

An Opinion Poll on Peace



Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

TOP-LINE RESULTS

NOVEMBER 2006

Social Indicator

ALSO IN THIS WAVE . . .

PEACE TALKS

SITUATION IN THE NORTH & EAST

THE KARUNA GROUP

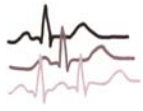
UNP & THE GOVERNMENT

JVP & THE GOVERNMENT

NORTH & EAST DEMERGER - SUPREME COURT RULING

CONTENTS

• INTRODUCTION	01
• KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS	02
• FINDINGS AT A GLANCE	08
• PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)	16
TOP-LINE RESULTS	
IMPORTANT ISSUES	16
SOLUTIONS	17
CONFIDENCE	18
CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT (CFA)	26
SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION (SLMM)	31
FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT	34
• POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	
PEACE TALKS	39
SITUATION IN THE NORTH EAST	45
KARUNA GROUP	47
UNP & THE GOVERNMENT	49
THE JVP & THE GOVERNMENT	51
SUPREME COURT RULING ON DE-MERGER OF NORTH EAST	57
HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES	58
RECENT FIGHTING IN MUHAMALEI	61
RECENT KILLINGS	63
CURRENT SECURITY CONDITIONS	67
• ANNEX	



INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this study is two-fold. One is to develop a numerical indicator of the level of public confidence in the peace process using a set of standardized questions, which remain unchanged with each wave. The other is to use a set of questions related to recent social, economic and political developments in order to gauge public opinion on the peace process, which by definition will change from one wave to another.

Such information, collected over a period of time, will provide civil society and policy makers a useful barometer of Sri Lankan polity's opinions, and ensure that such collective opinions are given due importance and incorporated into the policy debate.

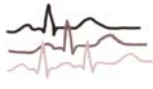
SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

The survey is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1600 randomly selected sample. This survey was conducted in 17 administrative districts, excluding the North and East due to the escalation of violence. Fieldwork was conducted during the period of 23rd October to 06th of November 2006. However, in order to capture the effect of the Geneva peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the fieldwork was conducted in two phases. The first phase was conducted from 23rd October to 27th October 2006. The second phase was conducted from 01st of November to 06th of November 2006. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

This is the twenty fourth wave of the PCI study, which was first conducted in May 2001. This publication presents only the top-line results of the November 2006 survey.

The results of these twenty four waves offer us data for a comparative study on changing public opinion regarding key issues, ranging from perceptions of war and peace to current political developments. The results are subjected to a 3% margin of error.

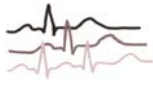
** This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Muslim and the Up-Country Tamil communities in the areas outside North and East.



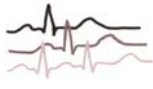
KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS JULY 2006 – NOVEMBER 2006*

- President Mahinda Rajapaksa on July 11 stressed there was no room for peace of the graveyard and vowed to go for maximum power devolution without sacrificing the country's sovereignty...Calling upon the members to be creative and imaginative in their final proposals which would be placed before the All Party Conference, the President outlined five key factors around which the new Constitution should be based. He said the first of the five factors was the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country which he said was not open for bargaining. (11 July 2006) - (*Daily Mirror on 12 July 2006*)
- The LTTE today strongly rejected media reports which suggested it possessed chemical war fare weapons and was even prepared to use it against the government security forces in the event an all out war were to resume once again. (13 July 2006) - (*Daily Mirror on 14 July 2006*)
- At least 13 soldiers have gone missing and are feared dead while a large number of LTTE cadres were believed to have been killed, when a clash erupted between the military and the LTTE in the Vakaneri area in Batticaloa on the morning of July 14. (14 July 2006) - (*Daily Mirror on 15 July 2006*)
- The Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU) alleged that the government had been trapped in a highly advanced military-political and psychological operation launched by the LTTE through the concocted heart ailment of Daya Master. (18 July 2006) - (*The Island on 19 July 2006*)
- Government officials last week urged international and local non-governmental organisations in conflict areas to be transparent about their staff, resources and activities to avoid being suspected by both the military and the LTTE. The request comes amid rumblings among some NGOs that their work in the north and east was being hampered by security restrictions. (22 July 2006) - (*The Island on 23 July 2006*)
- A non-contiguous administrative unit merging Muslim dominated areas in the North and East, preferably in a model similar to that of the Indian Union of Territories, has been proposed by the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) in its policy framework aimed at addressing the key issues of the North and East conflict. This was said by SLMC leader Rauff Hakeem, unveiling the proposals at a media briefing held on July 23 at the party headquarters. (23 July 2006) - (*Daily Mirror on 24 July 2006*)
- The JVP is planning to form a broad front with the aim of defeating terrorism and preserving the country's sovereignty and independence. They also plan to rejuvenate the Mahinda Chinthanaya, which they allege is being violated. (*The Island on 27 July 2006*)
- The Jathika Hela Urumaya has protested to the British High Commissioner in Colombo over the LTTE being permitted to hold a massive rally at London's Hyde Park on July 24. (*The Island on 28 July 2006*)
- The Sri Lanka Air force (SLAF) launched fresh air strikes on targets in LTTE-held areas in the Batticaloa sector on July 29, the military said. "Air attacks were carried out on LTTE camps on July 29 morning", military spokesman Brigadier Prasad Samarasinghe said. (29 July 2006) - (*The Island on 30 July 2006*)
- The LTTE on July 30 defended their closure of the Mavil Arau anicut saying they had done so to show their disapproval of the ban imposed on them by the European Union. (30 July 2006) - (*The Island on 31 July 2006*)
- The Armed Forces advancing towards the Maviluru anicut since last Tuesday (July 28) to re-open it, closed by the LTTE, continued to face opposition from the LTTE even on July 31. (*The Island on 01 August 2006*)
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) said on July 31 the Ceasefire Agreement would remain intact until either the government or the LTTE formally announces its withdrawal from the peace agreement signed in 2002 by giving the mandatory 14 days notice. (*Daily Mirror on 01 August 2006*)
- The Navy on August 1 foiled an attempt by the LTTE to sink a troop carrier yet another time with over 800 military personnel on board. The vessel was sailing from Kankasanturai to Trincomalee. (01 August 2006) - (*Daily Mirror on 02 August 2006*)
- The government on August 1 rejected claims it had declared war against the LTTE and said it would halt the ongoing military operation if the Tigers gave an assurance that the Mawiluru anicut sluice gate would be reopened. But the main opposition UNP insisted war had virtually resumed in the country. (*Daily Mirror on 02 August 2006*)
- As fighting raged in Muttur August 3, the Tigers fired on two schools killing 15 and injuring 30 displaced persons. Sources said that LTTE artillery fire first hit the Muttur Arabic College, killing 10 and wounding 20. (*The Island on 04 August 2006*)

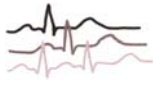
* For the purpose of accuracy, un-dated indicators (in the reproduced news items) such as "yesterday/today/tomorrow" are edited to indicate their exact date.



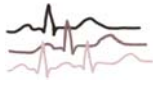
- The LTTE yesterday rejected government claims that the Tigers were responsible for Thursday's Muttur shell attack killing 19 Muslims and injuring around 60. LTTE military wing spokesman Irasiah Illantheriyan told the Daily Mirror the shells which fell on the three Muslim schools where the civilians were being sheltered came due to an army misfiring directed towards LTTE cadres. (*The Island on 05 August 2006*)
- The fighting in Muttur ended on August 5 with the LTTE announcing that it had by midnight Friday fallen back to the positions held when the Cease Fire Agreement of February 2002 was signed. (*The Island on 06 August 2006*)
- Opposition and UNP leader Ranil Wickremesinghe on August 6 appealed to the public for humanitarian assistance for the people displaced by the conflict in Muttur. (*The Island on 07 August 2006*)
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is holding the government totally responsible for the breakdown in the much needed negotiated settlement to the Mawilaru water crisis after the security forces allegedly launched a fresh shell attack on rebel cadres near the anicut last afternoon just before the LTTE was to open the water gates. (*Daily Mirror on 07 August 2006*)
- As shock waves spread over the execution style assassination of 15 aid workers in Muttur the government on August 7 assured it would launch an independent and transparent inquiry into the killings and bring the perpetrators to book "whoever they may be." (*Daily Mirror on 08 August 2006*)
- The JVP on August 8 hailed the opening of the Mawilaru sluice gates as a great victory by the government and said the country should honour the security forces for that. (*Daily Mirror on 09 August 2006*)
- Nearly 10% of the country's Muslim population, or a total of 150,000, have been displaced with the figure made up of the 35,000 displaced by the Muttur violence, those by the tsunami and some 80,000 Northern Muslims displaced in 1990 and now living outside the Northern Province, the Peace Secretariat for Muslims said on August 9. (*Daily Mirror on 10 August 2006*)
- The TULF on August 10 strongly condemned the killing of 17 civilians attached to the France based NGO 'Action Against Hunger', which was engaged in tsunami relief work in Muttur. The TULF president V. Anandasangaree said whoever was responsible should be traced and punished. (*10 August 2006*) - (*The Island on 11 August 2006*)
- Three UN human rights experts on August 11 urged the Sri Lankan government to publish the findings of an independent investigation into the recent killing of 17 aid workers. The deliberate targeting of the Sri Lankans working for the French charity Action Against Hunger (Action Contre la Faim - ACF) in the northeast of the country was a "serious violation" of human rights and humanitarian law, they added in statement released by the United Nations. (*Daily Mirror on 12 August 2006*)
- As the fighting in the eastern Trincomalee district spilled over to the northern Jaffna peninsula on August 11 and 12 with the war intensifying, Defence Spokesman Keheliya Rambukwella told a Colombo news conference that "it appears that we are in for a full scale war. We believe that attack is the best form of defence," he said on being pressed by reporters to say whether Eelam War 4 has begun. (*The Island on 13 August 2006*)
- An (ICRC) convoy of 17 trucks and four cars on August 12 reached the town of Vakarai in the Batticaloa district of eastern Sri Lanka in the early afternoon bringing food, water and other items such as tarpaulins, mats, bed sheets, cooking pots and buckets for people fleeing the fighting in the Echilampattai area. (*12 August 2006*) - (*The Island, August 14, 2006*)
- The Deputy Head of the Sri Lanka Peace Secretariat Kethesh Loganathan was shot dead last night by suspected LTTE cadres. A group of men in a white coloured van shot at Mr Loganathan as he came out of his Vandervet Place home in Dehiwela at 9.30 pm. last night. (*Sunday Observer on 14 August 2006*)
- The SLMM on August 13 condemned the murder of Government Peace Secretariat's Deputy Head Kethesh Loganathan. In a statement issued to the media, the SLMM said: "After having worked with Kethesh Loganathan and for the last time, met him on Friday, August 11, 2006, the message of his death came as a shock, not only to the SLMM but also, for all people longing for peace. Taking part in his experiences, his well founded arguments and his professionalism, has been a pleasure for all people who got to work with him. (*13 August 2006*) - (*Daily Mirror on 14 August 2006*)
- The Pakistani High Commissioner Basir Wali Mohamand escaped unhurt in an LTTE attack on his motorcade on August 14 in Colombo. The High Commissioner's vehicle was damaged. Two claymore mines placed in a trishaw, parked by the side of Green Path, about one hundred metres from the Liberty Plaza roundabout, exploded simultaneously as former key Pakistani intelligence officer Mr. Mohamand's motorcade passed by. (*14 August 2006*) - (*The Island on 15 August 2006*)



