



Tsunami Response in Sri Lanka

Report on a Field Visit From 6-20 February 2005

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List of Abbreviations

AGA	Assistant Government Agent
bn	billion
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDIRAP	Comprehensive Development and Infrastructure Rebuilding Action Plan
CNO	Centre for National Operations
CPA	Centre for Policy Alternatives
GA	Government Agent
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GS	Grama Sevaka
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Aid Agency)
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISGA	Interim Self-Governing Authority
JVP	Janatha Vimukhti Peramuna (People's Liberation Front)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
mn	million
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PDS	Planning and Development Secretariat
SLA	Sri Lankan Army
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
STF	Special Task Force
TNA	Tamil National Alliance
TRO	Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation
UGC	University Grants Commission
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
VAT	Value Added Tax
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZOA	ZOA Refugee Care (A Dutch Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation NGO)

Glossary

Cadjan	Woven palm leaves
Eelam (Tamil)	Tamil homeland on Sri Lanka. Refers also to the area claimed by the LTTE as an independent state or autonomous area
Goyigama	Highest Sinhala cultivators' caste
Grama Sevaka	Government official at lowest administrative level
Janadapathi	President
Kachcheri	District-level administrative office
Pradeshiya Sabha	Elected Council at Divisional level
Vellalai	Highest Tamil cultivators' caste

Summary of Major Findings

- A. The tsunami that hit Sri Lanka on December 26, 2004 has had a massive human, physical, economic and social impact. It caused over 30,000 fatalities, displaced over half a million people and ruined the livelihood of over 200,000 persons. The total damage due to loss of assets and output is over US\$ 1.5 bn. In addition, there is damage to the environment and an increase in overall vulnerability to natural hazard, conflict and economic and political stress.
- B. The tsunami hit the poorest districts of the island and again the poorest population groups within those districts. Especially the war-affected regions and communities were among the most vulnerable.
- C. The delivery of services in Sri Lanka is usually characterised by clientelism and patronage politics. The donor community has devised guiding principles for the tsunami aid in order to safeguard a balanced and equitable distribution of resources, but their effectiveness in terms of real-life application is doubtful. Our findings suggest major problems in this regard.
- D. Rescue services and immediate relief have been provided to tsunami survivors nearly instantaneously by a variety of local actors, among which the government was remarkably absent or discouragingly slow in other areas. People's initiatives, efforts by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and incidental actions of the armed forces and the Special Task Force stood out, along with more exceptional efforts by individual government servants. Initial aid was provided to victims, irrespective of ethnicity, caste or religion and created some level of solidarity in the divided nation.
- E. The tsunami aid politicised as soon as the central government and politicians started to call the shots. Differential patterns of aid distribution and instances of neglect and delay led to a climate of suspicion and accusations of exclusion, partiality and corruption. Especially the east and the north felt left out on the basis of their belonging to the minority groups of Tamils and Muslims. The east had little clout at central government levels due to being divided and politically fragmented, while the LTTE alleges that the government was obstructing aid being delivered to areas under their control. These imbalances were, however, partly offset by a higher presence of international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the east and the generous donations from the Tamil diaspora to the north.
- F. An even-handed and equitable distribution of aid is undermined by political interests at the centre, by characteristics of the aid industry itself and inherent problems of the government's attitude and performance vis-à-vis the beneficiary population.
- G. Aid has become a political commodity. It is subject to political strife and manipulation. This is evidenced at the level of the executive as well as by efforts of other stakeholders to gain political mileage and popular support out of their attempts to 'help' the victims. Others use public platforms and the media to discredit political rivals on the issue of aid, or raise suspicions about their motives or behaviour.
- H. Sri Lanka has been facing an avalanche of over 170 registered international, governmental and non-governmental agencies offering assistance in addition to the countless local level initiatives. These figures, however, may be seriously underreporting reality. This has led to an oversupply of aid in some

places (especially in the east) with considerable negative side effects, inter-agency competition, a lack of co-ordination and a certain loss of professionalism or ‘mission creep’. In certain instances the survival needs of organisations have pushed the humanitarian imperative to the background.

- I. The recipient population has perceived aid by the government in a highly critical manner. This had to do with instances of diversion and corruption, a generalised mistrust in the attendant political motives and ethnicised and caste-based biases, ambiguity with regard to rules and decisions, and a lack of communication, consultation and top-down planning which is widely seen as insensitive to people’s opinions and preferences.
- J. Gender issues are insufficiently taken into account.
- K. The relationship between the tsunami and the tsunami aid on one hand the prospect of peace or conflict on the other is not straightforward. Apart from the initial feelings of compassion and solidarity among the different communities, a number of more negative factors have been identified. These include, among others, assertions of aid maldistribution and blockage and accusations of abusing the situation for the protagonists’ own benefit. It was also observed that opportunities to transcend differences in this hour of national need were missed or ignored, including the establishment of a so-called ‘joint mechanism’ for aid management.
- L. In the end, however, the tsunami’s impact or the aid attached to it will not be the determining factor for peace. This has simply to do with the LTTE’s appreciation of its political space for reaching a sufficiently satisfactory solution in view of their ‘historically legitimate grievances’ and the ambitions crystallised in their proposal for an Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA). On the other side, it will be determined by the ability of the Sinhalese polity to come to some type of politically acceptable accommodation with the LTTE’s demands and the aspirations of the Tamil community at large that can count on sufficient support in the south.

Introduction

1. This report documents the observations made during a field visit to the tsunami-affected areas in Sri Lanka by Georg Frerks and Bart Klem.¹ The visit took place from 6-20 February 2005; about six weeks after the tsunami hit Sri Lanka.
2. The purpose of the visit was to get a first hand view on the tsunami impact and the response by the involved actors. The emphasis was on data gathered in the affected regions itself, as we felt that reality from a regional perspective would look significantly different from a Colombo-based or donor perspective. Moreover, making field visits to the different affected areas and talking to various groups of tsunami survivors and aid providers, would allow for a differentiated understanding of the diversity of both impact and response. For this reason we also report salient parts of our interviews and quote several newspapers to allow the reader an insight in the discursive aspects of Sri Lankan reality.
3. The trip took us to Colombo (6-8 February), the Matara, Weligama and Dikwella AGA Divisions in the south (9-10 February). We visited Rekewa, Uruwella and the town of Hambantota (11 February) in the Hambantota District. We stayed from 12-13 February in Pottuvil, Sammanthurai, Kalmunai, Maruthamunai and Akkaraipattu, from 14-16 in Batticaloa and Kattankudy, and from 16-18 in Killinochchi and Mullaitivu. On 19 February we had the last discussions and debriefings in Colombo and left on 20 February 2005.
4. We held 57 interviews, some of which were group interviews. These included general key informants, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission (UGC), Vice-chancellors and university staff, (Addl.) Government Agents (GA), and Assistant Government Agents (AGA), Grama Sevakas (GS), managers and staff of district-level Disaster Management Teams or Disaster Information Units, representatives of local and international Non-Governmental Organisations (INGO) and Community-Based organisations (CBO), tsunami survivors (both women and men, and people in welfare centres and transit camps, and those staying with relatives), camp co-ordinators and staff as well as volunteers, army units, including a Belgian regiment, the Sri Lankan Army (SLA), the Special Task Force (STF), the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the LTTE's Planning and Development Secretariat (PDS) and other wings, and the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO). A complete list of interviewees is provided in Annex 1.
5. We would like to acknowledge the assistance and time provided by all those organisations and individuals. We want especially to mention and sympathise with those who have lost members of their family, their houses and belongings. We thank the Ruhuna University, South Eastern University, Eastern University and the LTTE for providing us with accommodation in the affected areas.

¹ Georg Frerks is professor of Disaster Studies at Wageningen University and professor of Conflict Prevention and Management at Utrecht University. Bart Klem is a research associate at the Conflict Research Unit of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. Both have a long-standing research involvement with Sri Lanka. Due to logistic reasons the present report has not yet been edited on the English language.

The Tsunami Impact: An Overview²

6. The magnitude of the earthquake in the Indian Ocean near the west coast of Northern Sumatra triggering the tsunami was extremely high: 9.0 on the Richter Scale. It was the largest earthquake of the last forty years and the fourth largest in the world since 1900. The devastation it caused was massive.

General Impact

7. The tsunami hit the coasts of Sri Lanka on 26 December at about eight o'clock in the morning local time. Thirteen out of a total of 25 districts were affected and more than two-thirds or 1,000 kms of the island's coastline. However, the pattern varied according to local physical circumstances, including the prevalence of natural barriers such as mangroves and sand dunes. The percentage of the coastal population affected ranged from less than 20 percent in the Galle, Matara and Hambantota Districts, up to 78 and 80 percent in the Amparai and Mullaitivu District. Yet, also in the first mentioned districts there were pockets with severe or nearly total damage. In the affected areas itself, only a small strip of 500 metres or less was damaged, if located at elevations below 3 metres. In the northeast around Mullaitivu, however, the waves entered 2-3 kms inland.
8. The tsunami has done damage to the environment, especially to coral reefs, the marine ecosystem and (protected) freshwater bodies and fishery breeding grounds that have been affected by saline water. A significant impact on flora and biodiversity is to be expected. Other environmental issues include soil erosion, the disposal of debris and surface and groundwater pollution.
9. The tsunami hit southwestern, southern, southeastern, eastern and northern coastal areas. Consequently, all major population groups – Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims – were affected, though the percentage of the population affected was the highest in the Amparai and Mullaitivu Districts, with concentrations of especially Tamils and Muslims. The Batticaloa and Amparai Districts together comprise 43% of the affected population island-wide. As will be elaborated below there was initially an unusual level of inter-ethnic solidarity and support for the tsunami victims of all communities. Unfortunately, the ethnic aspect later became a contentious factor with regard to the allocation, distribution and access to aid.

