

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

Research Response Number: LKA31328
Country: Sri Lanka
Date: 16 February 2007

Keywords: Sri Lanka – Colonel Karuna – Abductions – Joseph Pararajasingham

This response was prepared by the Country Research Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

Questions

- 1. Please provide any information you have about the physical appearance, age, background, etc, of LTTE Commander Karuna.**
- 2. Please provide current information about Karuna.**
- 3. Please provide information about the murder of MP Joseph Pararajasingham.**

RESPONSE

(Note: There is a range of transliteral spelling from non-English languages into English. In this Country Research Response the spelling is as per the primary source document).

- 1. Please provide any information you have regarding the physical appearance, age, background, etc, of LTTE Commander Karuna.**

“Colonel Karuna” is the *nom de guerre* of Vinayagamoorthi Muralitharan. Karuna was born in Kiran in the Batticaloa district of Sri Lanka. A 2004 *BBC News* profile of Karuna describes him as being 40 years old whilst *Wikipedia*¹ information gives his year of birth as 1966. A photograph of Karuna is printed in the attached *BBC News* profile (Gopalakrishnan, Ramesh 2004, ‘Profile: Colonel Karuna’, *BBC News*, 5 March http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3537025.stm – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 1; ‘Karuna: Rebels’ rebel’ 2004, *The Sunday Times* (Sri Lanka), 7 March <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/040307/> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 2; ‘Colonel Karuna’ 2007, *Wikipedia*, 27 January http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonel_Karuna – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 3).

¹ Users should be aware that [Wikipedia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia) is a Web-based free-content encyclopaedia which is written collaboratively by volunteers. Country Research recommends that users of Wikipedia familiarise themselves with the regulatory practices which Wikipedia employs as a preventative measure against vandalism, bias and inaccuracy.

Karuna joined the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in 1983 and within a few years became its top commander in his native Batticaloa province. He was reportedly at one stage the bodyguard of the LTTE leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran. His key achievements with the LTTE were in the north when he is said to have been the strategist behind the Jayanthan Force which helped the LTTE successfully resist the Sri Lankan army's Operation Jayasikuru in 1997-1998 (Gopalakrishnan, Ramesh 2004, 'Profile: Colonel Karuna', *BBC News*, 5 March http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3537025.stm – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 1; 'Karuna: Rebels' rebel' 2004, *The Sunday Times* (Sri Lanka), 7 March <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/040307/> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 2).

According to the *BBC News* Prabhakaran promoted Karuna in 2003 to the rank of special commander for the eastern Batticaloa-Amparai districts (Gopalakrishnan, Ramesh 2004, 'Profile: Colonel Karuna', *BBC News*, 5 March http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3537025.stm – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 1).

In March 2004 Karuna, with the several-thousand-member LTTE force under his command, split from the LTTE (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.3,18 – Attachment 4; International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, p.8 – Attachment 5).

In April 2004 the LTTE launched an overwhelming assault against Karuna's group. Karuna disbanded his forces and escaped with a small group of his supporters. In a gesture which won him favour with the local population, he encouraged about 2,000 child soldiers to return to their families (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.18 – Attachment 4; International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, p.9 – Attachment 5).

However, Karuna's group gradually re-asserted influence in both government and previously LTTE-controlled areas in the east. Small-scale fighting and escalating tit-for-tat killings between the LTTE and the Karuna group persisted into 2006 (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), pp.18-19 – Attachment 4; International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, p.9 – Attachment 5).

Also in 2004, Karuna organised the political party Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (Tamil Peoples Liberation Tigers or TMVP). Throughout 2006 the TMVP established offices in Colombo and in towns in the eastern districts. Karuna, as president of the party, expressed a willingness to contest future elections. According to a December 2006 UN report the party is unregistered (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.19 – Attachment 4; Hariharan, R. 2004, 'Karuna in Politics: Old War Horse in a New Mantle', South Asia Analysis Group website, 19 October <http://www.saag.org/papers12/paper1148.html> – Accessed 3 November 2005 – Attachment 6; United Nations 2006, *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Sri Lanka*, Security Council, S/2006/1006, 20 December, p.2/footnote 4

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/667/18/PDF/N0666718.pdf?OpenElement> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 7).

HRW reported that the Karuna group maintains four or five camps in an area under government control, some ten kilometres west of Welikanda. A map published by HRW (p.2) shows Welikanda as the headquarters of a Sri Lankan Army division. An army post is also shown close to Karuna's camps (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.2,6 – Attachment 4).

By 2006 Karuna's group had become an ally of the government and a key source of intelligence for the Sri Lankan security forces (International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, p.9 – Attachment 5; Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.3,18 – Attachment 4).