- Mystery surrounds the death of more than 60 youths and serious injuries caused to more than 130 others in LTTE controlled Paranthan in Mullaitivu last morning. The LTTE said the young girls and boys were orphans of a school in the area and were killed in air force bombing while the government said those killed were young rebel cadres. The Media Centre for National Security (MCNS) said the air force conducted air strikes around 7.30 last morning on an LTTE training base at Puthukudiyurippu in Mullaitivu previously identified by air surveillance. (*Daily Mirror on 15 August 2006*)
- The Government on August 15 dismissed the SLMM claim that it visited the scene of the Mullaitivu bombings and reiterated it was an LTTE transit camp at Pudukudiiruppu, where 200 terrorists were killed and 300 wounded, by an SLAF strike. (*The Island on 16 August 2006*)
- A European Union representative in Colombo on August 15 said the EU ban on the LTTE would be lifted only if the Tigers renounced terrorism and stopped killing government representatives and opposition Tamil leaders. The EU official, speaking to the Daily Mirror in the aftermath of the killing of Government Peace Secretariat Deputy head Kestheshwaran Loganathan stressed the need for the LTTE to respect the alternative intellectual Tamil and opposition opinions. (*Daily Mirror on 16 August 2006*)
- Over 160 LTTE cadres died in retaliatory attacks by the security forces, defence sources said on August 17. The LTTE launched attacks on the Military Forward Defence Lines (FLD) at Muhamalai, Nagarkovil and Kilali, but the forces retaliated and drove them back. (*17 August 2006*) - (*The Island on 18 August 2006*)
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa is not accepting three key demands submitted by the JVP in the 20-point common programme to join the Government, the Daily Mirror learns. At a meeting with the SLFP-appointed committee to formulate counter proposals to the JVP proposals, the President said he could not take ad hoc decisions as demanded by the JVP. (*Daily Mirror on 18 August 2006*)
- Islamabad: A Pakistani newspaper has blamed Indian intelligence for a bomb attack aimed at Islamabad's envoy in Colombo that killed seven people last week. The News quoted unnamed officials as saying that India engineered the August 14 attack on Pakistan's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Bashir Wali Mohammad, in an attempt to spoil the burgeoning military and economic ties between Islamabad and Colombo. (*Daily Mirror on 21 August 2006*)
- NEW YORK (AP) - Emissaries of the Tamil Tigers rebel group conspired to buy surface-to-air missiles from a black-market source in the United States amid an escalating conflict with military forces in Sri Lanka, authorities said. (*The Island on 23 August 2006*)
- Karuna cadres overran a key LTTE camp at Vadamunnai in Batticaloa last morning, killing at least five Vanni cadres and injuring several others, the Karuna faction told the Daily Mirror. LTTE Batticaloa head Daya Mohan however charged that the attack was carried out by the army and not the Karuna faction as claimed by the breakaway LTTE group and added that two civilians were brutally killed during the attack. (*Daily Mirror on 23 August 2006*)
- Japan has decided to delay moves to freeze the assets of the LTTE on Japanese soil owing to the rise in hostilities between the rebels and government forces, a top Japanese diplomat said. (*Daily Mirror on 25 August 2006*)
- A serious food shortage is developing in the LTTE-controlled Wanni areas as a result of the closure of the entry-exit point at Omanthai, the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) warned on August 24. (*24 August 2006*) - (*Daily Mirror on 25 August 2006*)
- Outgoing Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission chief Ulf Henricsson in a statement on August 27 held the government security forces responsible for the slaying of 17 aid workers in Mutur and the LTTE responsible for the claymore mine attack on a civilian bus in Kebithogollewa. (*Daily Mirror on 28 August 2006*)
- Media freedom in Sri Lanka took yet another body blow with the abduction on August 29 morning of Nadarajah Guruparan the news manager of the privately owned Sooriyan FM radio station, police said. (*Daily Mirror on 30 August 2006*)
- A diplomatic row between Pakistan and India loomed on September 1 after Islamabad's former High Commissioner to Sri Lanka flatly and bluntly accused the Indian intelligence agency RAW of trying to kill him in Colombo on August 14. (*Daily Mirror on 02 September 2006*)
- A girl working as a graduate computer engineer at MTV was abducted on September 1 morning in Wellawatte, TamilNet reported. Six armed men, in a white-van, abducted Thavarajah Thavamani, 26 about 200 metres from her Vivekananda Road residence and took her away blindfolded, her mother quoted eye witnesses as saying in a complaint to the police. (*Daily Mirror on 02 September 2006*)



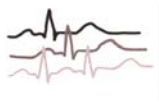
- The Army yesterday (September 4) seized control of Sampur from the LTTE, after almost two weeks of intense fighting. President Mahinda Rajapakse said at the SLFP Convention at the BMICH yesterday. *(The Island on 05 September 2006)*
- Heavy fighting between the two LTTE factions erupted at Kanji Kudicha Aru in the Ampara District September 5, when the breakaway Karuna group raided the biggest Wanni LTTE camp in the area. *-(The Island on 06 September 2006)*
- The decision taken by the Financial Intelligence Unit of the Central Bank last week to freeze the accounts of Tamil Rehabilitation Organization was reaffirmed by the Colombo High Court on September 5. High Court Judge Upali Abeyratne ordered the freezing of the accounts for six months following a petition filed by the FIU. The order was made under the Financial Transaction Reporting Act. *(Daily Mirror on 06 September 2006)*
- A top U.N. envoy left Sri Lanka yesterday after a fact-finding mission that included a meeting with the human rights minister and a private memorial for 17 local aid workers killed last month, a U.N. official said. *(Daily Mirror on 09 September 2006)*
- The much-looked forward to talks between President Mahinda Rajapaksa and UNP leader Ranil Wickremesinghe bore fruitful results with both parties citing it as a positive step for a bi-partisan approach in reaching consensus on the grave problems facing the country today. *(Daily Mirror on 12 September 2006)*
- The LTTE has unconditionally agreed to recommence peace talks with the government, Defence spokesman Minister Keheliya Rambukwella said September 12. The Tigers have conveyed their willingness to talk through Norwegian Minister for International Development Erik Solheim, he told *The Island*. *(The Island on 13 September 2006)*
- The government has agreed to include observers from other countries after the LTTE expelled European Union member-states from the ceasefire monitoring mission, an official said on September 12. Defence spokesman Keheliya Rambukwella said Sri Lanka's main financial backers meeting in Brussels yesterday were expected to discuss expanding the depleted Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission. *(Daily Mirror on 13 September 2006)*
- The Government on September 14 demanded a written pledge from Tiger supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran that his organization will cease all hostilities if he wanted the Government to consider recommencing the peace talks aimed at finding a lasting solution acceptable to all. *(The Island on 15 September 2006)*
- A leading Sea Street businessman, his son and one of his employees were allegedly abducted by an unidentified gang as Colombo Tamil residents said the number abducted in recent weeks was more than 50, police said. The victims, Egamparam (64) Saravanan (27) and Ganesh Muhandan (22) were on their way home after closing the shop when the alleged abduction took place, they said. *(Daily Mirror on 15 September 2006)*
- Karuna faction of the LTTE on September 15 said it had written to the Co-chairs that any future talks between the government and the LTTE would not be complete if their party was not included in the negotiations. *(The Island on 16 September 2006)*
- While holding talks with the UNP and JVP to reach a political consensus on the national question, the government is preparing for a major battle. Forces are being replenished on an urgent basis, a senior official said. *(The Island on 17 September 2006)*
- The Navy on September 17 thwarted an LTTE attempt to smuggle in a large consignment of arms, ammunition and equipment. Navy Headquarters said that an SLN vessel tracked down a suspicious vessel off Sangamankanda in the Eastern Province on Sunday night and intercepted it September 17 morning. *(The Island on 18 September 2006)*
- The Navy and the Air force yesterday jointly thwarted an alleged LTTE attempt to smuggle weapons to Sri Lanka by sinking a large vessel carrying weapons and ammunition off Kalmunai seas. *(Daily Mirror on 18 September 2006)*
- International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and their local counterparts are fighting back against, what a well informed source termed, the government's efforts to restrict their activities, particularly in the Northern and Eastern provinces. *(The Island on 20 September 2006)*
- The government said on September 19 there was no need for international assistance to investigate the Pottuvil killings and the trend which took centre stage following the killing of aid workers in Mutur should be avoided. *(Daily Mirror on 20 September 2006)*



- Norwegian Premier Jens Stoltenberg on September 20 told President Mahinda Rajapaksa that certain statements made by former SLMM Head Ulf Henricsson did not reflect the views of the Norwegian Government. (20 August 2006) - (*The Island on 21 September 2006*)
- In response to a government call that LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran should personally write to the authorities calling for peace talks the LTTE said September 22 that it would not do so since the organisation's political wing leader S. P. Thamilselvan has been authorised by Prabhakaran to deal with all matters connected to the peace process. (*The Island on 22 September 2006*)
- Sri Lanka's new Nordic peace monitor has been in the job for less than a month and already he is shocked and disappointed at what he sees. Since taking over as head of the unarmed Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission this month after his predecessor was forced out by a rebel ultimatum, Lars Johan Solvberg has had to deal with a military offensive and a civilian massacre. (*Daily Mirror on 27 September 2006*)
- The Muhamalai gate to the Jaffna Peninsula will not be re-opened to civilians until current Military operations are complete, Authoritative Military sources said September 27. (*The Island on 28 September 2006*)
- The closure of the A-9 Highway to the Jaffna Peninsula during the past few weeks has hit the LTTE financially. Informed sources said the LTTE's finances have been dwindling due to its inability to collect 'taxes' at the entry points and their losses have been estimated at millions of rupees, the sources said. (*The Island on 03 October 2006*)
- President Mahinda Rajapakse wants the Foreign Service to play a more active role in the battle against the LTTE. Addressing top envoys in charge of Sri Lankan missions overseas, Rajapakse, on October 4 emphasised the need to obtain the information needed to strengthen the war effort. "This is a kind of an intelligence service," he said, urging them to review their duties. (*The Island on 04 October 2006*)
- Taking another step closer towards resuming the peace talks the government on October 4 said it agreed to sit down for talks with the LTTE from October 28 to 30 as proposed by the rebels on Tuesday. Government defence spokesman Keheliya Rambukwella told the Daily Mirror the government proposed holding the talks at Geneva in Switzerland and the Norwegians were expected to inform the LTTE on the latest developments. (*Daily Mirror on 05 October 2006*)
- The Government on October 8 hit out at the European Union (EU) saying that its attempt on a resolution on Sri Lanka at the second session of the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) on Friday was both unwarranted and contradictory to other EU moves. (*Daily Mirror on 09 October 2006*)
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa on October 9 reiterated his firm commitment to a negotiated settlement and pledged to work towards making future talks with the LTTE proposed for October 28th and 29th in Geneva successful, when the Ambassadors of the Co-Chair nations called on him October 9 morning. (09 October 2006) - (*The Island on 10 October 2006*)
- The LTTE on October 9 handed over the bodies of 74 soldiers to the military through the ICRC officials at Omanthai, taking the security forces death toll to 129, - the highest military casualty toll since the 2002 truce. "The ICRC handed over 74 bodies of the soldiers at the Omanthai checkpoint last night, but still four soldiers are missing," Military spokesman Prasad Samarasinghe said. (*Daily Mirror on 10 October 2006*)
- The Supreme Court on October 16 declared the merger of the North and Eastern Provinces invalid, null and void. The petitioners, three members of the JVP, were granted the entitlement to elect a Provincial Council for the Eastern Province under Article 154(a)(2) of the Constitution of Sri Lanka. (*The Island on 17 October 2006*)
- A suspected LTTE truck bomber rammed into a navy convoy killing 94 unarmed sailors and injuring 116 others at a troop's transit point at Digampathaha in Habarana on October 17 afternoon. This alleged Tiger suicide attack made hours after the arrival of Japanese Special Peace Envoy Yasushi Akashi in the island, claimed the highest number of Navy casualties since the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement. (*Daily Mirror on 17 October 2006*)
- The Navy and Police on October 17 traded accusations over security lapses which led to Monday's LTTE attack on unarmed Navy personnel at Diganpathana in Habarana. Navy personnel, some bound for their base in Trincomalee and others heading South on vacation had gathered at Diganpathana to board buses to their respective destinations when an explosives laden truck crashed into them killing 97 sailors and injuring 112. (*The Island on 18 October 2006*)
- An LTTE suicide squad attack on the Southern Naval base 'Dhakshina' in Galle, at around 7.45 am on October 18, was foiled by the Navy. Five Tiger suicide craft reached the entrance to the Galle Harbour posing as of fishing boats, but the Navy acted swiftly to destroy them. (*The Island on 19 October 2006*)



