRC/25/1, requesting the United Nations High Commissioner for Human rights to “undertake a comprehensive investigation into alleged serious violations and abuses of human rights and related crimes by both parties in Sri Lanka during the period covered by the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) – 21 February 2002 until 15 November 2011.

The OISL will be supported and advised throughout by three independent, distinguished experts, appointed by the High Commissioner in accordance with Resolution A/HRC/25/1: Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Ms. Silvia Cartwright and Ms. Asma Jahangir.

Please visit the link for Report of the OISL,

https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session30/Documents/A.HRC.30.CRP.2_E.docx

1 October 2015- Following the Report of the OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL), dated 16 September 2015, the UN Human Rights Council Resolution on ‘Promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka,’ the Sri Lankan Government undertook to establish accountability mechanisms to address the crimes committed during the Sri Lankan armed conflict. These will include a special criminal court with foreign judges and prosecutors.

Phase 1 (November 2015 to December 2016): TGTE appointed a panel of Internationally renowned legal experts (Geoffrey Robertson QC– Consultant, Justice Shah, Richard Rogers, Marie Guirad, Heather Ryan, Peter Haynes QC). It is called Monitoring Accountability Panel



(MAP) .The MAP would provide independent monitoring, advice, and recommendations, focussing on the effectiveness of accountability measures from a victim's perspective;



March 2017-The SL has made little progress and the request of GoSL, the Resolution (A/HRC/34/L1) was rolled over for 2 years until March 2019;

Phase 2 (January 2017 to March 2018): TGTE has extended the services of the MAP (Geoffrey Robertson QC– Consultant, Richard Rogers, Heather Ryan, Peter Haynes QC)) until March 2018 with the extension of resolution;

UN Special Rapporteur Mr Pablo de Greiff last week in Colombo to review progress made thus far, says progress is very slow;

March 2019 -Again, the resolution was rolled over for two years until March 2021.

24 February 2020-Sri Lanka's unilateral has withdrawn from Resolution 30/1 by the Gotabaya Government. They emphasised their commitment to achieving accountability and human rights within the framework of our constitution, towards sustainable peace and reconciliation- through the appointment of a domestic Commission of inquiry.

25 February 2020 –TGTE said: There is no space for Transitional Justice in Sri Lanka and call of the hour is Remedial Justice.

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