The International Crisis Group (ICG) noted that Karuna had a reputation for brutality and military brilliance (International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, p.8 – Attachment 5).

2. Please provide current information about Karuna.

Split from LTTE

One source mentioned that Karuna split from the LTTE in March 2003; all other information in the sources consulted confirm the split occurred in March 2004.

A UNHCR report states that on “3 March 2003 a long-standing rift between the LTTE in the East and the LTTE in the North” came to public attention when Karuna broke away from the LTTE. The March 2003 date was not confirmed in other sources consulted as the date of the split. Also, in context of the report this appears to be an error and the year should read 2004 (UNHCR 2004, *Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum-Seekers from Sri Lanka*, April, p.13 – Attachment 8).

Sources indicate that Karuna, with the several-thousand-member LTTE force under his command, split from the LTTE in March 2004 (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.18 – Attachment 4; International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, p.8 – Attachment 5; Hariharan, R. 2004, ‘Karuna in Politics: Old War Horse in a New Mantle’, South Asia Analysis Group website, 19 October <http://www.saag.org/papers12/paper1148.html> – Accessed 3 November 2005 – Attachment 6).

The ICG stated that there was no prior indication of disloyalty to Prabhakaran by Karuna, but tensions “had been mounting for some time” (International Crisis Group 2006, *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, pp.8-9 – Attachment 5).

According to HRW the reasons for Karuna's action are unclear. HRW reports:

... Karuna stated at the time that he did so because Tamils from the east had fared badly under the LTTE's predominantly northern leadership. Others have suggested that Karuna decided to break away because of a rivalry with the head of the LTTE's intelligence wing for the number two position in the LTTE (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.18 – Attachment 4).

Karuna's flight

Country information generally agrees that the whereabouts of Karuna have been unknown since April 2004, although some reports have variously stated that he has sought refuge in a Sri Lankan military camp, Colombo and India.

Sources have stated that Karuna's whereabouts have been unknown since April 2004 (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.18 – Attachment 4; Sambandan, V.S. 2005, 'Life on the shores of death', *Frontline*, Vol. 22, Iss. 02, 15-28 January <http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2202/stories/20050128004102500.htm> – Accessed 8 February 2007 – Attachment 9; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *LKA42859.E – Sri Lanka: Update to LKA42248.E of 16 December 2003 on current political situation and any reports of violence between United National Front (UNF) and People's Alliance (PA) political parties (December 2003-August 2004)*, 30 August – Attachment 10).

The information below refers to Karuna seeking refuge in a Sri Lankan military camp, Colombo and India.

On 12 April 2004 the pro-LTTE TamilNet website reported that unconfirmed reports had stated that Karuna "has sought refuge in a Sri Lankan military camp in the adjacent district of Polonnaruwa" ('Renegade commander reportedly seeks refuge in Sri Lankan military camp' 2004, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, source: TamilNet website, 12 April – Attachment 11).

Of interest is that an April/May 2004 *Frontline* article stated there were reports that "that hundreds of cadre loyal to Karuna have taken refuge at the military camps of Minneriya, Welikanda and Punanai" (Jeyaraj, D. B. S. 2004, 'The fall of Karuna', *Frontline*, Vol. 21, Iss. 09, 24 April – 7 May <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2109/stories/20040507006712200.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2005 – Attachment 12).

An article, dated 15 April 2004, stated that the whereabouts of Karuna have been unknown since the LTTE took the area "he controlled in a lightning four-day offensive". In the article the Sri Lankan army denied speculation that it had escorted Karuna to Colombo (Beck, Lindsay 2004, 'Sri Lanka army denies harbouring breakaway rebel', *Reuters News*, 15 April – Attachment 13).

However, in June 2004 the *BBC News* mentioned an opposition MP had admitted transporting Karuna "from his jungle hideout to the capital". It reported that the Sri Lankan government had admitted the army had helped Karuna escape and wage a covert war against the LTTE. According to the article, Karuna group members had stated the Karuna had been hiding in army safe-houses in Colombo for more than two months. The article also stated that the whereabouts of Karuna were still unclear (Harrison, Frances 2004, 'Minister says army helped Karuna', *BBC News*, 24 June http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3835303.stm – Accessed 8 February 2007 – Attachment 14).

In December 2005 the *Hindustan Times* reported that two former Karuna group members had stated that Karuna was based in India ('Karuna is in India: former aides' 2005, *Hindustan Times*, 13 December – Attachment 15).

Abductions

Country information indicates that Karuna has a reputation for abducting people into his forces both during his time as an LTTE commander and after his split from the LTTE.