- OSLO: Despite the recent blood letting in Sri Lanka, Norwegian peace brokers are confident that scheduled peace talks in Geneva between the government and the Tamil Tigers will take place later this month. (*The Island on 21 October 2006*)
- In a report to be presented to the UN General Assembly tomorrow, a special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary executions will ask the UN Secretariat to establish a full-fledged international human rights monitoring mission in Sri Lanka. (*The Island on 22 October 2006*)
- History was written on October 23 with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the SLFP and the UNP. Soon after signing the MoU, at Temple Trees, President Mahinda Rajapakse said the SLFP and UNP had fought the elections on either side of the political divide and it was the JVP and JHU who supported his Presidential election campaign. The MoU between the SLFP and the UNP would in no way hurt the friendship he had with those two political parties nor would he forget they had helped him. (*The Island on 24 October 2006*)
- The Co-chairs to the Tokyo donor conference on October 23 welcomed the agreement signed between the SLFP and the UNP saying it would help strengthen efforts to reach a political solution to the ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka. (*Daily Mirror on 24 October 2006*)
- The de-merger of the North East is not a solution to the ethnic conflict even though the Muslims welcome it, the SLMC said October 26. (*The Island on 27 October 2006*)
- While deploring attempts to curb media freedom in the north and east, President Mahinda Rajapaksa on October 27 ordered an immediate investigation into the burning of Virakesari newspapers in Batticaloa. (*Daily Mirror on 28 October 2006*)
- Geneva, Oct. 28: The second round of talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE commenced this morning with Erik Solheim referring to "terrorism" in Sri Lanka and a solution based on the "unity and sovereignty of one Sri Lankan state". These are significant use of words for the Norwegians and have implications of their own. Opening remarks were made by Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini, Deputy Head of the Political affairs Directorate, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. (*The Island on 29 October 2006*)
- The LTTE front organisation – Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO) is a beneficiary of sizeable UN funds. Despite being the subject of investigations both here and overseas for allegedly funding terrorist operations, the UN Office in Colombo funds the TRO registered with the government as a NGO. (*The Island on 30 October 2006*)
- Despite the apparent breakdown of the peace talks between the government and the LTTE in Geneva, Norway on October 29 sounded a hopeful note and said it would continue the dialogue while calling on both parties to strictly observe the ceasefire agreement and not to launch any major offensives. Peace envoy Jon Hanssen-Bauer said he encouraged the parties to allow themselves some time to reflect on the situation and not to draw hasty conclusions or take actions that could increase the suffering of civilians in Sri Lanka. (*Daily Mirror on 30 October 2006*)
- Government Security forces sources on October 31 explained that the closure of the Muhamalai gateway to the Jaffna Peninsula was caused by an LTTE attack on the army's Jaffna frontline on August 11 evening. (*The Island on 01 November 2006*)
- The government on October 31 said it was prepared to reopen the contentious A9 highway at Muhamalai if the LTTE helped create a suitable environment for such a move including the halting of attacks on Forward Defence Lines dividing government and rebel territory in the north. (*Daily Mirror on 01 November 2006*)



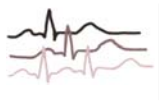
FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 23RD OCTOBER 2006 TO 06TH NOVEMBER 2006

The following are the significant trends observed in the PCI November 2006 survey. It is important to note that this particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities in the areas outside North and East. Further, due to the total exclusion of the Tamil community in the sample, this report does not intend to present national estimations.

- ◆ When asked to rate five national issues according to their order of importance, the Sinhala (Peace process- 30.8%, Economy- 28.0%) , the Up-Country Tamil (Peace process- 34%, Economy- 27.2%) and the Muslim (Peace process- 27.5%, Economy- 25.9%) communities give high priority to the peace process followed by the economy. When compared to the PCI findings of July 2006, the priorities remain the same amongst the three communities. *(Ref. Page 16)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (60.9%), Up-Country Tamil (97.1%) and Muslim (92.1%) communities state that peace can be achieved through peace talks. However, the support for peace talks is higher amongst the minority communities. The Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006 has not led to a significant change in this trend. *(Ref. Page 17)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (76.6%), Up-Country Tamil (44.1%) and Muslim (63.2%) communities agree that the Government is committed to find peace through talks. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the support amongst the Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 63.2%, After Peace Talks: 52.6%) community has decreased while the support amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 44.1%, After Peace Talks- 52.3%) community has increased. *(Ref. Page 18)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (56.3%), Up-Country Tamil (42.9%) and Muslim (72.2%) communities agree that the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks. Interestingly, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, there is a significant shift in the support base amongst the Up-Country Tamil community. Before the peace talks, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (42.9%) community agree that the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks. On the contrary, after peace talks, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (41.9%) community disagree that Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks. *(Ref. Page 19)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (70.4%) community disagree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. On the contrary, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (64.7%) community agree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. The Muslim community has a divided opinion (Agree- 33.3%, Disagree- 36.1%, Don't know/Not sure- 30.6%). However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the disagreement (Before Peace Talks- 70.4%, After Peace Talks- 77.2%) amongst the Sinhala community has increased while the opinion of the Up-Country Tamil and the Muslim communities remains the same. *(Ref. Page 20)*



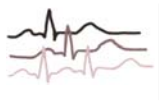
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (39.5%) community disagree that the LTTE is fully capable in finding peace through talks. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (55.9%) and Muslim (61.1%) communities agree that the LTTE is fully capable in finding peace through talks. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the disagreement amongst the Sinhala (Before Peace Talks- 39.5%, After Peace Talks- 52.2%) community has significantly increased. *(Ref. Page 21)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (44.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (47.1%) communities state that Sri Lanka is 'not close at all' in approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict when compared to the situation of the peace process a year ago. The Muslim community has a mixed reaction in this regard (Close- 32.4%, Remains the same- 27%, Not close at all- 35.1%). However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, those who state 'not close at all' amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 47.1%, After Peace Talks- 54.3%) and Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 35.1%, After Peace Talks- 44.7%) communities have witnessed an increase. *(Ref. Page 22)*
- ◆ When asked who should be involved in negotiations, a majority of the Sinhala (38.3%) community state that only the Government and the LTTE should be involved in negotiations. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 27.8% state that the Government, the LTTE and the international third party should be involved in negotiations. Nevertheless, 22.4% state that only the Government and the LTTE should be involved in negotiations. A majority of the Muslim (63.2%) community state that the Government, Opposition, LTTE, Tamil and Muslim parties and an international third party should be involved in negotiations. *(Ref. Page 23)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (64.3%), Up-Country Tamil (65.7%) and Muslim (71.8%) communities believe that it is likely a war will resume. Interestingly, 7.5% of the Sinhala community also state that the war has already started. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, those who believe that the war will resume has increased amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 65.7%, After Peace Talks- 68.1%) and the Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 71.8%, After Peace Talks- 78.3%) communities. Interestingly, those who believe that it is likely a war will resume has decreased amongst the Sinhala (Before Peace Talks- 64.3%, After Peace Talks- 58.2%) community. *(Ref. Page 24)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (54.5%) community agree with the statement that "The Government should expand its military action including even to all out war in order to weaken the LTTE." A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (88.2%) community disagree with the statement. Amongst the Muslim community 46.4% agree while 42.9% disagree with the statement. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the disagreement amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 42.9%, After Peace Talks- 51.9%) and Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 88.2%, After Peace Talks- 92.3%) communities have increased while the Sinhala opinion remains the same. *(Ref. Page 25)*
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the CFA, a majority of the Sinhala (52.9%) community state that the CFA has not benefited the ordinary citizen. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (68.9%) and the Muslim (87.3%) communities state that the CFA has benefited the ordinary citizen. When compared to the PCI July 2006, those who believe that the CFA has not benefited has increased amongst the Sinhala (July- 48.6%, November- 52.9%) community while those who believe that the CFA has benefited has decreased amongst the Up-Country Tamil (July- 79.3%, November- 68.9%) community. *(Ref. Page 26)*



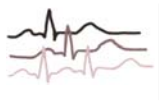
- ◆ Of those who think that the CFA has benefited the ordinary citizen, a majority of the Sinhala (63.5%) community think that ending of killing in the country is the most important benefit of the CFA. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 79.6% say that the peaceful environment in the country is the most important benefit while 76.4% say that freedom of movement is the most important benefit of the CFA. A majority of the Muslim (75.7%) community say that freedom of movement is the most important benefit of the CFA. When compared to the PCI findings in July 2006, the Up-Country Tamil response with regard to 'peaceful environment in the country' (July- 86.5%, November- 79.6%) and 'freedom of movement' (July- 94.5%, November- 76.4%) has significantly decreased. Amongst the Muslim community too, the response with regard to 'freedom of movement' (July- 89.2%, November- 75.7%) has significantly decreased. ([Ref. Page 27](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (83.5%), Up-Country Tamil (55%) and Muslim (79.3%) communities are satisfied with the Government's commitment to the CFA. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the satisfaction amongst the Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 79.3%, After Peace Talks- 63%) community has decreased. Further there is also a shift in the Up-Country Tamil opinion. Before peace talks, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (55%) community are somewhat satisfied. However, after peace talks, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (60%) community are not satisfied. ([Ref. Page 28](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (90.3%) and the Muslim (60.7%) communities are not satisfied with the LTTE's commitment to the ceasefire agreement. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (68.4%) community are satisfied with the LTTE's commitment to the ceasefire agreement. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, the Muslim dissatisfaction has increased (Before Peace Talks- 60.7%, After Peace Talks- 66.6%) while the satisfaction amongst the Up-Country Tamil community has decreased (Before Peace Talks- 68.4%, After Peace Talks- 61.5%). ([Ref. Page 29](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (48.6%) and Up-Country Tamil (68.2%) communities state that the CFA does not stand anymore. Nevertheless, a majority of the Muslim (44.6%) community state that the CFA still stands while 28.6% feel otherwise. ([Ref. Page 30](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors, a majority of the Muslim (88.5%) and Up-Country Tamil (93.2%) communities think that it is essential to have a monitoring mission for the CFA to succeed. The Sinhala community has a divided opinion (Is essential- 42.3%, Not essential- 44.8%). When compared to the PCI findings of July 2006, those who think it is essential amongst the Sinhala community has decreased (July- 48.3%, November- 42.3%) while those who think it is not essential has increased (July- 39.7%, November- 44.8%). ([Ref. Page 31](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (59.8%) community disagree with the statement that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (70.7%) and Muslim (51.9%) communities agree with the statement that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. When compared to the PCI findings of July 2006, the disagreement amongst the Sinhala (July- 55.9%, November- 59.8%) community has increased. ([Ref. Page 32](#))



- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (59.6%) community disagree with the statement that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (53.7%) and Muslim (46.2%) communities agree with the statement that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. When compared to the PCI findings of July 2006, the disagreement amongst the Sinhala (July- 50.6%, November- 59.6%) community has increased. *(Ref. Page 33)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (32.9%), Up-Country Tamil (79.3%) and Muslim (76.6%) communities think that an international third party is essential and will have a positive impact on the peace process. The Sinhala community who believes that an international third party is essential and will have a positive impact on the peace process is lower compared to the Up-Country Tamil and Muslim communities. *(Ref. Page 34)*
- ◆ When asked about the level of satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator, a majority of the Sinhala (53.2%) community are not satisfied. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (69.5%) and Muslim (64.1%) communities are satisfied. The Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006 has not led to a significant change in this trend. *(Ref. Page 35)*
- ◆ When asked if they approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (66.9%) community disapproves. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (69%) and the Muslim (64.5%) community approves. The Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006 has not led to a significant change in this trend. *(Ref. Page 36)*
- ◆ Asked as to the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator to the peace process, 21.2% of the Sinhala community says that the United States is the most suitable country to play the role of facilitator. Amongst the Sinhala community another 19.4% says India is the most suitable country while 41.2% has no opinion in this regard. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 49.4% think India is the most suitable country to play the role of facilitator to the peace process while 21.7% think Norway is the most suitable country. Amongst the Muslim community, 27.4% says India is the most suitable country while 19.2% says Norway. *(Ref. Page 37)*
- ◆ When asked about the need for India's involvement in the peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (49.6%), Up-Country Tamil (83.8%) and the Muslim (57.3%) think that India's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process will have a positive impact. Interestingly, those who believe that India's involvement will have a positive impact is higher amongst the Up-Country Tamil community. *(Ref. Page 38)*
- ◆ When people were asked as to why they think the Government is willing to start talks, a majority of the Sinhala (66.4%) and Muslim (50%) communities state that it is because of their commitment to the peace process. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (57.7%) community state that it is because of international pressure. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, there has been an interesting shift in the Up-Country Tamil opinion. Those who believe that the Government is willing to start talks because of the international pressure have significantly decreased (Before Peace Talks- 57.7%, After Peace Talks- 38.5%) while those who think that it is because of their commitment to the peace process have significantly increased (Before Peace Talks- 19.2%, After Peace Talks- 46.2%). *(Ref. Page 39)*



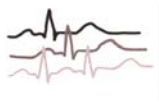
- ◆ When people were asked as to why they think the LTTE is willing to start talks, a majority of the Sinhala (40.1%) community think that it is because the LTTE wants to buy more time. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 42.3% think it is because of their commitment to the peace process while 34.6% think that it is because of the international pressure. The Muslim community has a mixed opinion in this regard (Commitment to the peace process- 28.6%, International pressure- 25%, LTTE wants to buy more time- 17.9%, Don't know/not sure- 25%). However, after the peace talks in Geneva on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, those who believe that the LTTE is willing to start talks because of their commitment to the peace process have significantly increased amongst the Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 28.6%, After Peace Talks- 40%) and the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 42.3%, After Peace Talks- 50%) communities while the Sinhala opinion remains the same. *(Ref. Page 40)*
- ◆ When asked about the sincerity of the Government in going for peace talks, a majority of the Sinhala (87.8%), Up-Country Tamil (58.3%) and the Muslim (78.5%) communities think that the Government is sincere. However, after Geneva Peace talks on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, those who say that the government is sincere amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 58.3%, After Peace Talks- 46.7%) and the Muslim (Before Peace Talks- 78.5%, After Peace Talks- 66.7%) communities have decreased while the Sinhala opinion remains the same. *(Ref. Page 41)*
- ◆ When asked about the sincerity of the LTTE in going for peace talks, a majority of the Sinhala (78.7%) community think that the LTTE is not sincere. The Sinhala opinion did not change due to peace talks. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (68%) and the Muslim (50%) communities think that the LTTE is sincere in going for peace talks. However, after the peace talks in Geneva on the 28th & 29th of October 2006, those who believe that the LTTE is sincere has significantly decreased amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Before Peace Talks- 68%, After Peace Talks- 53.3%) community. Interestingly, the Muslim opinion has shifted from its earlier stand. Prior to peace talks, a majority of the Muslim (50%) community think that the LTTE is sincere in going for peace talks. Nevertheless, after peace talks, a majority of the Muslim (46.7%) community think that the LTTE is not sincere at all. *(Ref. Page 42)*
- ◆ When people were asked as to what should be the talks between the Government and the LTTE about, a majority of the Sinhala (Core political issues- 24.6%, Amending the ceasefire- 9.5%, Both- 26.8%), Up-Country Tamil (Core political issues- 32%, Amending the ceasefire- 12%, Both- 28%) and Muslim (Core political issues- 24.1%, Amending the ceasefire- 13.8%, Both- 17.2%) communities has mixed opinion. *(Ref. Page 43)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (56%), Up-Country Tamil (44%) and an overwhelming majority of the Muslim (93.1%) communities state that there should be a separate Muslim representation at the peace talks. *(Ref. Page 44)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (41.1%) and Muslim (47.7%) communities think that the people in the north and east are getting adequate food and medical supplies. However, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (58.2%) community think that the people in the north and east are not getting adequate food and medical supplies. *(Ref. Page 45)*



- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (67.5%) community think that the actors responsible are doing enough to ensure the adequate supply of food and medicine. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (65%) community think that the actors responsible are not doing enough to ensure the adequate supply of food and medicine. The Muslim community has a mixed opinion in this regard (Yes- 28.8%, No- 25.8%). *(Ref. Page 46)*
- ◆ With regard to the recent news reports that indicate Karuna's willingness to participate in future talks, a majority of the Sinhala (47.8%) community think that it is important to have Karuna faction representation in future talks while 16% think that it is not important. 36.2% of the Sinhala community don't know or not sure. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 36.6% say it is not important while 54.9% don't know or not sure. Amongst the Muslim community, 32.5% think it is important while 48.1% don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 47)*
- ◆ With regard to the LTTEs allegations on the Government of assisting the Karuna group, 23.2% of the Sinhala community think that the Government and the Karuna group have no relationship while 58% don't know or not sure. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 18.8% think that the Government is assisting the Karuna group and carry out joint military operations with them while 57.5% don't know or not sure. Amongst the Muslim community, 16.9% think that the Government is not assisting the Karuna group but allowing them to operate freely in Government controlled areas while 61% don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 48)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (78.7%), Up-Country Tamil (64.6%) and Muslim (65.8%) communities believe that the consensus between the UNP and the SLFP will have a positive impact on the peace process. *(Ref. Page 49)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (71.5%), Up-Country Tamil (57.3%) and Muslim (67.1%) communities believe that the consensus between the UNP and the SLFP will have a positive impact on the country at large. *(Ref. Page 50)*
- ◆ Of the people who are aware of the JVP politburos claim that the Government agreeing to unconditional talks with the LTTE is a violation of the mandate given to the president by the people at the last presidential elections, 28.6% of the Sinhala community disagree while 22.9% of the Sinhala community agree. The Up-Country Tamil community has a divided opinion (Agree- 25.3%, Disagree- 25.3%). Amongst the Muslim community, 35.5% of the Muslim community disagrees while 15.8% agree. *(Ref. Page 51)*
- ◆ Of the people who are aware of the collapse of talks between the Government and the JVP in forming a political alliance, a majority of the Sinhala (48.7%) and the Muslim (51.9%) communities think that it will have a negative impact on the country at large. The Up-Country Tamil community has a mixed opinion (Positive impact- 44.4%, Negative impact- 37%). *(Ref. Page 52)*

This wave of the PCI has ascertained the public opinion on four of the 20 points put forward by the JVP. The responses are as follows;

- ◆ **Abrogating the CFA:** A majority of the Sinhala (43.8%) community has no opinion. Nevertheless, 29.2% oppose while 27% support this demand of the JVP. However, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (59.5%) and the Muslim (69.7%) communities are opposed to the idea of abrogating the CFA. *(Ref. Page 53)*



- ◆ **Removing Norway from the peace facilitator role:** A majority of the Sinhala (46.9%) community support it. However, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (57.5%) and the Muslim (58.7%) communities are opposed to it. *(Ref. Page 54)*
- ◆ **De-merger of the North East:** A majority of the Sinhala (48.6%) community has no opinion. Nevertheless, 28.6% support it while 22.8% oppose this demand of the JVP. However, a majority of the Muslim (57.3%) community are opposed to it. The Up-Country Tamil community has a divided opinion in this regard (Oppose- 48.7%, Support- 48.7%). *(Ref. Page 55)*
- ◆ **Reducing the cabinet to 30 members:** A majority of the Sinhala (62.3%) community shows their support. However, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil (43.8%) community has no opinion. A majority of the Muslim (42.7%) community are opposed to it. *(Ref. Page 56)*
- ◆ Of the people who are aware of the Supreme Court ruling on the 16th of October 2006, that merger of North and East is invalid, a majority of the Sinhala (39%) community think that it will have positive impact on the peace process. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (82.8%) and Muslim (51.7%) communities think that it will have a negative impact on the peace process. *(Ref. Page 57)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (62.1%), Up-Country Tamil (72.1%) and the Muslim (62.2%) communities think that the Government of Sri Lanka has the responsibility for the protection of human rights. *(Ref. Page 58)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (54.7%) community think that the actor responsible for protecting human rights has done enough to protect human rights. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (77.3%) community think the actor responsible for protecting human rights has not done enough to protect human rights. The Muslim community has a mixed opinion in this regard (Yes- 43.8%, No- 37.5%). *(Ref. Page 59)*
- ◆ Answering to the President's call for a national commission to investigate into the recent killings with an international panel of observers, a majority of the Sinhala (51.6%) and the Up-Country Tamil (53.2%) communities express that they don't have an opinion in this regard while a majority of the Muslim (44.3%) community demand for an international commission of observers. *(Ref. Page 60)*
- ◆ When asked about the media reports which indicated that the Sri Lankan armed forces are committed to battle in Muhamalei without the knowledge of the political leadership, a majority of the Sinhala (51.8%) community do not believe it. A majority of the Muslim (54.8%) community believe it. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (58.8%) community don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 61)*
- ◆ Of the people who believe the media reports which indicate that the Sri Lankan armed forces are committed to battle in Muhamalei without the knowledge of the political leadership, a majority of the Sinhala (56.8%), Up-Country Tamil (85.7%) and the Muslim (64.7%) community disapproves of it. *(Ref. Page 62)*



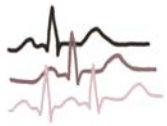
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (43.3%) and the Up-Country Tamil (82.5%) community believe that the recent confrontation with the LTTE has resulted in a large number of civilian killings. Amongst the Muslim community, 48% believe it while 46.7% don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 63)*
- ◆ With regard to the number of abductions of Tamil civilians in Colombo, 41.5% of the Sinhala community says that the LTTE is responsible while 54.3% don't know or not sure. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (58.5%) community think that the government of Sri Lanka is responsible for the abduction. A majority of the Muslim (71.1%) community don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 64)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (59.2%) community think that the LTTE is responsible for the recent killings of the 17 aid workers in Muttur. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (44.4%) community think that the Government forces are responsible for the killings. A majority of the Muslim (64%) community don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 65)*
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (65.2%) community think that the LTTE is responsible for the recent killings of the 10 Muslims in Pottuvil. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (61%) and the Muslim (56%) community don't know or not sure. *(Ref. Page 66)*
- ◆ With regard to the security situation in the country, 43.1% of the Sinhala community thinks that the security condition has turned bad while 34.5% think that it has improved. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, a majority (86.8%) think that the security condition has turned bad. Amongst the Muslim community, 40.8% think that it has improved while 34.2% think that it has turned bad. *(Ref. Page 67)*

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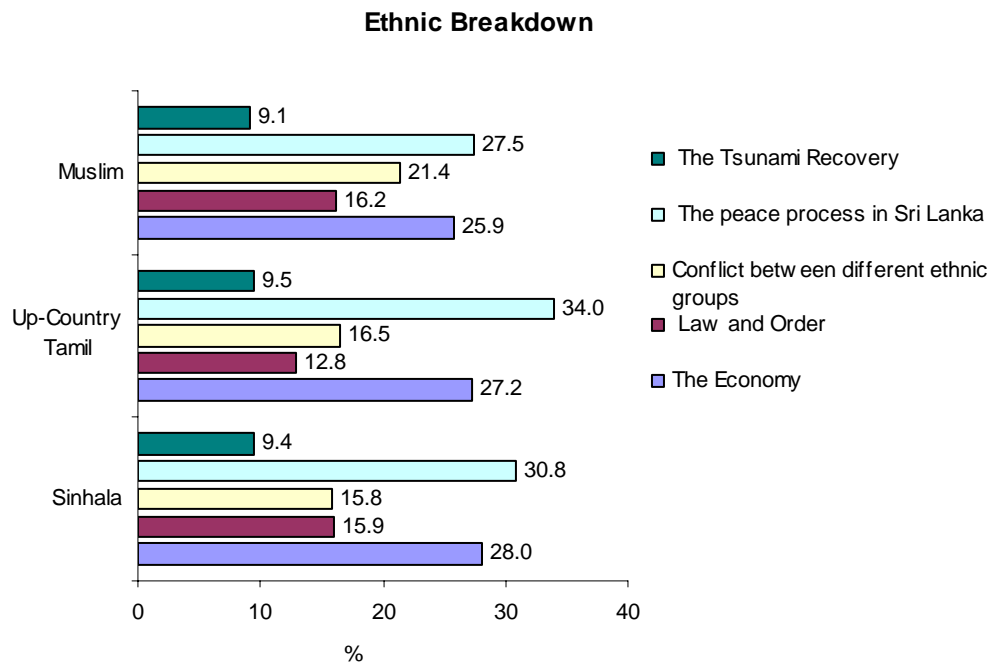
Fax: +9411 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

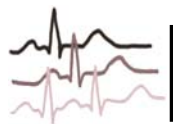


Peace Confidence Index (PCI) May 2001 – November 2006

Important Issues

Rating the degree of importance of five national issues.