Human Impact

10. In Sri Lanka loss of life due to the tsunami has been recorded per 1 February 2005 at 30,974; people still missing amount to 4,698; the number of injured stands at 15,196, while the number of displaced was 558,287. It is estimated that about 99,000 privately owned houses are completely destroyed and about 45,000 (partially) damaged. In the affected areas 13 percent of the housing stock is destroyed or damaged with replacement costs calculated between US\$ 437-487 mn. Some of the displaced are still in temporary 'welfare centres' located in

² Figures and texts in this section are derived from the '*Preliminary Damage and Needs Assessment*' prepared for the Sri Lanka 2005 Post-Tsunami Recovery Program by the Asian Development, the Japan Bank for International Cooperation and the World Bank (January 1-28, 2005) and a World Bank document '*World Bank Response to the Tsunami Disaster*', dated February 2, 2005.

public buildings, temples and schools, while others have been relocated to semi-permanent transit camps or have moved to relatives and friends. About 200,000 people have lost their livelihood or employment. More than 5,000 village industries have been destroyed and many self-employed craftsmen, such as masons and carpenters, have lost their implements.

11. Many of the survivors must be seriously traumatised, but there are no reliable figures on this. Most victims were unfamiliar with the natural phenomenon 'tsunami' and resorted to a religious explanation. People from the different religions - Muslims, Buddhist, Hindus and Christians – referred to stories about a deluge. Many people saw the tsunami as a sign from the Gods, either a warning or even a punishment. In line with these views, many of the so-called counsellors currently active in the country took a religious perspective when addressing the people.
12. A closer look at the victims shows that relatively many women and children died, as men were away from home at the time, while a larger proportion of them could swim and they ran faster when the waves came. The most affected districts in the south and the east represent 26 percent of the island's population, but only 17.5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and are on average relatively poor. It is documented that within this larger spectre again especially the poorest sections of the population have been hit, such as poor fishermen's families or illegal squatters along the railway line. The World Health Organisation's (WHO) Situation Report of 14 February 2005 states that 80 percent of the affected households lived on less than one dollar per day/person before the tsunami struck and that 30 percent of the affected population was living well below the official poverty line. In the north this proportion may be even higher.
13. In the east the affected population includes people who lived in camps for internally displaced along the coast as a consequence of the twenty years civil war that devastated large parts of the north and east of the country. Before the tsunami hit, there were still 390,000 conflict-related internally displaced persons in Sri Lanka according to figures by the United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees (UNHCR).³ The war made these populations extremely vulnerable in economic and social sense. The resulting lack of resilience will of course affect their possibilities to overcome the impact of the tsunami. Groups that are particularly vulnerable and require special attention include orphans, widows, single-headed households and elderly and disabled persons.
14. There was also a fear that anti-personnel mines and unexploded ordnance would have been spread around through the tsunami and constitute a danger for the inhabitants of the affected areas. In retrospect it seems that this problem has been small or non-existent and is anyway under control by now.⁴

³ See UNHCR. *UNHCR outlines post-tsunami role in Sri Lanka*.
<http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/tsunami?page=news&id=42038a474>

⁴ See: UNDP. *Effects of Tsunami on Landmine and Unexploded Ordnance in Sri Lanka*.
http://www.undp.org/bcpr/pubinfo/news/srilanka_jan_05.htm

Physical Damage

15. The damage done to property, the environment and the economy has been considerable. The overall damage is estimated at US\$ 1 bn, representing 4.5 percent of GDP. Replacement needs are, however, often higher than the damages recorded, not only due to the depreciation of old stocks, but also due to the need to adhere to new rules and higher ambitions. In this way flaws and drawbacks from the past can be corrected and improvements achieved compared to earlier.
16. Apart from the loss of assets, there is also a loss of output, such as in the fisheries and tourist sectors. Total output losses in the affected area for 2005-2006 are estimated at some US\$ 330 mn or 1.5% of GDP. The overall incremental financing needs amount thus to US\$ 1.5-1.6 bn. This excludes relief expenditure by the government. The government of Sri Lanka, however, has been giving higher figures (up to 3.5 bn), basing itself on a more ambitious and comprehensive recovery and development program that also tackles problems and shortcomings that were already conspicuous in the pre-tsunami era. This was also echoed in the Post-Tsunami Reconstruction of Sri Lanka Workshop organised by the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA)⁵:

With respect to CDIRAP (Comprehensive Development and Infrastructure Rebuilding Action Plan), CPA advocates a forward-looking national policy that will achieve not only reconstruction of infrastructure, but also sustainable human development. ... CPA also proposes that a disaster management strategy be adopted as part of CDIRAP.

17. Compared to the losses in private assets, the damage to public infrastructure has been relatively small. The costs of destruction of power lines and transformers remained limited to about US\$ 10 mn. In the field of sanitation and water supply damage amounts to about US\$ 42 mn. Railways and roads have been damaged, including structures such as bridges and culverts. Total damages in the transport sector amount to US\$ 85 mn.

Economic Damage and Effect on Livelihood

18. It is estimated that two-thirds of the island's fisheries sector has been wiped out leading to a loss of employment of about 100,000. Some 27,000 fishermen and their family members have died and 90,000 families were displaced. 65 percent of the fleet has been destroyed or damaged, including outboard motors, fishing gear and nets. Damage to harbours and to facilities is considerable. The total damages in the fisheries sector are at about US\$ 97 mn.
19. The damage to the assets in the tourist sector is estimated at US\$ 250 mn. Unemployment in the tourist sector and tourist-related services is estimated at 27,000 jobs with another 6,000 at risk.
20. Agricultural damage is limited to standing crops. An area of about 2,300 hectares has suffered damage as well as 2,500 home-gardens. The intrusion of seawater has led to high levels of soil salinity making these fields unsuitable for production for

⁵ CPA, *Report on the Post-Tsunami Reconstruction of Sri Lanka Workshop*, 20 January 2005, Colombo.

the next few years. People have lost their domestic livestock, including poultry and goats, but the numbers are fairly low. Damage to irrigation and drainage systems is limited. Overall damage to the agricultural sector is about US\$ 3 mn. Some 30,000 jobs have been lost, but most of these losses will be temporary.

21. There are some macro-economic and fiscal aspects that are worthwhile mentioning. The World Bank calculates that the economy will grow 1 percent less as a result of the tsunami, i.e. with 5 instead of 6 percent in 2005. Fish production will drop from a pre-tsunami level of about 300,000 tons to 200,000 tons, while tourist arrivals will drop by some 175,000 to 425,000 in 2005. In contrast, the construction sector will grow from 6 to 9 percent in 2005, while the extra demand of commodities and building materials will create an extra inflation of between 1-2 percent. Imports will also increase, leading to larger deficits on the current account as well as on the trade balance. As the government is also able to raise more value-added tax (VAT), the impact on revenues by the government is modest, but it is faced with higher expenditures leading to a larger overall budget deficit. This again can be partly compensated by higher international grants or a moratorium on debt relief.

Social Impact

22. With regard to education, 168 public schools, 4 universities and at least 18 training or vocational centres have been destroyed or damaged, including equipment, furniture, learning tools, library facilities. Total damage to the educational capital stock is estimated at around US\$ 26 mn. Likewise, in the health sector clinics, hospitals, offices and drugstores were destroyed or damaged as well as equipment and vehicles. The damage to the health sector is about US\$ 60 mn.
23. There are also less visible consequences of the catastrophe. Apart from the effects of individual and group trauma on society, people have lost crucial parts of their networks and social capital. Their coping capacities and resilience may have been seriously affected leading to increased vulnerabilities for future adversity, whether through natural hazard, conflict or political or economic pressure. It is also open to speculation how the tsunami and the resulting aid will influence gender identities, relationships and dynamics in society and within the household.

Diverging Assessments

24. Exact data with regard to the tsunami impact remain an issue of debate. The government, international financial institutions, NGOs, universities and so on have all made assessments and the numbers do not necessarily add up to a coherent picture. Especially when it comes to the required inputs, the figures diverge. To safeguard a greater influx of support, actors may inflate their needs. A more fundamental issue is that the level of ambition may differ. While international donors normally gear their assessment to some form of restoration of the pre-tsunami situation, the government has developed more ambitious plans to settle some traditional challenges once and for all. As a result the required costs are much higher.