During his period as a LTTE commander, "Karuna had been notorious for recruiting and at times abducting children for use in Tiger forces". After the LTTE launched the assault against him in April 2004, Karuna "encouraged some 2,000 child soldiers to return to their families" (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.18 – Attachment 4).

HRW stated that after the split from the LTTE in March 2004 there were sporadic reports of abductions and forced recruitment of boys and young men by the Karuna group – the reports were few until March 2006 (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.22 – Attachment 4).

According to HRW during 2006 the Karuna group has abducted and forcibly recruited at least 200 Tamil children in Sri Lanka's eastern districts. A map prepared by HRW (p.2), as at October 2006, shows the abductions by the Karuna group being in the area north of Batticaloa town; however, HRW and the UN did state that there were abductions attributed to the Karuna group in the eastern districts of Amparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), pp.2-4 – Attachment 4; United Nations 2006, *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Sri Lanka*, Security Council, S/2006/1006, 20 December, p.9 <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/667/18/PDF/N0666718.pdf?OpenElement> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 7).

HRW noted that during 2006 the Karuna group primarily targeted males between 15 and 30 years of age. It tended to spare young married men or boys attending school, but this was not a strict rule. The targets were frequently poor and uneducated families who had limited ability to protect themselves or to seek redress. Also vulnerable were the boys and young men whom Karuna released after the split with the LTTE in March 2004 (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.28 – Attachment 4).

The UN has graphed the recruitment and releases of children² by the Karuna faction from October 2004 to October 2006. The graph indicates two peaks of recruiting activity: in June

² A child is defined by the UN as every human being under the age of 18 years (United Nations 2006, *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Sri Lanka*, Security Council, S/2006/1006, 20 December, p.2/footnote 1 <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/667/18/PDF/N0666718.pdf?OpenElement> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 7).

2006 (43 children) and August 2006 (46 children). The average age of a child recruited by the Karuna group is 17 years (United Nations 2006, *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Sri Lanka*, Security Council, S/2006/1006, 20 December, p.9 <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/667/18/PDF/N0666718.pdf?OpenElement> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 7).

The HRW has outlined frequently followed patterns of the Karuna group abductions in: Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), pp.27-31 – Attachment 4.

HRW's full 104-page report on abductions and child recruitment by the Karuna group is available on-line at: Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C).

Release of children

In its report on abductions and child recruitment HRW stated that the Karuna group has rarely released abducted children. Families with released children often did not report the release for fear their son would be abducted again, either by the Karuna group or the LTTE. The report also indicated that some families pay money to secure the release of their children (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.31 – Attachment 4).

The report continued that children who escape or are released face special risks in that they can be targeted again by the Karuna group or the LTTE. HRW stated that families “previously often sent their vulnerable children to Colombo but, with abductions and attacks against Tamils there on the rise, many families no longer consider the capital safe” (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.31 – Attachment 4).

Vaharai, Paduwankarai and Kokkatcholai

Information is provided below on whether Karuna had taken control of Vaharai, Paduwankarai and Kokkatcholai.

Vaharai/Vakarai³

Sources indicate that Karuna was in control of Vakarai in April 2004 until the LTTE regained control on 9 April 2004. Violence between the two groups in Vakarai was reported in September 2004 and June 2006. The LTTE held Vakarai 11 years until the Sri Lankan army captured the town in January 2007 (UNHCR 2004, *Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum-Seekers from Sri Lanka*, April, p.13 –Attachment 8; UK Home Office 2006, *Country of Origin Information Report: Sri Lanka*, 31 October, p.264,267 – Attachment 17; International Crisis Group 2007, ‘Sri Lanka’ in *CrisisWatch*, 1 February, No. 42, p.6 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/crisiswatch/cw_2007/cw42.pdf – Accessed 9 February 2007 – Attachment 18).

³ Vaharai is also known as Vakarai (‘Vaharai’ (undated), Friends of Sri Lanka Trust website <http://www.mcode.co.nz/adoptavillage/Downloads/Vaharai.pdf> – Accessed 8 February 2007 – Attachment 16).

The UNHCR reported that on 9 April 2004 the “main” LTTE regained control of Vakarai and several of Karuna’s key coastal bases (UNHCR 2004, *Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum-Seekers from Sri Lanka*, April, p.13 – Attachment 8).

A map showing Vakarai some 55 kms north-west of Batticaloa is attached (Survey Department of Sri Lanka 1996, *Road Atlas of Sri Lanka*, 1st ed., pp.14-15 – Attachment 19).