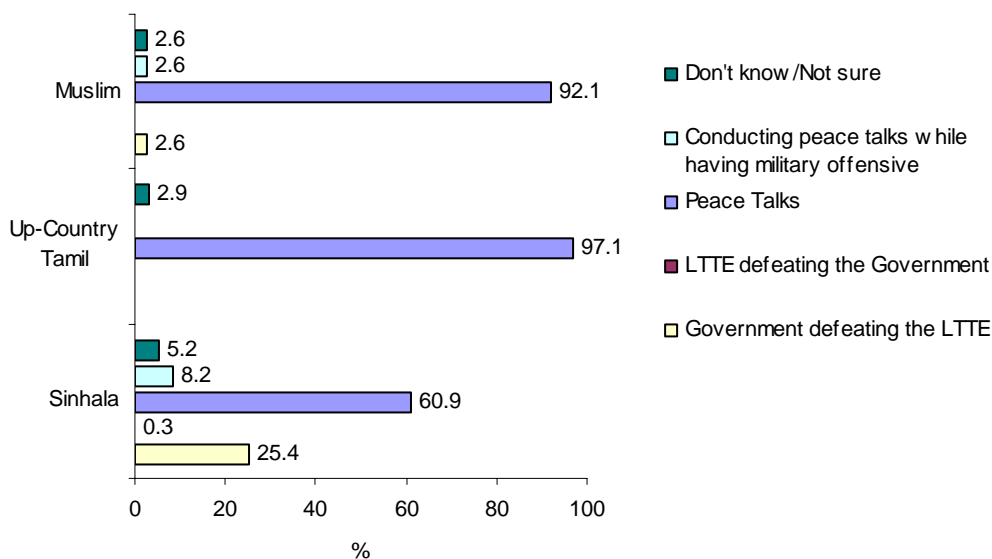




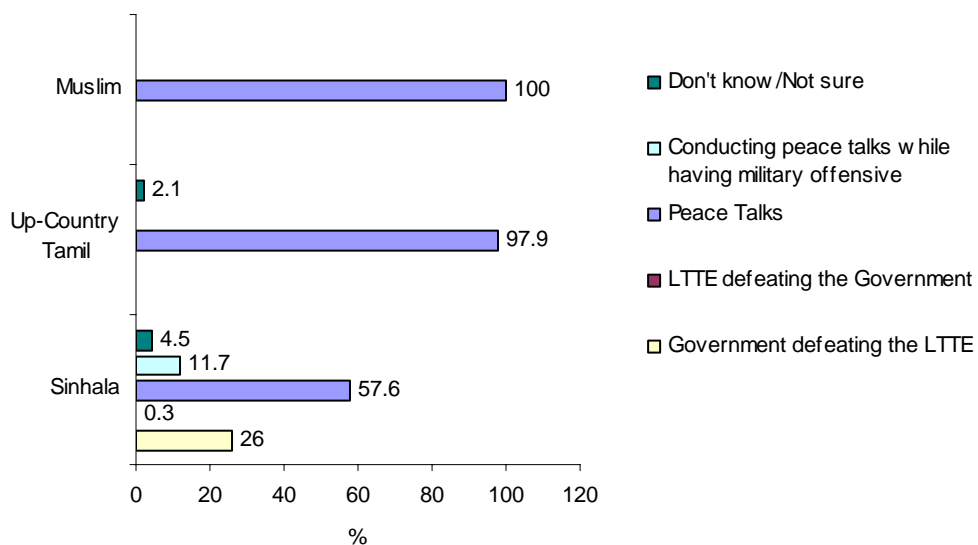
Solutions

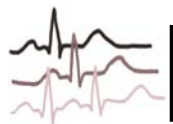
How do you think we can end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)

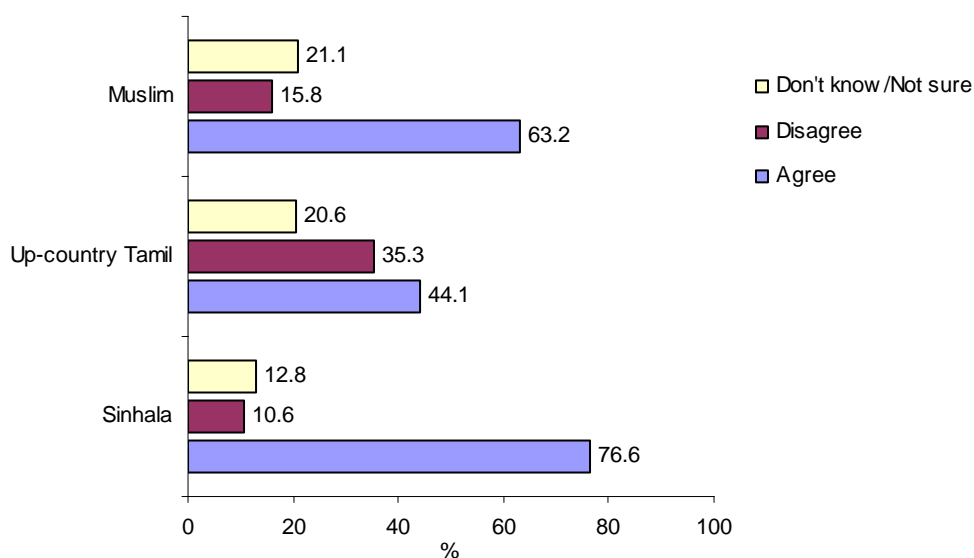




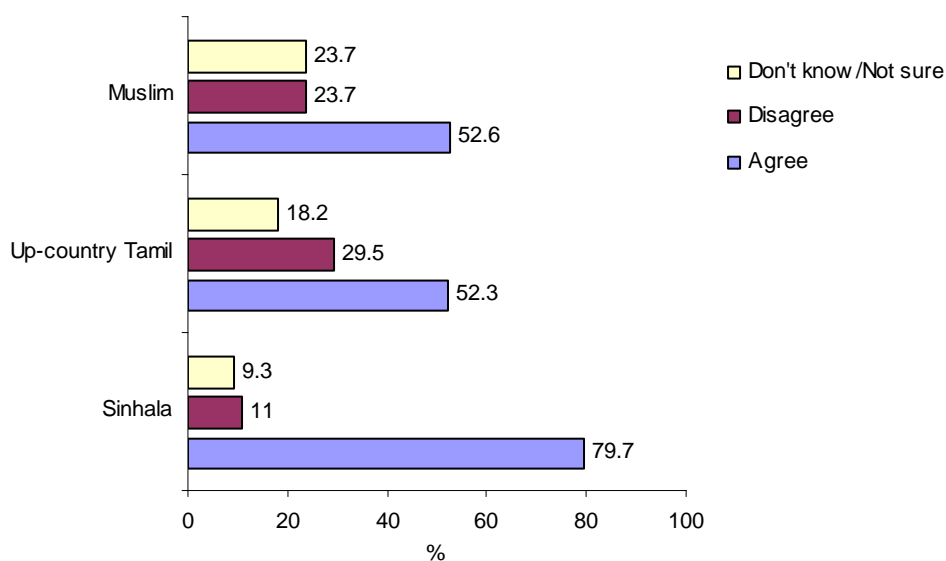
Confidence

I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks.

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



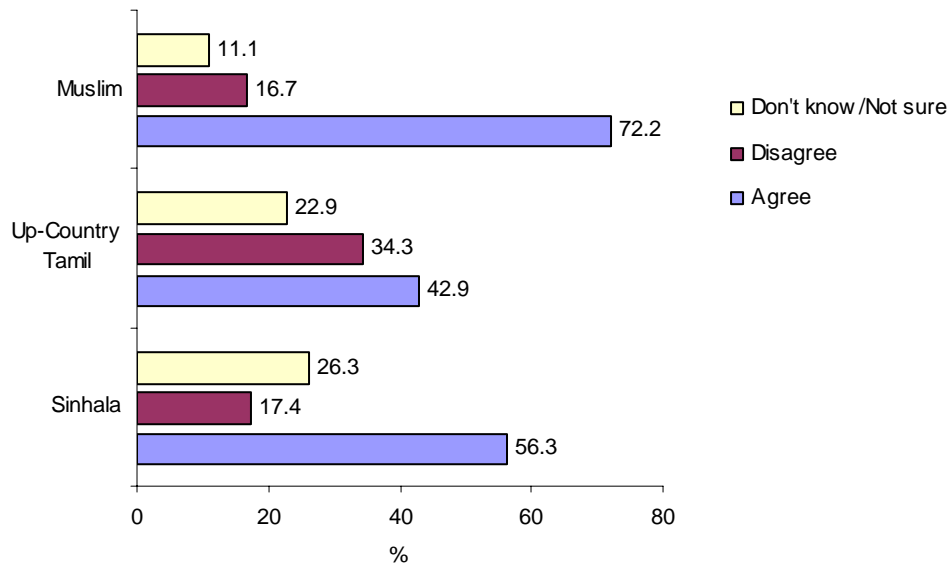
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



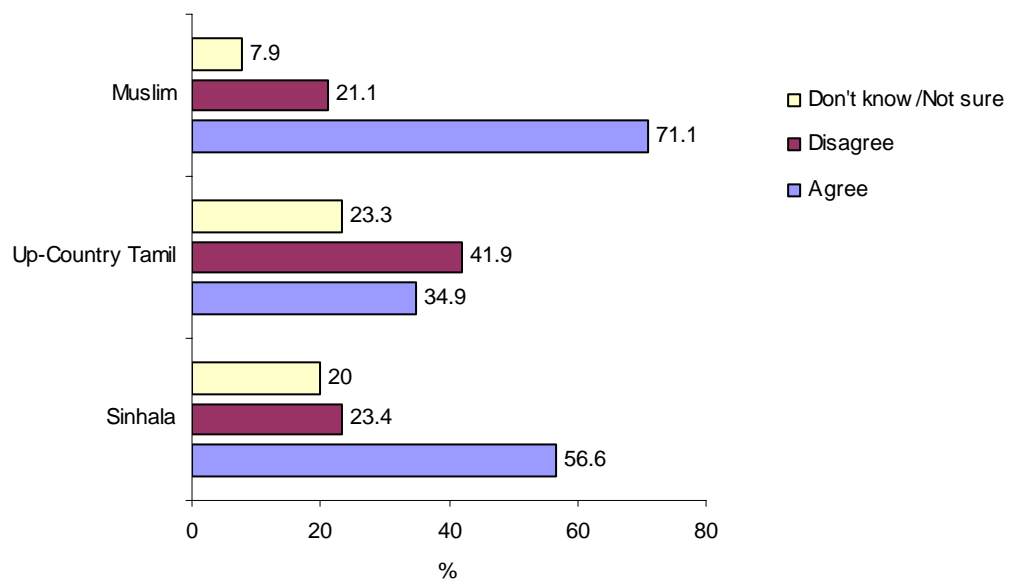


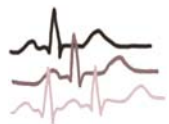
I think the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks.