The Tsunami Response

Conceptual Aspects

25. The impact of and especially the response to the tsunami can only be understood when placed in the proper politico-social and institutional context. Whereas there is a normal tendency to look at the adequacy, effectiveness and efficiency of the organisations and institutions involved in providing the humanitarian aid, it would be a mistake to take such organisations and institutions in Sri Lanka at face value.
26. The Sri Lankan state, its government as well as many local organisations have the formal trappings of western institutions, derived as they are from a colonial past (government) or contemporary western examples (many NGOs and CBOs) and thereby seem to be closely resembling Weberian types of bureaucracy or participatory, democratic organisations at local or grassroots level respectively. However, this may be nothing more than an outer façade with a rather different underlying *modus operandi*.
27. In the tsunami response, the realities of relief aid and rehabilitation cannot be grasped when assuming a fairly monolithic or homogeneous, systematic, a-political and a-personal, formalised type of government. The government avails of formal structures and a frame of operational rules and procedures, and it represents human and material resources, networks, interfaces and capacities for international mobilisation. However, we want to posit that the effective operation of those assets depends on the way political and societal actors are using those assets and how this is linked to their overall political, societal and ideological perspectives and interests. The government may sometimes better not be seen as an agent necessarily acting for the common good, but rather as a structure through which individual agents operate for their own benefit. From an entitlement perspective, we would argue that access to state services, control over state machinery and proximity to central state authority are probably the most powerful entitlements in Sri Lanka.
28. As among others observed by Sunil Bastian, Sri Lanka's electoral and political system historically evolved into a system of patronage and operates through 'patronage politics'. "... [T]he institutionalisation of a system of patronage politics, that keeps the elected members happy, has almost become another mechanism through which the elected members are politically managed. The hallmark of this patronage politics of the political class is the use of state resources and state patronage for personal accumulation as well as distributing patronage to party members, family members, the caste network etc. etc. As a result electoral politics is dominated by a simple straightforward desire to grab power, so that there can be access to resources and influence that state power provides."⁶
29. As this logic is also documented elsewhere sufficiently, we suffice by stating that the distribution of institutionally (state) controlled benefits in Sri Lanka follows dynamic patterns of clientelism and political patrimonialism that tend to be highly opportunistic, if not simply corrupt. Also in the post-tsunami context, the

⁶ Sunil Bastian (n.d.) *Electoral systems and political outcomes*. (unpublished draft paper, p. 9)

diverging patterns of aid mobilisation and utilisation in the different regional contexts of Sri Lanka can only be explained with reference to such a nuanced understanding of the operation of the structures and procedures of (state) governance.

Pre-Existing Vulnerabilities Due to the Conflict

30. Conflict ridden areas were extra vulnerable to the impact of the disaster and many people living there have received several blows within relatively short periods, whether by man-made disaster or natural hazards. Many of them have faced multiple displacements or have lost their livelihood for again another time. In some cases (for example Muslim settlements) the people most affected lived close to the coast, because they had been displaced by the war earlier and were unable to find a better plot of land.
31. In addition to these vulnerability issues, the response capacity was limited as a result of the conflict. There were structural institutional weaknesses, such as a hybrid system of governance in the LTTE-controlled areas. A lack of resources, war-related destruction, brain drain and a lack of human capital affected the level of service delivery negatively. In the immediate aftermath of the disaster, performance was compounded by dividedness in the east and alleged obstruction by the government in the north.
32. Distribution of resources has traditionally been a major issue of contention, with ethnic-, regional- and caste differences as the determining factors. This tradition provided the tsunami with a fertile soil for social dissent. The relative impact of the tsunami and the subsequent aid response directly impinged upon the relations between these groupings. Initially, the tragedy seemed to transcend social boundaries and caused a wave of trans-ethnic, -regional and -caste solidarity. Very soon, however, contention featured prominently. Distribution with regard to caste (Goyigama and Vellalai versus coastal castes, mainly fishermen), region (north, east and south all feel left out in their own way) and ethnicity (local and inter-regional perceptions of Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese) will continue to be inflammatory for some time to come.
33. The clientelistic attitude, type of governance and patronage politics characterising Sri Lanka's political system may seriously compound or undermine the required even-handed approach.
34. In an attempt to influence the distribution and management of tsunami aid, the donors have formulated a set of 'guiding principles' as listed below. These principles have formally no link to those formulated to guide the so-called 'Tokyo process', in which donors formulated principles with regard to the peace process. These principles were communicated as benchmarks with regard to aid disbursements. Though a formal link was denied, the 'guiding principles' and 'Tokyo principles' are quite akin on closer inspection. At present, it remains somewhat unclear whether these principles have been 'reaffirmed' or 'formally adopted' by the other parties involved in the tsunami aid, especially the government and other key stakeholders, and what type of sanctions will be applied in the case of non-compliance. Also within the donor community there may be less consensus than the adoption of the guiding principles may suggest. Like in the

case of the Tokyo principles, donors vary widely in their support to a principled approach. Some deem it unnecessary or unviable, while others will only pay lip-service to it, but will hardly persist when they are not or half-heartedly applied, let alone put in place sanctions in the case of non-compliance.

*Donor Guiding Principles for a Post-Tsunami Reconstruction Strategy*⁷

- The allocation of domestic and international resources should be guided by identified needs and local priorities
- There should be no discrimination on the basis of political, religious, ethnic or gender considerations
- The recovery strategy should strengthen the peace process and build confidence
- The reconstruction strategy should be sensitive to the impact on neighbouring, but unaffected communities
- The reconstruction activity should be designed and implemented at the lowest competent tier of government (subsidiarity) to enable locally appropriate solutions, the engagement of sub-national structures, capacity building and the strengthening of different levels of governance and civil society organisations
- To secure the mid and long-term needs of the victims, solid consultation, local decision-making and full participation in reconstruction activities is essential
- Interventions should respect local religion, culture, structures and customs
- There needs to be adequate communication and transparency in decision-making and implementation. This refers to policies, entitlements and procedures, as well as to resource use, including 'zero tolerance for corruption'
- Reconstruction should reduce future vulnerabilities to natural hazards by adopting a multi-hazard risk approach
- Interventions need to be assessed with their impact on prospects for peace and conflict, on gender, on the environment and on governance and human rights
- Revenues resulting from debt relief should demonstrably benefit the tsunami victims
- Efforts need to be properly co-ordinated between all relevant stakeholders

35. The discussions at donor level on the relationship or not between the Tokyo process and humanitarian work and on the guiding principles seemed to be far removed from the debates and practice in most regions we visited. The northern region is an exception here, as both TRO officials and people in the village were concerned about massive unconditional funding to the government and suspected the Economic Resources Division of the Ministry of Finance in misdirecting the aid to the south.

Rescue and Immediate Relief

36. In the immediate aftermath of the tsunami, rescue and life saving activities have been undertaken nearly instantaneously. Necessary medical aid was given within hours, dead bodies were buried and relief aid was mobilised within a day.

37. The good news is, therefore, that most people that needed assistance have received at least food and some form of shelter. Apart from the unavoidable death toll by the tsunami impact itself, significant numbers of victims have been saved, while the number of secondary victims seems to have been very low. It is a formidable achievement that no outbreak of communicable diseases has taken place. Horror

⁷ These are derived from section 'D. Guiding Principles of the Needs Assessment and Recovery Strategy'. *Preliminary Damage and Needs Assessment* prepared for the Sri Lanka 2005 Post-Tsunami Recovery Program by the Asian Development, the Japan Bank for International Cooperation and the World Bank (January 1-28, 2005), p. 7-9.

scenarios with the outbreak of diseases, starvation or massive riots have not become a reality.

38. This success was due to a host of local governmental and non-governmental actors as well as individuals, most of which acted on their own, but which in a number of cases also became somewhat more co-ordinated or organised such as by the local (A)GA (Matara), the INGOs and/or army (east), the LTTE or TRO (LTTE controlled areas⁸). In the first days many groups were seen working jointly in the hour of need, including unexpected partnerships such as between LTTE and government, Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and army, STF and civil society groups. Many of those groups were said to have grown beyond their traditional roles. “The forces have even helped Tigers. Likewise, the LTTE too has helped save affected security personnel”, writes D.B.S. Jeyaraj in the *Sunday Leader*.⁹ In Amparai the STF and the TRO had been working together well in the early stages, but this was later reversed due to political interference. The STF had also worked with the Dutch NGO ZOA in organising community cooking. Even a few weeks after the tsunami the involvement of the forces remained considerable, especially with regard to the clearing of rubble. The GA, however, is the coordinating authority, the military emphasizes.
39. In the first weeks after the tsunami foreign forces arrived to help with clearing the debris and repairing physical infrastructure. A Belgian regiment had been posted in Weligama in the Matara District and had assisted in clearing the affected areas as well as had helped to repair fishing boats and outboard motors. They also hoped to put up houses with funds from the Belgian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence. In the southeast the Indian army was rebuilding the bridge connecting Pottuvil and Arugam Bay.
40. The role of the central authorities at the initial rescue and relief stage was, however, minimal. Some officers were absent due to the holiday season, while others also got affected by the tsunami itself and were unable to help out. There were also strong indications that the central government was completely overwhelmed by the situation and lacked the resources for a quick and effective response. Consumer Affairs Minister Jeyaraj Fernandopulle acknowledged in a forum discussion held in Colombo that the state apparatus was unprepared and inexperienced to face a tragedy of the magnitude of the tsunami. Some observers mentioned that the government’s accountability structures, and rules and procedures make it ‘naturally’ slow and reactive. In several instances, there was inaction, delay and negligence.
41. Apart from a mostly deficient immediate rescue and relief response, the government had introduced a standard compensation scheme for all tsunami survivors in the Island. In circular No. SDD/2005/1 issued on 5 January 2005 by the Director of Social Services the following instructions were given with regard to the provision of facilities to victims of the tsunami disaster.