Paduwankarai

Paduwankarai (“shore of the setting sun”) is the hinterland to the west of Batticaloa lagoon and is under the control of the LTTE (Jeyaraj, D. B. S. 2005, ‘The State that failed its people’, *Uthayam*, February <http://www.uthayam.net/feb2005/feb2005p7.pdf> – Accessed 9 February 2007 – Attachment 20; *Peace Audit 2006* 2006, Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies, September, p.53 <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2006/cha-lka-22sep.pdf> – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 21; Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.2 – Attachment 22).

An article, dated June 2004, accessed on the Sri Lankan website Sinhhalaya and sourced to *The Island* newspaper stated:

Sources said that Karuna faction had regained its positions in Kokkadicholai, **Paduwankarai**, Illupadichenai in the Eastern Vanni area... (‘Pottu Amman killed in mine blast?’ 2004, Sinhhalaya website, source: *The Island*, 18 June – Accessed 8 February 2007 – Attachment 23).

Kokkatticholai

Sources indicate that the Kokkadicholai/Karadiyanaru area of Batticaloa had been a Karuna stronghold. It was reported in *Frontline* that Karuna asked his cadres in April 2004 to go to his camps in the interior which included camps in the Kokkatticholai-Karadiyanaru area (Chandrasekharan, S. 2004, ‘Sri Lanka – Split is a major challenge to the LTTE leader – Commentary’, South Asia Analysis Group website, 8 March <http://www.saag.org/notes3/note215.html> – Accessed 3 November 2005 – Attachment 24; Jeyaraj, D. B. S. 2004, ‘The fall of Karuna’, *Frontline*, Vol. 21, Iss. 09, 24 April – 7 May <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2109/stories/20040507006712200.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2005 – Attachment 12).

An article, dated June 2004, accessed on the Sri Lankan website Sinhhalaya and sourced to *The Island* newspaper stated:

Sources said that Karuna faction had regained its positions in **Kokkadicholai**, Paduwankarai, Illupadichenai in the Eastern Vanni area... (‘Pottu Amman killed in mine blast?’ 2004, Sinhhalaya website, source: *The Island*, 18 June – Accessed 8 February 2007 – Attachment 23).

A map showing Kokkadicholai some 10 kms south of Batticaloa is attached (Survey Department of Sri Lanka 1996, *Road Atlas of Sri Lanka*, 1st ed., pp.14-15 – Attachment 19).

3. Please provide information about the murder of MP Joseph Pararajasingham.

Joseph Pararajasingham was murdered attending Christmas Eve mass in 2005. Although no-one has been arrested for his murder, the Karuna group is suspected of being involved. He had continued to support the LTTE after Karuna broke away in March 2004.

Joseph Pararajasingham, a pro-LTTE Tamil National Alliance parliamentarian, was murdered in Batticaloa town while attending Christmas Eve mass in December 2005 (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.17 – Attachment 4; ‘Gunmen kill Sri Lankan politician’ 2005, *BBC News*, 25 December http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4558560.stm – Accessed 7 February 2007 – Attachment 25).

HRW recently reported that the murder has been “attributed to persons connected to pro-government Tamil armed groups”. Hariharan stated that the killing was “presumably by Karuna group”. Another article made the assumption that an anti-LTTE Tamil group killed Pararajasingham (Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.17 – Attachment 4; Hariharan, R. 2005, ‘Sri Lanka: Seeding the Clouds of War’, South Asia Analysis Group website, 26 December <http://www.saag.org/%5Cnotes3%5Cnote288.html> – Accessed 8 January 2006 – Attachment 26; Balachandran, P. K. 2005, ‘Pro-LTTE Tamil MP shot dead in church’, *Hindustan Times*, 25 December http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/7598_1581897,000500020002.htm – Accessed 12 February 2007 – Attachment 27).

Pararajasingham continued to back the LTTE after the Karuna split in March 2004 (Sambandan, V. S. 2005, ‘Security forces, LTTE trade blame’, *The Hindu*, 26 December <http://www.hindu.com/2005/12/26/stories/2005122606141600.htm> – Accessed 8 February 2007 – Attachment 28; Hariharan, R. 2005, ‘Sri Lanka: Seeding the Clouds of War’, South Asia Analysis Group website, 26 December <http://www.saag.org/%5Cnotes3%5Cnote288.html> – Accessed 8 January 2006 – Attachment 26; Balachandran, P. K. 2005, ‘Pro-LTTE Tamil MP shot dead in church’, *Hindustan Times*, 25 December http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/7598_1581897,000500020002.htm – Accessed 12 February 2007 – Attachment 27).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Google search engine <http://www.google.com.au/>