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



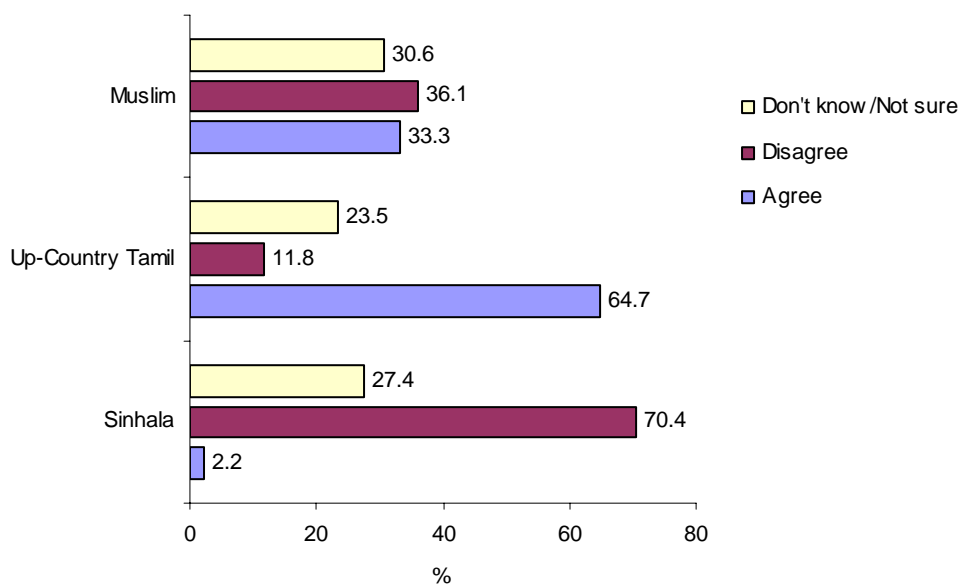
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



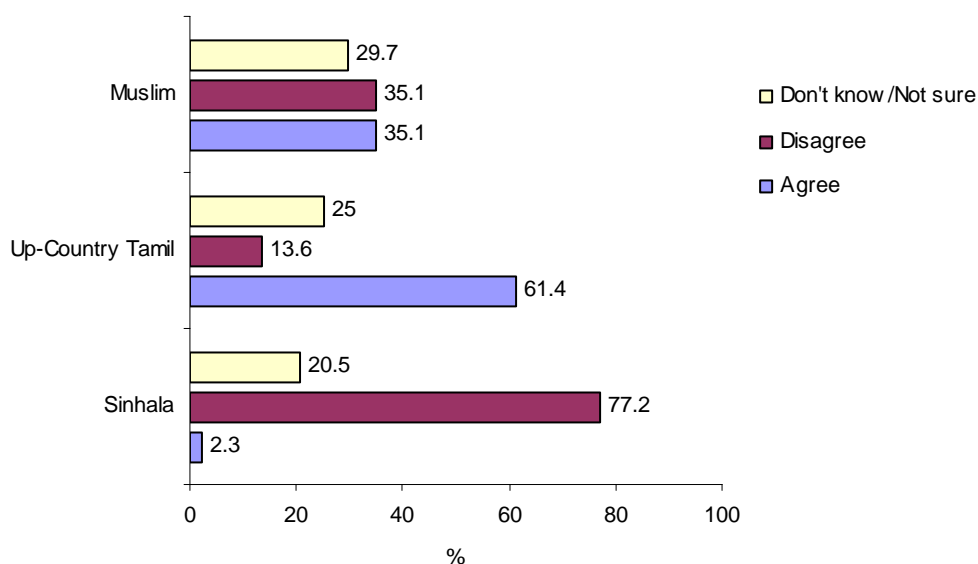


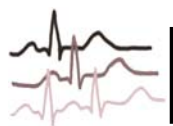
I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



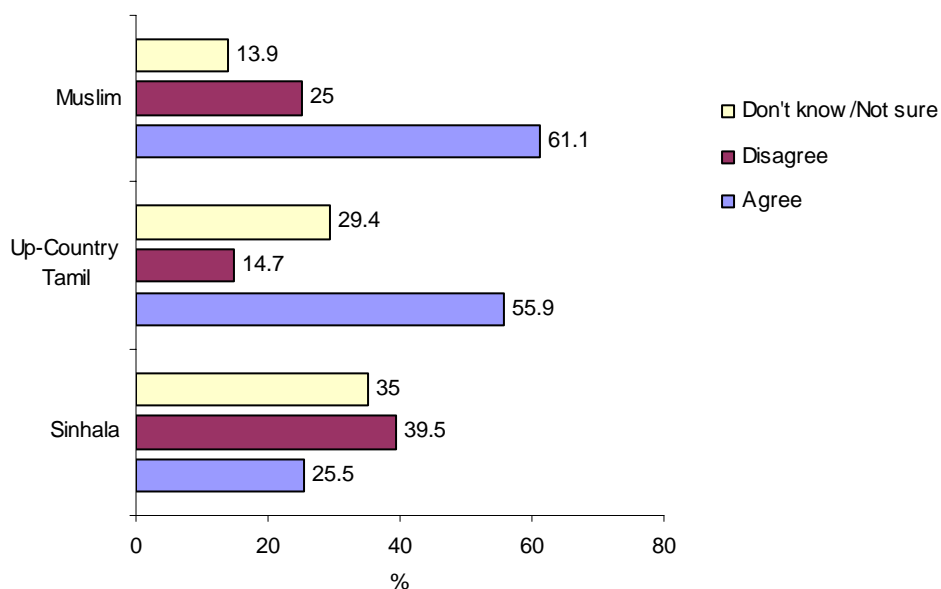
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



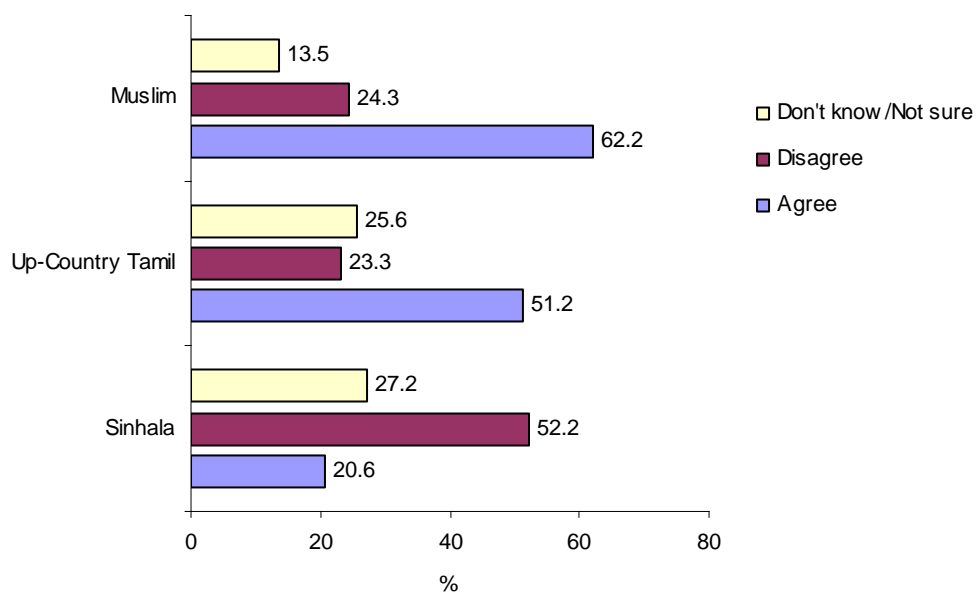


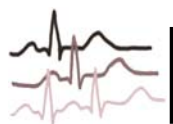
I think the LTTE is fully capable in finding peace through talks.

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



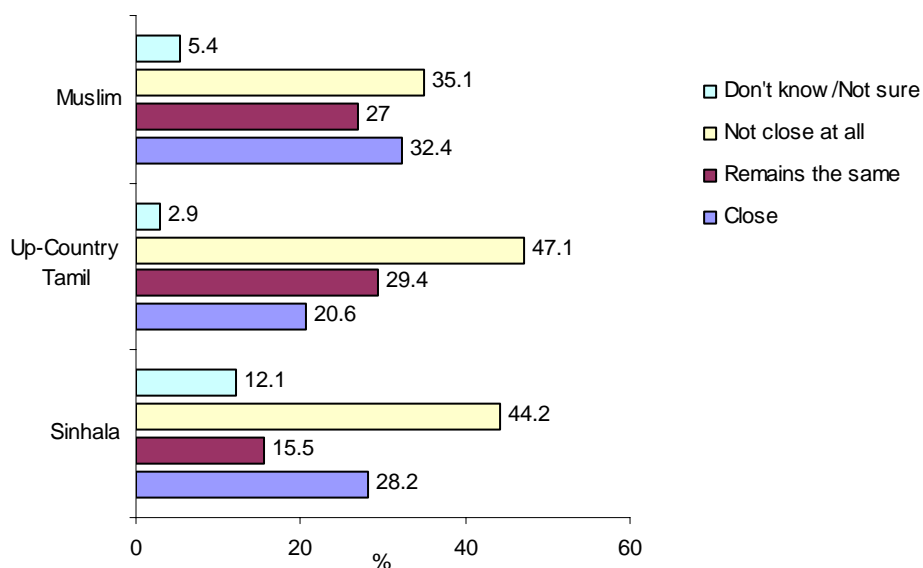
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



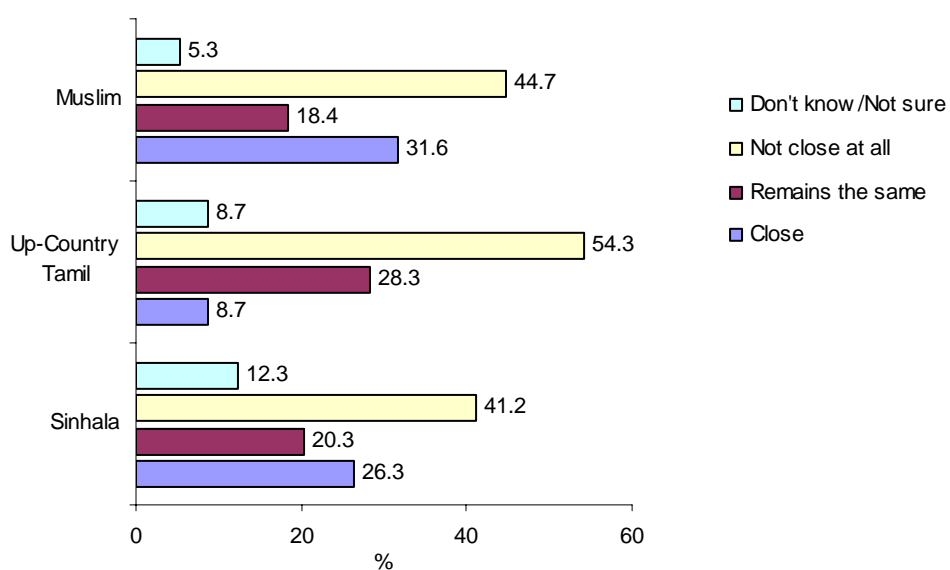


Compared to the situation of the peace process a year ago, how close do you think is the country, at present, in approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



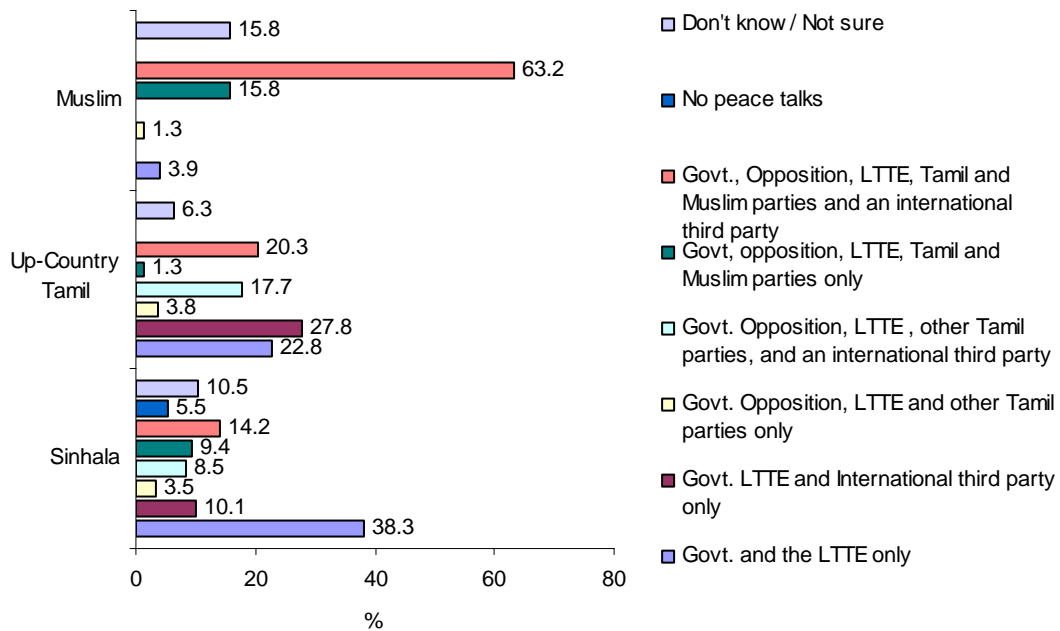
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)

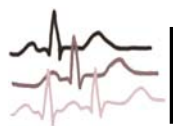




If peace is to be found through negotiations, according to your opinion, who should be involved in negotiations?