⁸ Especially Mullaitivu and Vadamarachchi East, but possibly Vakerai as well.

⁹ Jeyaraj, D.B.S. ‘Sri Lanka: The State that failed its people’, *The Sunday Leader*, February 6, 2005

- *The relief assistance could be given to genuine victims of the disaster as given in this letter without taking into consideration income levels;*
- *Rs 15000/-- is provided to meet funeral expenses of a dead person on account of this disaster;*
- *Rs. 15000/-- could be paid to the most senior relative of a family unit in case of group burial where bodies were not identified after establishment of sufficient evidence on the death and the relationship of the remaining senior relative. If such a person is a minor that amount of money could be deposited in Savings Account opened in a State bank in his name;*
- *In the provision of dry rations each member of a family unit could be issued with a dry ration worth Rs 375,-- per one week or two weeks at a time;*
- *A payment of Rs. 2500/-- could be made for the purchase of kitchen utensils.*

42. Though the scheme was generally welcomed, it was criticised by many on the fact that only those who had lost a house or their relatives were eligible for support. Yet, many people had lost their employment and sources of livelihood without receiving anything. In addition, the implementation of this scheme faced a lot of delays and problems. In fact, the Commissioner General of Essential Services himself said during a press conference that by 1 February – over five weeks after the tsunami – only 30 percent of the eligible 960,000 people had received state compensation. The Addl. GA of the Amparai District admitted that by 13 February still 28,000 persons were waiting for the ration card in his district. Batticaloa had received the first cards on 16 January, but there were not enough. Only 179,000 out of the 254,000 needed had been given. The Kachcheri had asked for the remaining 75,000 on the 20st of January, but had got no reply till mid-February. The World Food Programme (WFP) reported that delays in the issuing of coupons had affected the food distribution process in most districts, especially in the Batticaloa District. This overall picture suggests that that non-state actors and parallel structures of governance have dominated the initial tsunami response. In addition, there have been examples of local government officials and army units who have performed immediately and acted courageously, even to the degree of losing their own lives. The striking differences in local level responses and delays suggest that an alternative, more political interpretation can shed additional light on the issues at stake (see below).

43. A salient characteristic at this first stage was the outpouring of aid from all over the country across ethnic, religious and regional differences. Though this may have added to the somewhat chaotic impression of the first few days, it in fact has been indispensable to provide survival aid to the tsunami survivors. Aid came from individuals, companies, universities, temples, mosques and churches, schools, women and other local level grassroots groups. Mr. Azeez, chairman of the Disaster Management Organisation in Maruthamunai, a heavily affected Muslim town in the southeast, told that in the first week truck loads full of aid had come from all over the country. It did make many observe that there is a basic kind of solidarity between the different groups in Sri Lanka and in society at large that is able to bridge the differences. As Mr. Dissanayake wrote in a letter to the editor of *The Island*¹⁰: ‘Irrespective of race, caste, creed and shades of political affiliation, people rose up to provide whatever assistance they could to feed, cloth

¹⁰ Dissanayake, R.M.A.B. ‘Post tsunami programmes and their fallout’, *The Island*, February 10, 2005.

and find shelter for the mass of tsunami victims ...’ Some people argued that this was the hour to unite when all had been hit in the same manner, though others said that none of the political issues had been changed by the tsunami and that politics was already re-emerging through the thin veneers of mutual help and solidarity.

Political and Regional Dynamics

44. Once the immediate relief was over, according to a respondent “politics crept in and messed up the whole thing.” This was a sentiment that was broadly shared in Sri Lanka and in the press. Jeyaraj concludes his article in the *Sunday Leader* as follows¹¹:

The people of Sri Lanka who displayed commendable inter-ethnic solidarity amidst the tsunami tragedy must realise that this government and the politicians running it will ruin things once again. Inter-ethnic dissension will be promoted to divide the people so that the ‘corrupt’ ones can have a field day as usual. The state that failed its people at their hour of need must not be allowed to disrupt the climate of amity again. The people who did not fail their fellow people must come forward as one nation and prevent the evil machinations of the state. Otherwise, Sri Lanka will be in the throes of a permanent man-made tsunami.

45. Though the bulk of the immediate tsunami response was local, all regions (the south, east and north) depended to some extent on the centre (Colombo) for a large-scale, more structural response. Expectably, this will also be the case with the rehabilitation phase that will require a lot of funding, and to a lesser degree for the building and maintenance of the transit camps. The access of the three regions with regard to central resources varies greatly, but all regions in fact had to struggle. There has been a long-standing discourse of a divide between a Colombo and elite-based central government and the poorer provinces and districts in the periphery that are said to be ignored, deprived and exploited by those elites and the state.
46. With regard to the tsunami there is a widespread perception that the President assumed firm control over major aid flows. With the creation of various Colombo-based co-ordinating bodies, headed by personal confidants, the President even sidelined her own ministers and their machineries. The way regions deal with this centralisation differs.
47. The basic pattern in the *south* is one where the local government structures, local organisations and politicians operate in unison and mutual alliance to effect the necessary work. The JVP carries out its own activities and this was initially seen as a useful complement both by the authorities and certainly by the population, but at present the aspect of political competition becomes more salient and the atmosphere could turn more acrimonious. In the south there is less support from international NGOs. Local government officials and the army in the south have used all their powers and responsibilities to get things done without waiting for the central authorities to instruct or guide them. The Addl. GA for Matara, for example, requisitioned cars and trucks from owners and food from shopkeepers, to be paid later by the government. All bills had been paid within three weeks time.

¹¹ Jeyaraj, D.B.S. ‘Sri Lanka: The State that failed its people’, *The Sunday Leader*, February 6, 2005.

This latitude of operation has been lacking in the east and the north. Also the building of the transit camps had been done well, as shown by the example of the Solis camp in Matara.

Solis camp is named after the original owner of the piece of land where the camp now is established. The land was vacant and owned by the People's Bank that had made the land available free of charge. There are 30 families living in the camp, making a total of 111 inhabitants. Many of them are relatives of one another as they come from the same fishing village. The camp has been set up by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and has been paid by the Japanese government. The sheds are made from corrugated iron and canvas. Though each family has a fairly spacious room and a small 'verandah', there is little privacy. Sanitation facilities are, however, adequate and there is also an office for the visiting officials, a pre-school, a medical post and a common kitchen. The Grama Sevaka visits the camp daily. Doctors, nurses, counsellors, barbers, social welfare officers and policemen also come daily or very regularly. In the camp there are no ethnic, caste or other problems and the people express satisfaction with the services they get, though they are naturally traumatised and worried about the future.

The Prime Minister took the lead in the specially designed programme 'Helping Hambantota'. His electorate lives in the Hambantota District. He has been able to mobilise aid and official action quickly. Aearly February, eighteen fishing families from Uruwella had already been issued 20 perches of land located more inland, where they now lived in tents, but where soon houses would be built for them, paid by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ).

48. The *east* has been characterised by a lack of coherence and a serious degree of ethnic, political and social fragmentation that has disabled collective and unified action. This reflects earlier tension and struggle between the government, local structures, army, STF, LTTE and TRO, and the Karuna faction, resulting in a type of power vacuum. It also reflects differences between the majority and minorities, especially in the Amparai District. The Members of Parliament (MPs) (especially the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), but the Muslim MPs as well) have no clout at the central level and have been unable to put their area on the agenda or to assure the necessary support from the centre. Some district and divisional authorities have allegedly acted with levels of indifference, delay and inertia. This has evoked strong criticisms from the population and civil society, who assign this sluggishness to the fact that the interior side of Amparai District is inhabited by Sinhalese and so is the district capital: Amparai town. One respondent added that many government officials sent to the east are less capable or motivated. 'They only send human vegetables to this place,' he commented. A humanitarian worker complained about an eastern Sinhalese District Secretary: "He is really good for nothing, totally inefficient and ineffective and on top of that corrupt." Another informant called the same official "indifferent, lethargic and not concerned about minority people." Others took a milder perspective and argued that government officials have very limited (political) space of manoeuvre. "How many GAs are willing to put their job on the line?" one of them said.

49. Whatever being the case, the issuing of the ration cards has been discouragingly slow in the east, where we observed that cards were still being issued nearly seven weeks after the tsunami. Individual agents and civil society as well as the international NGOs, however, have tried to provide the leadership and co-ordination that were lacking with the authorities. It seems that the government has resigned to this idea and division of labour. The head of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Batticaloa, Andrea Jones, said: "It is not that NGOs are filling the gaps left by the government. The government says: "This is your show." In fact, the government was not at all prepared." In many cases, UN agencies have worked closely with the government, for example by having a permanent presence in the Kachcheri to collaborate with government staff. In Muslim areas, mosque federations have taken up a leading role. In parts of the east the TRO has assumed the responsibility for organising the camp management. Though some observers were critical of the real motives of the TRO, others welcomed the initiative, as the government was clearly unable to do it and a level of authority was needed to control the situation in the camps, which the TRO was thought to represent. The role of international NGOs that have grown in the east from a dozen to around eighty in the post-tsunami period has been highly significant, but this has created its own problems and dysfunctions. Many of the newly arriving agencies did not take the effort to register or attend co-ordination meetings.
50. One striking factor in the east, is the limited ability of Muslim politicians to serve their electorate. Basic aid has come off the ground in the Muslim towns along the east coast, but there was discontent as well. Given that there is a considerable number of Muslim MPs as well as some cabinet ministers, many people were surprised that no more assets had come to the Muslim towns.
51. The *Vanni* displays a centralised and well-co-ordinated approach both with the immediate rescue and relief operations and the subsequent phases. The central actors have been the LTTE, TRO and PDS. The LTTE and TRO acted very swiftly after the tsunami hit, as evidenced by some excerpts from an interview with the PDS Emergency Task Force Coordinator, but also affirmed by other observers.