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. Gopalakrishnan, Ramesh 2004, 'Profile: Colonel Karuna', *BBC News*, 5 March http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3537025.stm – Accessed 7 February 2007.
2. 'Karuna: Rebels' rebel' 2004, *The Sunday Times* (Sri Lanka), 7 March <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/040307/> – Accessed 7 February 2007.
3. 'Colonel Karuna' 2007, *Wikipedia*, 27 January http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonel_Karuna – Accessed 7 February 2007.
4. Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), pp.1-11,17-19,22-33,73-78.
5. International Crisis Group 2006, Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process, Asia Report No. 124, 28 November, pp.8-9.
6. Hariharan, R. 2004, 'Karuna in Politics: Old War Horse in a New Mantle', South Asia Analysis Group website, 19 October <http://www.saag.org/papers12/paper1148.html> – Accessed 3 November 2005.
7. United Nations 2006, *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Sri Lanka*, Security Council, S/2006/1006, 20 December <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/667/18/PDF/N0666718.pdf?OpenElement> – Accessed 7 February 2007.
8. UNHCR 2004, *Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum-Seekers from Sri Lanka*, April, pp.11-13.
9. Sambandan, V.S. 2005, 'Life on the shores of death', *Frontline*, Vol. 22, Iss. 02, 15-28 January <http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2202/stories/20050128004102500.htm> – Accessed 8 February 2007.
10. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *LKA42859.E – Sri Lanka: Update to LKA42248.E of 16 December 2003 on current political situation and any reports of violence between United National Front (UNF) and People's Alliance (PA) political parties (December 2003-August 2004)*, 30 August. (REFINFO)
11. 'Renegade commander reportedly seeks refuge in Sri Lankan military camp' 2004, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, source: TamilNet website, 12 April. (FACTIVA)
12. Jeyaraj, D. B. S. 2004, 'The fall of Karuna', *Frontline*, Vol. 21, Iss. 09, 24 April – 7 May <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2109/stories/20040507006712200.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2005.
13. Beck, Lindsay 2004, 'Sri Lanka army denies harbouring breakaway rebel', *Reuters News*, 15 April. (FACTIVA)
14. Harrison, Frances 2004, 'Minister says army helped Karuna', *BBC News*, 24 June http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3835303.stm – Accessed 8 February 2007.
15. 'Karuna is in India: former aides' 2005, *Hindustan Times*, 13 December. (FACTIVA)

16. 'Vaharai' (undated), Friends of Sri Lanka Trust website
<http://www.mcode.co.nz/adoptavillage/Reports/Vaharai.pdf> – Accessed 8 February 2007.
17. UK Home Office 2006, *Country of Origin Information Report: Sri Lanka*, 31 October, pp.264-267.
18. International Crisis Group 2007, 'Sri Lanka' in *CrisisWatch*, 1 February, No. 42, p.6
http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/crisiswatch/cw_2007/cw42.pdf – Accessed 9 February 2007.
19. Survey Department of Sri Lanka 1996, *Road Atlas of Sri Lanka*, 1st ed., pp.14-15.
20. Jeyaraj, D. B. S. 2005, 'The State that failed its people', *Uthayam*, February
<http://www.uthayam.net/feb2005/feb2005p7.pdf> – Accessed 9 February 2007.
21. *Peace Audit 2006* 2006, Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies, September, p.53
<http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2006/cha-lka-22sep.pdf> – Accessed 7 February 2007.
22. Human Rights Watch 2007, *Complicit in Crime: State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group*, January, Vol. 19, No. 1(C), p.2.
23. 'Pottu Amman killed in mine blast?' 2004, Sinhalya website, source: *The Island*, 18 June – Accessed 8 February 2007.
24. Chandrasekharan, S. 2004, 'Sri Lanka – Split is a major challenge to the LTTE leader – Commentary', South Asia Analysis Group website, 8 March
<http://www.saag.org/notes3/note215.html> – Accessed 3 November 2005.
25. 'Gunmen kill Sri Lankan politician' 2005, *BBC News*, 25 December
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4558560.stm – Accessed 7 February 2007.
26. Hariharan, R. 2005, 'Sri Lanka: Seeding the Clouds of War', South Asia Analysis Group website, 26 December
<http://www.saag.org/%5Cnotes3%5Cnote288.html> – Accessed 8 January 2006.
27. Balachandran, P. K. 2005, 'Pro-LTTE Tamil MP shot dead in church', *Hindustan Times*, 25 December
http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/7598_1581897,000500020002.htm – Accessed 12 February 2007.
28. Sambandan, V. S. 2005, 'Security forces, LTTE trade blame', *The Hindu*, 26 December
<http://www.hindu.com/2005/12/26/stories/2005122606141600.htm> – Accessed 8 February 2007.