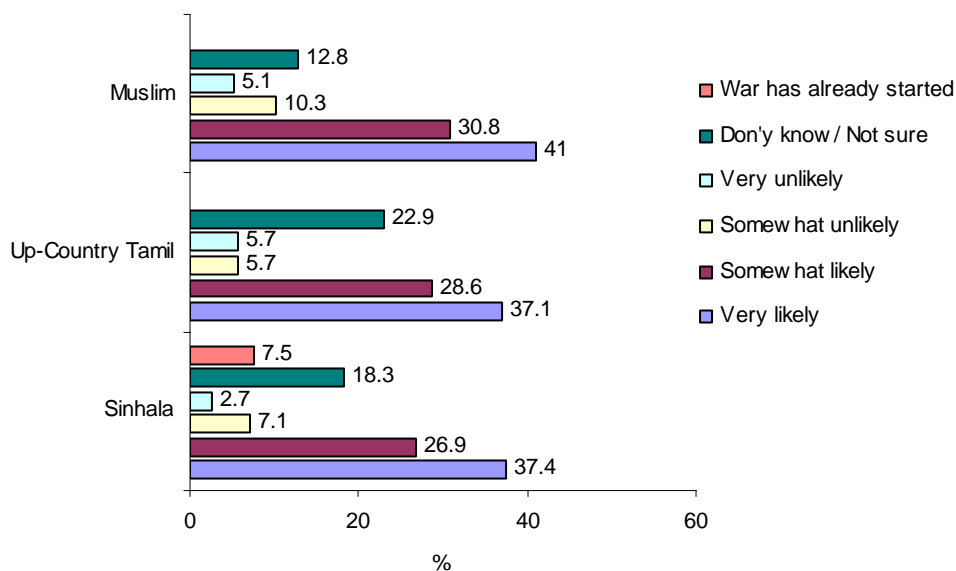
Ethnic Breakdown



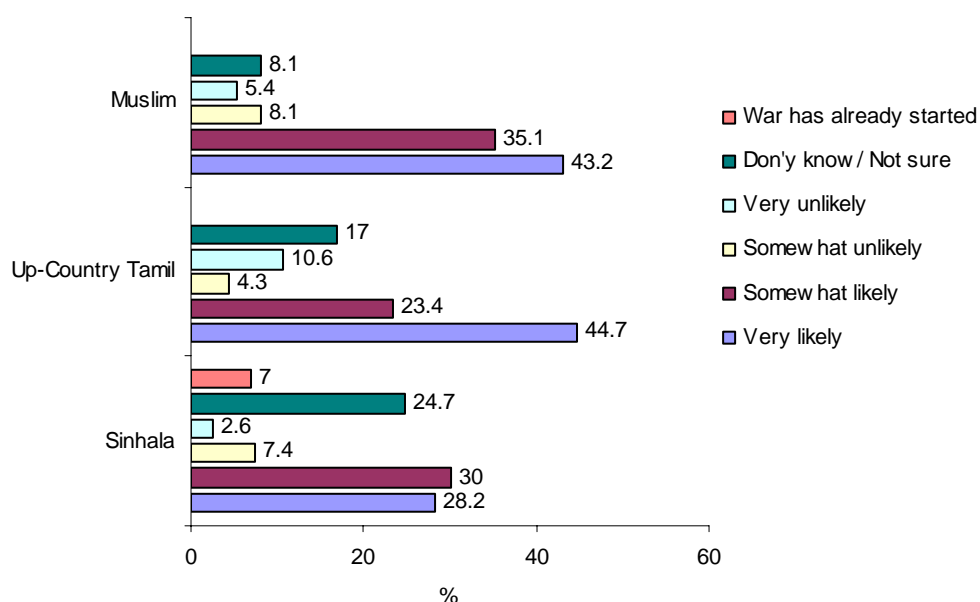


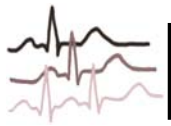
Given the current situation in the country, how likely is it that war will resume?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



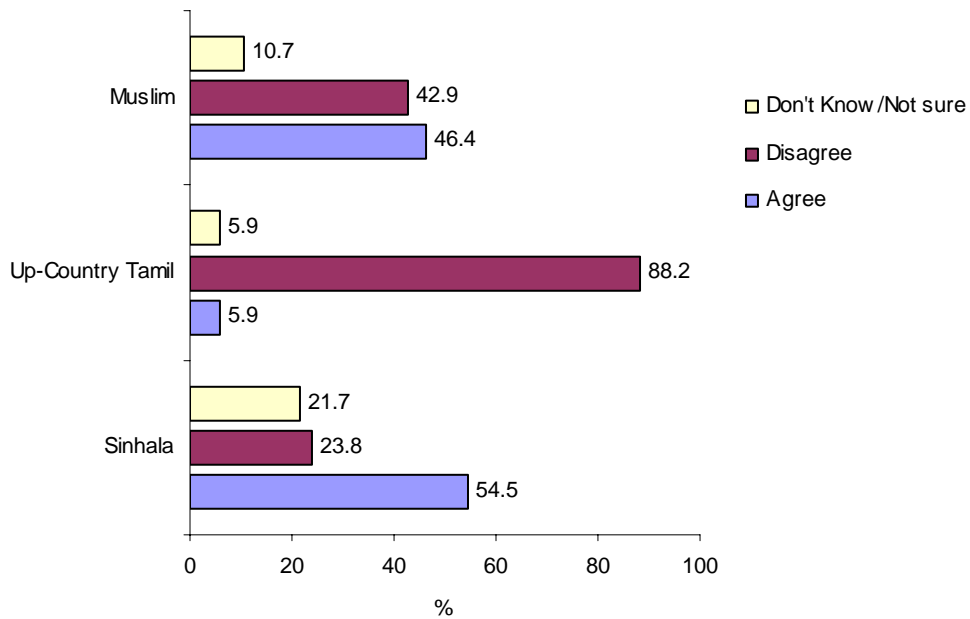
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



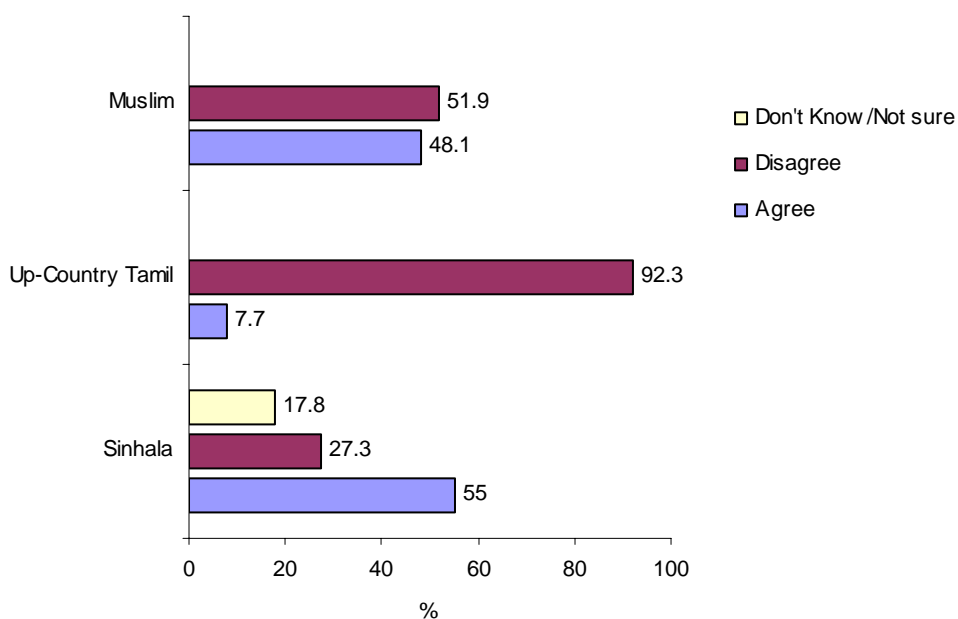


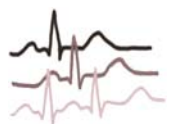
“The Government should expand its military action including even to all out war in order to weaken the LTTE.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)