"Initially the Sea Tigers rescued the survivors and wounded, and the TRO had been providing cooked meals to the welfare centres that were established in the schools in the area. The TRO also provided transport and other services. The Tamil Eelam Health Services were on duty within one hour after the tsunami hit the area. The Sea Tigers had collected the dead bodies and they made photographs and videos so as to enable relatives to identify their kin. Then they put the bodies in mass graves.

The TRO and PDS received a lot of aid from INGOs. The policy was that all aid was channelled through the TRO warehouses and that thus inequities and tensions would be avoided. In this way goods would end up with the intended users and not in the market as otherwise would be the case. INGOs were only permitted to distribute goods if there was enough for all families; otherwise the TRO would join different donations till there was enough. However, if needed foreign agencies were provided a photo opportunity for home to show that the goods had been effectively delivered."

These institutions, it was stipulated had gained experience with massive displacement and humanitarian suffering throughout the war, and particularly during the exodus from Jaffna. It also became clear that in the LTTE controlled areas the TRO exercised a dominant coordinating role with regard to the aid coming from outside. Also the building of transit camps was well organised despite resource constraints. The Silavathi transit camp with 107 cadjan-roofed two-room brick houses was built between 17 January and 5 February, including wells, toilets, electricity, a kindergarten and sheds for community meetings and 'reading'. This was the standard to be applied everywhere in the region, it was stressed. Apart from the standard tsunami compensation and ration card provisions (cards had still to be written on the 18th of February), there has been minimal support from the central government to those areas so far. One informant said that the assistance from the government had just been like 'a drop in the ocean'. Yet, the local authorities (GAs, AGAs and GSs and other officials, all being Tamils) were said to have done whatever was in their capacity, though they could not reckon on much support from the centre. There has been a significant contribution from the diaspora and a considerable number of international NGOs (though less than in the east) as well as from well-wishers from elsewhere in the country and the rest of the world.

Problems, Bottlenecks and Dilemmas of Tsunami Aid

52. The aid provision faced a number of bottlenecks and dilemmas that are partly due to the different prevailing political interests impinging on the aid, the 'avalanche' of international NGOs and agencies that have landed in the country and the related features of the 'aid industry', and the under-performance of the government in its tsunami response so far.

Political Interests

53. Aid has become a resource to be controlled by competing political interests and thereby a politicised issue in and of itself. Political parties try to get political mileage and gain popular support on the basis of the provision of aid and support to the local population. Though this is already a general feature of the prevailing patronage politics in Sri Lanka, the enormous amounts of aid given or pledged add to this dynamic. A fairly innocent illustration is the following anecdote told by the chairman of a local NGO in the east.

"Politics is certainly a factor. We had proposed to build 100 new houses and we had arranged for the funds. Everything was looking fine. On the day we were going to put the foundations, the whole thing was blocked by the Urban Development Authority. It transpired that they were not against the project as such, but the problem was that the Minister had wanted to open the scheme. Who the Minister is? Please, I 'd better reserve my comments. Apart from God's blessing, you need political blessing."

54. The alleged efforts by the President to exercise control over the tsunami aid bear testimony to this, as do the more modest, but politically focused efforts by the Prime Minister to serve and satisfy his constituency in the Hambantota District. The JVP has launched a highly conspicuous campaign with volunteers to assist

tsunami victims by providing first relief aid, removing debris and constructing temporary housing. Thousands of volunteers have become active.

In Balapitiya on the Colombo-Galle road we met two local JVP leaders (one was a schoolmaster and also the Pradeshiya Sabha member from a neighbouring village, and the other one a technical officer). With a dozen or so volunteers and a few carpenters and masons, they were putting up some twenty temporary dwellings. Along the road they collected money and they also had got support from a German travelling agency. They convinced the volunteers and craftsmen to work for free, but provided meals and tea on behalf of the JVP as well as the materials.

The JVP has not only reached out to the southern areas where they traditionally have most followers, but also to the southeast and the east, helping Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils alike. They have received much praise for it, though nearly everybody sees the political motive behind it to popularise the party further as well as to offer an alternative to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and perhaps to compound the President's centralising efforts. In any case, there are signs of increasing tension between both coalition partners (SLFP and JVP).

55. Parties and politicians also use public platforms, newspapers or conferences to raise suspicions about their opponents' motives and behaviour. These dynamics are also becoming manifest at the local level. One of our interviewees told us after the interview: "There is good chance that some people accuse us tomorrow of having kept some foreign money, as they have seen us talking with you Europeans for some time."

The Aid Industry

56. According to an overview dated 14 February there were 116 (registered) INGOs, 37 foreign governments or foreign governments' institutions, and 20 United Nations (UN) Agencies or Specialised Programmes active in Sri Lanka. These figures are surely underreporting the reality. On top of that, there are countless local NGOs and CBOs, and spontaneous initiatives started by civil society groups, the corporate sector and (groups of) individuals. This leads to a number of problems, including oversupply of aid, competition between (I)NGOs, loss of professionalism and a de-emphasis of the humanitarian imperative
57. There is at certain places an oversupply of aid leading to unrealistic expectations among the population and in some cases a passive attitude. Lisa Berwin wrote about such negative aspects of aid in the Daily News¹² and observed:

[People] need to feel that they are working towards their own future and not just waiting for the next handout. Those who are displaced need to feel a purpose again, they need the opportunities and the education to be able to feed themselves and help to rebuild their own homes. To wait all day to be told when to collect ready made food and watch as foreign contractors are enlisted to make new homes is not going to inspire the right nature of recovery.

¹² Lisa Berwin. 'The negative aspects of aid'. *Daily News*. February 9, 2005.

It was, for example, reported that it had become very difficult in the east to recruit labour for the paddy harvest (daily wages were said to have increased with 50 percent), as people were completely looked after in welfare camps with pre-cooked food and all other types of support. Many perhaps would like to have worked, but were afraid to lose their entitlements if they did so, as the rules were ambiguous and badly explained.

58. Even access to potential beneficiaries has become a subject of contention. Given that there is oversupply in some areas, a 'rat-race for the victims' is developing. Who will be first to provide medicines, tents, temporary shelters, houses, boats, nets, sowing machines, etc. to the victims? This will at least guarantee a level of future institutional involvement, if not survival. Also organisations fear to find themselves with goods or staff, which are no longer required, because others have met the needs. Especially international NGOs have the need to show 'action' to the home front and to make clear that the monies collected haven been spent in reality. All these moments also provide opportunities for exposure and hoisting one's flag or putting one's label on particular achievements. These NGOs are consequently nearly all in a hurry and in mutual competition against one another. This may lead to ill-prepared interventions and mistakes. It may also compound the overall quality of work, the orderly exchange of experiences and the co-ordination of efforts. Though some level of competition between aid agencies may be observed across the board, there are important differences between sectors. Housing, for example, is a popular sector for international aid agencies, because it absorbs a lot of money, it requires less intensive monitoring, people consider it a priority and it generates excellent pictures. Livelihood projects, for example, seem to be less popular. This is possibly so, because these efforts absorb less money and require a lot of local knowledge and intensive work with the beneficiaries. Finally, the results are more subtle and may thus be more difficult to 'sell' to donors or 'home front constituencies'.

Examples of aid that served no purpose at all included a Greek hospital ship that arrived in the harbour of Trincomalee one month after the disaster and polar jackets sent from colder parts of the world. Second hand clothes were also of no use, as they were the wrong sizes, did not fit the cultural context or were dirty. People also did not like to wear old clothes, even though they had lost everything they had. Some displaced were checked three times by each time a different doctor who had no clue what the earlier one had said, done or prescribed. Finally, Trincomalee has been offered over 21,000 shelters, while it needs only 8,000.

59. The rather chaotic and unco-ordinated distribution of aid also led to frustrations, jealousies and allegations of favouritism, and ethnic and caste-based biases. Many people were unaware of the exact policies with regard to food entitlements and resettlement. This was reinforced by a lack of communication and information. It also led to tensions at the local level including within camps sometimes. In Batticaloa the UNICEF office had tried to convince the GA to put out an information bulletin that made clear what the rules and procedures were in order to reduce the confusion. This had not been easy because the central government had been very slow and indecisive. In this situation, de-central governments were afraid to put their commitments in writing. After much pressurising one bulletin had been issued, and a second one was now under preparation.

60. There is an enormous spending pressure on some organisations. It was, for example, said that Caritas had some US\$ 100 mn to be spent on tsunami-related initiatives, Care about 45 mn, and Oxfam approximately 70 mn. But also smaller organisations have much more money than they were used to. ZOA worked in the past with an annual budget of some €600,000 in Sri Lanka, two years ago this had gone up to €2 mn and this year they may spend some €15 mn on tsunami and conflict-related aid together. Like some other agencies, they began to turn down donations. A sudden and large increase in budget may cause both local and international organisations to transcend boundaries of mandate and expertise. Growth may prevail over quality or organisational identity. Organisations that so far had worked only in peace-related local level monitoring and mediation or on environmental issues, now have become focal points for delivering post-tsunami aid. Medical personnel of an international NGO made important decisions about aid to the fisheries sector. Some INGOs see no problems in paying people for putting up their houses, while others believe that this should be done on a voluntary basis. Once MSF started paying the population, it made the voluntary approach of the other NGOs virtually impossible, as such differences are difficult to explain and justify to the recipients. Another effect of this spending pressure is that some prices are going up, an effect which was noticeable already for among others cement.
61. It also has happened that in their hurry to spend INGOs have sidelined local NGOs or CBOs as they find them cumbersome or slow. A Cordaid worker said that on the whole local NGOs had received only 15% of all relief aid to channel to their constituencies. Many local NGOs complain about the arrogance of the INGOs and their expatriate staff. They dominate the discussions and even dictate to the Kachcheri what needs to be done, it was said. Others, however, assert that local NGOs may have serious weaknesses in terms of capacity and management and are simply too small to undertake the gigantic tasks required at the moment. Most international organisations recruited additional local personnel and local resources.
62. Some people are critical of international NGOs for completely different reasons. General Kulatunge from the Gemunu Watch in Matara observed: “Some NGOs hand out leaflets or bibles. That’s very dangerous. Others do not give any money, but still go and take the pictures, so that they can get money from donors for themselves. Still others operate with 50% overhead.” Also some members of the Federation of Mosques and Islamic Societies in Kattankudy were suspicious of proselytising activities by INGOs. “We do not want that this big inflow of NGOs is going to disturb the local system, culture and mentality. That’s why we took the lead!”
63. There are also other distortions. The provision of free goods and commodities has disrupted the market. The government, for example, decided to start levying import taxes on ‘tsunami rice’ again, as its free distribution comprised an unfair competition to local farmers, who otherwise would be unable to sell their produce.
64. The generous supply of aid has furthermore caused reluctance among some victims to take up their daily life again and also to a lack of initiatives to promote

this on behalf of the government. The lack or slowness of the assistance in the field of livelihood recovery is astounding. We spoke to many people idling in the camps who were keen to take up their lives again, but had not been provided with the means to do so. In our interviews we met dressmakers, tailors, beauticians, masons, carpenters and mechanics who expressed a desire to start working again, but did not know to whom to turn. A spokesperson for the Sri Lanka Jamaath-i-Islami said that none of the survivors had gone back to work. Many had no place to carry out their activities, but moreover they completely lacked the necessary information on how to continue with their livelihood. Nobody had also talked to them about this issue. A diplomat said that the issue of livelihood was a blank spot for the government.

65. The above issues imply a real risk that the humanitarian imperative gets less emphasis, especially when 'survival needs' of organisations take the upper hand. This occurred when international NGOs allegedly kidnapped initiatives from one another or took whole 'sectors' out of the market (buying up supplies) in order to spend their virtually unlimited resources. This was done without properly co-ordinating or even informing the others and therefore risking major negative side effects, inefficiencies and a suboptimal response in general.

People's Perspectives of the Government's Performance

66. Though the government aid package is slowly getting into place, there have been serious shortcomings and delays. Even at present there are still inconsistencies in the interpretation and application of the rules, omissions and inequities. At the earlier mentioned CPA workshop the need for capacity building and strengthening the provincial and local authorities was emphasised. It was also said that greater accountability and transparency would be necessary in dealing with the funds flowing into Sri Lanka for reconstruction.¹³ This coincides with a strong perception among the population that tsunami aid will be misused and diverted by those in control. In the press very critical articles are being published, including an editorial under the title 'A Tsunami of Discontent'. Demonstrations of discontented victims against the government were held in such different places as Weligama, Jaffna and Kattankudy, though it was alluded by government officials that these were organised by oppositional forces. In fact, the first weeks after the tsunami several instances of corruption were reported, though it is difficult to prove whether they are based on fact or fabricated for political motives. Examples include allegations of the overvaluation of possible lands for resettlement in the Galle District that are now the property of 'an active JVP member'¹⁴, as well as fraudulent contracts for the reconstruction of the bus station in Galle.
67. Many irritations seem to derive from the sluggishness and delays involved in the operations of the bureaucracy. Action is often taken literally weeks after the tsunami. From the 26th of December onwards, a veritable 'calendar of delay' could be constructed already only on the basis of the interviews we held with officials and recipients in the regions. We suffice with some examples:

¹³ CPA, *Report on the Post-Tsunami Reconstruction of Sri Lanka Workshop*, 20 January 2005, Colombo, p. 2.

¹⁴ Sharanga Nanayakkara. 'Cashing in on resettlement'. *The Sunday Leader*. February 6, 2005.

After 8 days: a first meeting of MPs, NGOs and government has been convened in Batticaloa

After 12 days: the first significant government stocks arrive in Batticaloa

After about 20 days: the GA Batticaloa publishes a first report on the situation in the Batticaloa District

After 21 days: the first ration cards arrive in Batticaloa with a shortage of 75,000; the government is reminded four days later

After 48 days: ration cards issued in Piriya-Nilawa camp

After 49 days: 28,000 people without ration cards in Amparai District

After 51 days: still a shortage of 75,000 ration cards in Batticaloa

After 53 days: first ration cards issued by Grama Sevaka in Mulliyavallai in LTTE-held area

68. Part of the problems is also related to corrupt local level officials. The following allegations were made by the displaced in a camp in Kalmunai:

“The authorities receive a lot of aid and take it into their stocks. They release only the cheap items and keep the expensive items like tins of fish and cordials for themselves or sell them. We get only second-hand clothes that are useless.” They had piled a heap of such clothes demonstratively outside the camp. *“The rice we receive has a bad taste and causes stomach problems to our children.”*

These problems were also identified by the Public Administration and Home Affairs Minister Amarasiri Dodangoda in an interview with the Daily News¹⁵:

[Victims] said that the Grama Sevakas favoured some people who were politically on their side and some of these people were not even affected by the tsunami. The GS had included their names in the relief list leaving out some of the most deserving cases, according to the villagers. ... According to Dodangoda some government officials have come under investigation for allegedly plundering tsunami relief or demanding bribes from the victims to expedite the process. “We will take stern action against such officials and some of them have already been interdicted on fraud charges and investigations following various complaints against them are being carried out at present”, he said.

69. Disaster Management Steering Committees have been set up in the Kachcheris, Tsunami Information Centres have been installed and co-ordinating officers appointed. However, it is argued that they are not as effective and efficient as needed. It is said that local MPs do not attend the meetings or only irregularly, and that the follow-up of the decisions, if made, remains weak due to lack of capacity, resources and political backing or access. This especially applies to the east.
70. Many rules and decisions remain ambiguous, even to the local officials as a consequence of indecision at the central level. Governmental and non-governmental aid agencies as well as the people themselves, therefore, have to

¹⁵ Chandani Jayatilleke. ‘Government streamlining relief, curbing corruption’. *Daily News*, February 10, 2005.

hold back and do not proceed with their planning. Insecurity about the future even hampers short-term initiatives as it is unclear what will be possible or allowed. Lastly, people are afraid to prejudice their future or risk losing investments.

71. A case in point is the 'no-living' zone promulgated by the government. This zone varies between 100-300 metres land inwards from the coast. However, the government has not been very clear on the subject. What happens to those who used to live there? Where do they have to go? What compensation do they get? Though this is understandably a highly complicated issue, involving huge legal, political, social and financial consequences, the lack of communication has led to all types of speculations and a general feeling of insecurity among the victims. This has been made worse by 'wild' plans and megalomaniac schemes for new towns with multi-storey housing schemes.
72. As most coastal areas are densely populated, the 'no-living' zone causes a severe land problem. Resettlement will most probably lead to social, ethnic and political contentions. Many people support the zone policy, because they are afraid to return to the sea, but they neither want to leave their ancestral land nor jeopardise their livelihoods. Also, most coastal people are afraid to live close to the jungle. Many fishermen detest living in a flat and local politicians prefer not to lose their electorate to the politician in the next-door division. One alternative option is filling paddy lands in the same division with rubble, and preparing it for construction, but this will absorb a lot of time and money.
73. People perceive a lot of assessments and studies being done, but claim to have seen little substance in terms of support. There is a fear that a lot of promises are made, but that little will be done. This is consistent with expert views that many NGOs had -at least initially- no operational capacity to implement activities.
74. There are further systematic complaints about a lack of consultations, top-down planning and decision-making that is insensitive to people's preferences. Kachcheri officials told us:

"The planning process is completely top-down. There is no consultation with the people or with local groups. This is the nature of the government bureaucratic process. Before the tsunami, a four-storeyed market has been constructed here with NORAD money of which only the pavement is used, as the people do not want to do their shopping on the fourth floor. But nobody asks the people."

This seems to apply both to the government and the LTTE. One aid co-ordinator told us:

"Information from Colombo doesn't reach the people. Information is an asset that many people don't have. Government servants and LTTE officials don't tell people the truth. This is also a cultural thing. Knowledge yields a kind of power, people are not always willing to share. It allows for manipulation."

The government plans for reconstruction and relocation of people are particularly prone to criticism, as they tend to ignore local knowledge or are simply megalomaniac, unrealistic, unfeasible or unsustainable. In the Kalmunai displaced

camp a man astutely observed that all tsunami relief aid was in effect controlled by people who were not affected by the tsunami at all. In Batticaloa civil society members issued a statement¹⁶, saying that:

In Batticaloa, we have been extremely concerned that there has been inadequate consultation with community groups, let alone local practitioners and civil society activists. Decisions about large-scale projects affecting the lives of thousands of families are being taken hastily by locally-based officials of international agencies ... in collaboration with district-level representatives of the Sri Lanka government. This has been most alarming in relation to the decisions being made about temporary resettlement of displaced people. A sense of urgency has been created around this issue by the officials of international organisations and decisions about location and types of shelters are being made without any consultation with the communities themselves. It has been terrible to witness these decisions being implemented, with the displaced people being loaded into trucks to new locations without neither adequate prior information nor any influence in determining where they might wish to be sheltered. The absence of clear and accurate information through reliable channels has created much uncertainty and worry for the displaced people.

The TRO had originally delivered tents, but were criticised by the recipients that these were too hot to live in. After that the TRO had shifted to cadjan-roofed brick dwellings of relatively high quality. The TRO reportedly installed so-called camp committees to discuss pertinent matters with representatives of the population. It was in the short time available to us difficult to ascertain exactly what type of influence these committees had on the ongoing decision-making process and how they functioned in practice.

75. Moreover, people suspect ethnic, political and caste biases in the distribution and every delay or bureaucratic hurdle is explained along those lines. This also applies when one group is helped earlier than another one, which is sometimes unavoidable due to the limited manpower for processing the forms and distributing the aid. This strengthens and deepens existing views on exclusion and marginalisation and the resulting divisions.
76. In some cases the services provided to victims actually leave them better off than in their original condition (fishermen with cadjan huts, now living in a brick house). This may create resentment among the non-affected communities, which may be compounded by the fact that many of the interior communities are poorer and/or from a higher caste than the people living on the coast. These differentials are expected to raise their head in the near future and it requires a careful balancing act to manage them equitably, especially in view of the requirement that all (or most) aid will have to be spent on tsunami victims exclusively. An aid coordinator in Batticaloa observed that “the large aid efforts will benefit the tsunami victims considerably, while those who will be marginalised are paradoxically the people not affected by the tsunami.”

¹⁶ Call for adherence to established guidelines on provision of humanitarian assistance in post-disaster situations: Statement of concern by civil society members in response to recent post-tsunami development activities in the Batticaloa District.

77. Muslim women displaced from the Piriya-Nilawa-2 housing scheme had to live much more 'open lives' in the camp than they had been used to. After the death of their husbands, widows would normally observe a four-months mourning period during which they would not leave the house. This, however, was impracticable under the present circumstances. In the provision of aid gender and cultural sensitivity needs to be promoted. Aid has often been given without taking note of cultural, religious and gender issues. This harms the access and utilisation of aid by specific vulnerable categories. Girls and women living in transit camps may easily become victims of gender-based violence, while also child abuse may increase. A single mother with two teenage daughters in the Solis camp in Matara confessed that she was afraid to stay in the camp. "Everybody can walk in here". She wanted to return to an "own, safe place" as quick as possible. Another woman complained about the darkness in her camp in the east. The Women's Coalition for Disaster Management-Batticaloa states the following in a Memorandum to the Batticaloa District Disaster Operational Committee¹⁷:

- *Women in camps have expressed to us their discomfort and fears due to living in a camp situation in close proximity to unknown men. There is a lack of measures to ensure privacy, such as separate women's areas where they may change, bathe, sleep or feed babies. We recommend that every location for housing displaced persons be provided with designated (and monitored) spaces for 'Women Only'.*
- *Women are particularly concerned about the alcohol consumption by men in camps, as this increases the risk of sexual harassment, abuse and violence. We recognise that increased alcohol use is linked to the loss of men's opportunities for productive work and usual social roles. Measures must be taken to both protect women through security arrangements as well as preventative mechanisms to engage men within useful and fulfilling activities inside and outside the camps.*

On a more positive note, we could observe that in some camps clearly demarcated areas for women were installed, as well as separate sanitation, resting and cooking facilities.

78. At the regional level knowledge on, experience with and relevance of central governmental structures was very limited. Strong criticisms were voiced about the centralised, top-down and disempowering nature of the Centre for National Operations (CNO) and the different task forces as well as the irrelevance of the representative of the Janadipathi Task Force in the east. Though this person had previous experience as a deputy minister for relief and rehabilitation, he could not speak a word of Tamil or English and therefore "never said a word" according to insiders. Though he was formally the highest tsunami official at the political level, he was only every now and then present in the area. Sometimes he drove around, but otherwise he came by helicopter.

¹⁷ Women's Coalition for Disaster Management - Batticaloa. 'Concerns of Displaced Women's Welfare and Rights - Memorandum to the Batticaloa District Disaster Operational Committee'. January 12, 2005.

79. The overall estimation of the ministers and politicians in general was very low. When during an interview we heard a helicopter, our respondents remarked: “There is a politician coming.” When after twenty minutes we heard again helicopter there was a lot of fun: “Another one coming? Or the first one leaving again?” They added: “Before the tsunami, no minister ever came. Now there are so many to take note of our requests, but nothing has come out of it. They spend a lot on travelling and only make video recordings and eat luxury meals, while the people are suffering.”
80. Few people had actually noticed anything concrete from the central level. This led to suspicion and allegations of delay, blockage and corruption or abuse. The only positive remarks came about regional government officials (GA and army in Matara as well as Tamil government functionaries in the LTTE-hold areas) that had done whatever they could, even though with little support from the central government.

The Conflict and the Peace Process

81. Prior to the tsunami, Sri Lanka’s peace process had already come to a halt. Time seemed to be on the side of the government, which had so far failed to come up with a concrete stance with regard to the process. The LTTE in the mean time began to lose its patience and resorted to an increasingly aggressive rhetoric. The perceived threat of war was washed away by the tsunami; it acted as a pressure valve. At this juncture, a resumption of war was no longer a feasible alternative for the LTTE. With a major part of its constituency in despair, such an endeavour would have been lethal to its legitimacy. The tsunami impact was both conducive and obstructive to the peace process, but these effects are in the end not expected to be of determining influence. The key question with regard to the peace process is how long the patience of the LTTE will last this time? And will the Sinhalese polity be able to come to terms with some kind of accommodation or concession towards the LTTE within that time?
82. Nonetheless, the tsunami has created a new set of issues, risks and opportunities with regard to the peace process that requires attention. We have made initially already a critical assessment on the interrelationship.¹⁸
83. Though the tsunami had first created mutual feelings of compassion and unity among the people and there were many demonstrations of sympathy and solidarity, there are also a number of more negative aspects.
- First, there may be a re-appreciation of the mutual military strength of both parties. It has been speculated that military camps on both sides have been destroyed or damaged and soldiers have been killed. For example, the sea-tigers lost reportedly part of their fleet and human resources. In an interview with the Sunday Leader LTTE negotiator Balasingham talked about minimal casualties and the loss of some boats only. He suggested that the gunboats were usually kept interior and that the LTTE had not been weakened militarily in any significant way.¹⁹ Similarly, army sources said that they had lost only

¹⁸ Georg Frerks and Bart Klem. Muddling the Peace Process. Post-tsunami Rehabilitation in War-torn Sri Lanka, CRU Policy Brief, # 2, January 2005. (downloadable at <http://www.clingendael.nl/cru>)

¹⁹ Lasantha Wickrematunge. ‘Interview – JVP, cardinal factor for stalemate in talks’. *The Sunday Leader*, February 6, 2005, p. 6.

45 men, and some weaponry and equipment. There are allegations that the LTTE is recruiting child soldiers among people in welfare centres and transit camps. They in turn argue that the deployment of American and Indian soldiers for tsunami aid is in reality a disguise for providing the SLA with intelligence about the LTTE.

- Second, the (perceived) mal-distribution of aid may confirm and harden existing divisive opinions and mutual prejudices. This applies not only to ethnic divisions, but to regional and caste differences as well. The LTTE is accusing the government of blocking aid sent by the diaspora to LTTE-controlled areas by manipulating especially the procedures for customs clearing. The movement was also furious about the government stopping the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan's planned visit to the affected areas under their control. The Muslims also feel that the government excludes them. After the Friday prayers of 4 February dozens of them gathered in front of the Kalmunai Divisional Secretariat in protest against the unfair handling of aid. Also in the southern city of Weligama Muslims organised a protest march claiming that they had been totally ignored so far. Muslim leader Rauf Hakeem accused the government of "having a racist policy in [the] distribution of aid to the people of the Eastern Province".²⁰ He also lodged a complaint with the Norwegian negotiator Erik Solheim. The Island carried the following item²¹:

If the present situation in the east continues, it would cause civil unrest in the country, said Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) leader Rauf Hakeem on Monday. He told The Island that the government was facing problems due to its total lethargy in providing aid to the tsunami-affected areas, especially in the northern and eastern provinces.

- Third, the government and the opposition failed to use the occasion to establish a national government after the tsunami that also could have paved the way to a more comprehensive settlement of the national problems. In fact, parties are blamed to try and exercise absolute control in the post-tsunami setting. The President has arguably completely centralised the control about the tsunami aid and does not even seem prepared to share this power with ministers of her own cabinet. She has appointed a few handpicked confidants to key positions. A salient example is Mr. Tilak Ranaviraja, who is the Secretary of the Ministry of Public Security and Law and Order, the Commissioner General of Essential Services, and is also leading the Task Force for Logistics and Law and Order. Humanitarian co-ordinators strongly argue that the operation of the Presidential Task Forces is very disempowering. The LTTE on the other hand is accused of abusing the situation for its own advantage by reasserting its dominance, effectiveness and control. A representative of an INGO in the east asserted that the Tigers try and consolidate their position in the east and want to remove the Karuna factor. On the other side, there are also signs that the LTTE is following a more accommodative stance, for example by directly communicating to the Muslims in the east and by proposing a tsunami aid management structure

²⁰ Daily Mirror. *Rauf Hakeem replies*. February 19, 2005, p.3.

²¹ Ifham Nizam. 'Hakeem warns of civil unrest'. *The Island*. February 9, 2005.

with Muslim and Sinhala representatives, even though they will keep the majority. Sunday Leader's journalist Jeyaraj, however, claims that this only serves the movement's goal towards its proposed ISGA and its further legitimisation and access to funding.²²

- Fourth, the management and co-ordination of aid leads to mutual irritations and accusations that may grow out of hand. The slow and half-hearted attempts to set up a joint mechanism for the tsunami aid are indicative of the atmosphere and difficulties involved. However, major sections of the Sinhalese believe that collaborating in such joint mechanisms in fact amounts to accepting the Interim Self-Governing Authority proposed by the LTTE, as the newspaper The Island argued in an editorial attack on Norway.²³
- Fifth, (taxes on) aid and debt relief may have substitution effects, causing mutual suspicion and recriminations. The donor community was, for example, very upset when the government had the impertinence to purchase weapons in Iran just after the tsunami.
- Finally, there has been an attempt by the government of excluding, removing or reducing the role of the LTTE and the TRO in relief and rehabilitation efforts in the east, which has not been received well by the latter.

How the post-tsunami period will develop in view of these trends, needs to be closely monitored and attempts to create mutual mechanisms promoted and encouraged.

84. All these conflict-related issues are not only relevant as a factor determining future developments in the peace process. They also impact on the aid provision to the population. As observed above, the war-affected areas and communities were already (made) extra vulnerable in the pre-tsunami era. Uneven patterns of aid only exacerbate this situation to such a degree that the victims may end up in a vicious circle of poverty and neglect. The Daily Mirror of 19 February featured an investigative report 'Where has the tsunami money to the east gone? Batticaloa lagging behind in relief efforts'.²⁴ The conclusion of the article reads as follows:

Any relief operation that does not take into consideration the complexity of the region will only aggravate problems in the region. The increase in supplies for tsunami affected people has also in some instances meant a neglect and reduction of relief to some of the most vulnerable areas affected by war, the border villages caught between the LTTE, the Karuna faction and the army. Such neglect can in fact increase the vulnerability of people that have been at the receiving end of Sri Lankan narrow nationalism and political interests.

85. Apart from the negative factors discussed above, the tsunami may also create windows of opportunity. In the last week of February, the government and the LTTE held discussions to work out a joint mechanism for dialogue and decision-making on the tsunami aid and the rehabilitation process, while the Norwegian facilitators tried to help finding a solution. However, it seems that no significant progress has been realised. If such a mechanism were effective, it could eventually

²² D.B.S. Jeyaraj. 'Tigers playing for high post-tsunami stakes'. *The Sunday Leader*. February 6, 2005, p. 10.

²³ 'Punic Faith of Vikings' – Editorial. *The Island*. February 9, 2005

²⁴ Nimanthi Perera Rajasingham. 'Where has the tsunami money to the east gone? Batticaloa lagging behind in relief efforts', *Daily Mirror*, February 19, 2005, p. 12.

not only help the post-tsunami recovery process, but also have a positive impact on mutual relations at large. It could probably serve as a first step or basis for a more substantial solution to the country's conflict, or at least some of the contentious issues thereof.

Annex 1: list of people interviewed

1. Mr. Jan Huesken, First Secretary, Royal Netherlands Embassy (6/2)
2. Prof. Mendis, Chairman of the University Grants Commission (7/2)
3. Mr. Jeevan Thiagarajah, Director of the Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies (7/2)
4. Mr. W.W.P. Abeydeera, Sri Lanka Centre for Development Facilitation, Colombo (7/2)
5. Dr. Norbert Ropers, Mr David Whaley and Mrs. Anushka, Berghof Foundation, Colombo (7/2)
6. Mr. Sunimal Fernando, advisor to the Prime Minister, Colombo (7/2)
7. Mr. Nilan Fernando, Asia Foundation, Colombo (7/2)
8. Mrs. Anthea Mulakala, Conflict advisor DFID and chair of the Donor Working Group on Peace and Conflict in Sri Lanka (8/2)
9. Mr. Timmo Gaasbeek, ZOA, Colombo (8/2)
10. JVP coordinator camp at Balapitiya (8/2)
11. Dr. R.M. Ranaweera Banda (8/2)
12. Inhabitants of Solis kamp (9/2)
13. Inhabitants of Tottamuna (9/2)
14. Inhabitants of Polhena (9/2)
15. Mr. Thusitha Wanigasinghe, AGA Matara (10/2)
16. Prof. Ranjith Senaratne, Vice Chancellor University of Ruhuna (10/2)
17. Ms. C.P. Rajakaruna, development officer, AGA Office Weligama (10/2)
18. Major Stephane Seynaene, Belgian forces in Weligama (10/2)
19. Workers of Goal/RDA, Weligama (10/2)
20. Mr. R.D. Ranaweera, Divisional engineer SD-RDA, Weligama (10/2)
21. Inhabitants of Pelena Weligama Pradesha Sabha Camp (10/2)
22. Volunteers of Shelter Box, Weligama (10/2)
23. General Kulatunga, Gemunu Watch (10/2)
24. Inhabitants of Nilwella (11/2)
25. Inhabitants of Uruwella transit camp (11/2)
26. Mr. M.A. Piyasena, District Secretary, Kachcheri Hambantota (11/2)
27. Mr. Upali Liyanage, coordinating officer District Emergency Operations Centre, Kachcheri Hambantota, (11/2)
28. Muslim refugees in Hambantota (11/2)
29. Mr. Nali, Hotel owner, Pottuvil (12/2)
30. Mr. Fazil en Dr. Ismail of the Southeastern University, Oluvil (12/2)
31. Mr. M.B.A. Sameez Sri Lanka Jamaat-e-Islami (12/2)
32. Muslim Counsellors, Maruthamunai (12/2)
33. Mr. Rashmi, cultural officer of the Div. Secretariat, Kalmunai (12/2)
34. Mr. Azeez, chairman of the Disaster Management Organisation, Maruthamunai (12/2)
35. Mr. Abeywardene, Addnl. GA, Amparai (13/2)
36. Mr. S.C.C. Elankovan, programme manager ZOA Ampara, Akkaraipattu (13/2)
37. Mr. Shaheed, Advisor to the regional Minister of Infrastructure Development in the East and director of the advanced technology institute (13/2)
38. Col. Berty Perera, Civil Communication Officer, Tactical headquarters 23 division, Batticaloa (14/2)
39. Inhabitants of Music College Refugee Camp, Batticaloa (14/2)
40. Mr. Nirvathan Murugamurthi TRO representative Music College Refugee Camp, Batticaloa (14/2)
41. Mr. M. Navaratnam, Batticaloa (14/2)
42. Mr. Cheliyan, Ass. Commissioner Samurdhi, and Mr. Alingarathnam, Ass. Director Planning and Development, Kachcheri, Batticaloa (15/2)
43. Nicolas von Arx, Head of Sub-delegation ICRC, Batticaloa (15/2)
44. Mrs. Freja Grapendaal and Muhammed Mahuruf, Cordaid (15/2)

45. Prof. Sitralega Maunaguru, Eastern University, Batticaloa (14/2)
46. Inhabitants of the Paddy Marketing Board Camp, Batticaloa (15/2)
47. Mr. Phil Green, programme manager Batticaloa, ZOA (15/2)
48. Mr. Jabaar, Mr. Mansoor, Mr. Nawaaz and Maulavi Ilias of the Federation of Mosques and Mosque institutions in Kattankudy (15/2)
49. Mrs. Andrea Jones, head UNICEF Batticaloa and Ampara and UN focal point, Batticaloa (16/2)
50. Mr. Maran, Emergency Task Force Co-ordinator, LTTE Planning and Development Secretariat, Mullaitivu (17/2)
51. Inhabitants of Welfare Centre in the Vidyananda College, Mulliyavallai (17/2)
52. Mr. S. Barathy of the LTTE peace secretariat (17/2)
53. Inhabitants of the Silavathai Transit camp (17/2)
54. Mr. Thamilamuthan, director van de Research and Development Organisation of the administrative services of the LTTE (17/2)
55. Lawrence Cristi, Director TRO, Kilinochchi (18/2)
56. Mr. V. Sriskandavel, Project Director District Relief and Rehabilitation Secretariat and Mrs. Jeranie, Additional GA Headquarters and Mr. Mohanababan, Assistant Director Planning, Kilinochchi (18/2)
57. Prof. S.K. Sitrapalam. Dean of Graduate Studies, University of Jaffna (19/2)