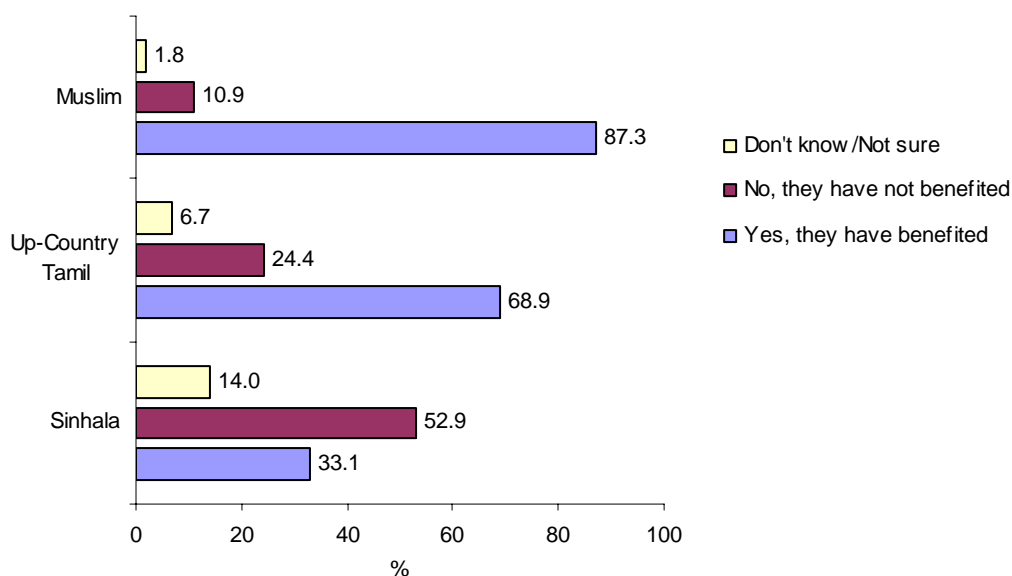




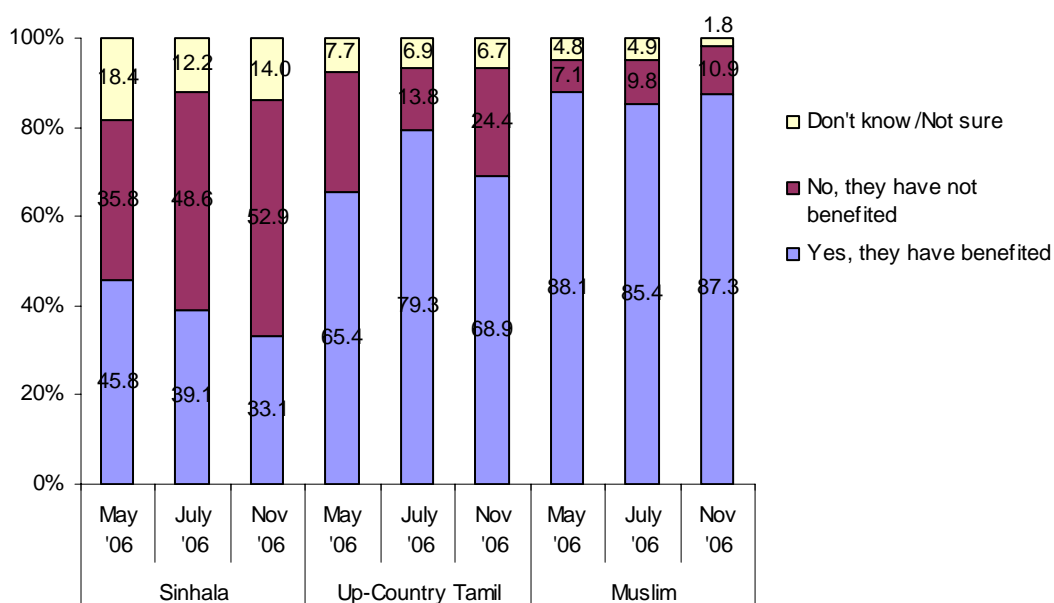
Ceasefire Agreement (CFA)

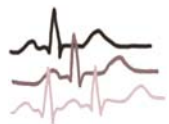
Some people say that the CFA has brought many benefits to ordinary citizens while others say that the CFA has not yielded any benefits to them. In your opinion have Sri Lankans benefited from the CFA or not?

Ethnic Breakdown

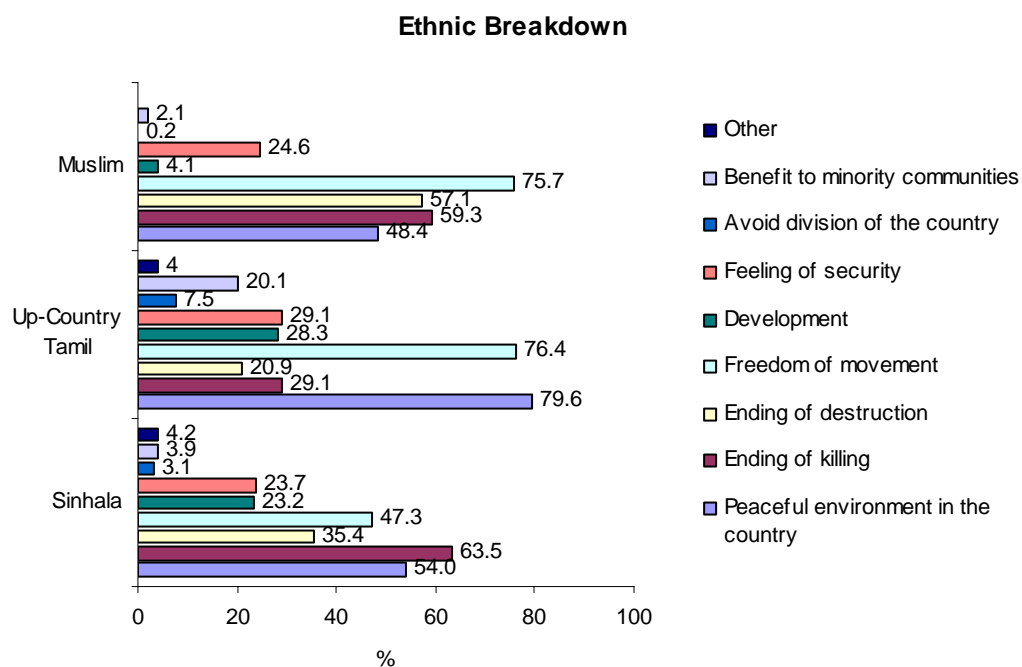


Changes of opinion of Sinhala, Up-Country Tamil and Muslim communities

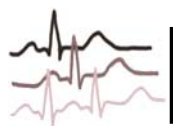




If the answer is "Yes", please tell me three most important benefits of the CFA.*

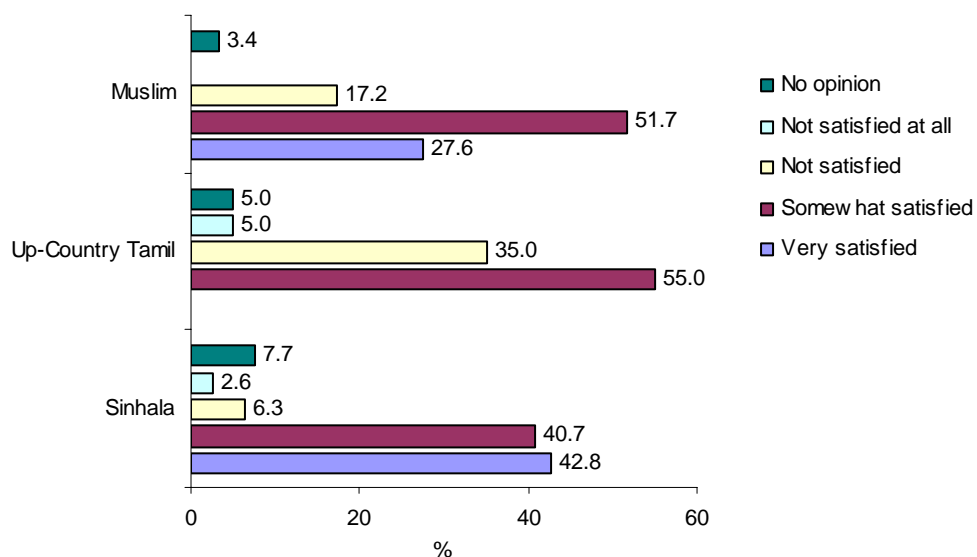


* Only 39% of the respondents say that the CFA has benefited the ordinary citizen.
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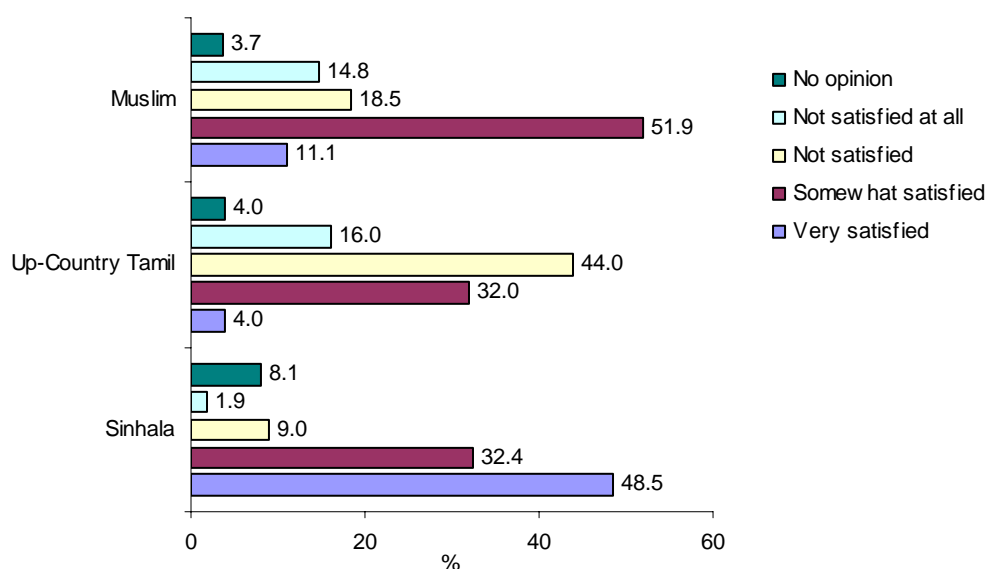


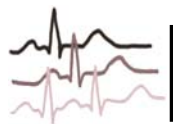
How satisfied are you with the Government's commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



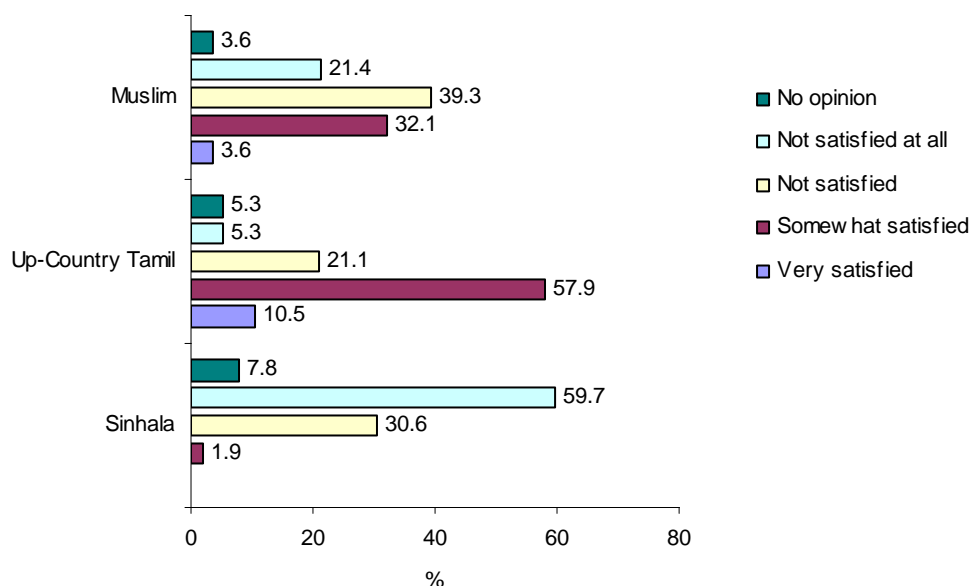
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



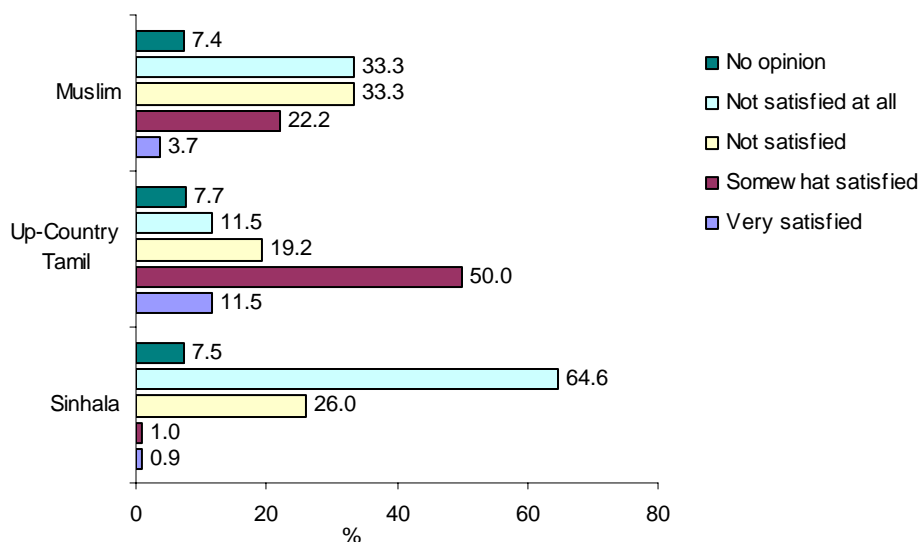


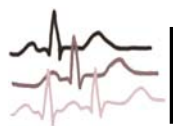
How satisfied are you with the LTTE's commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)

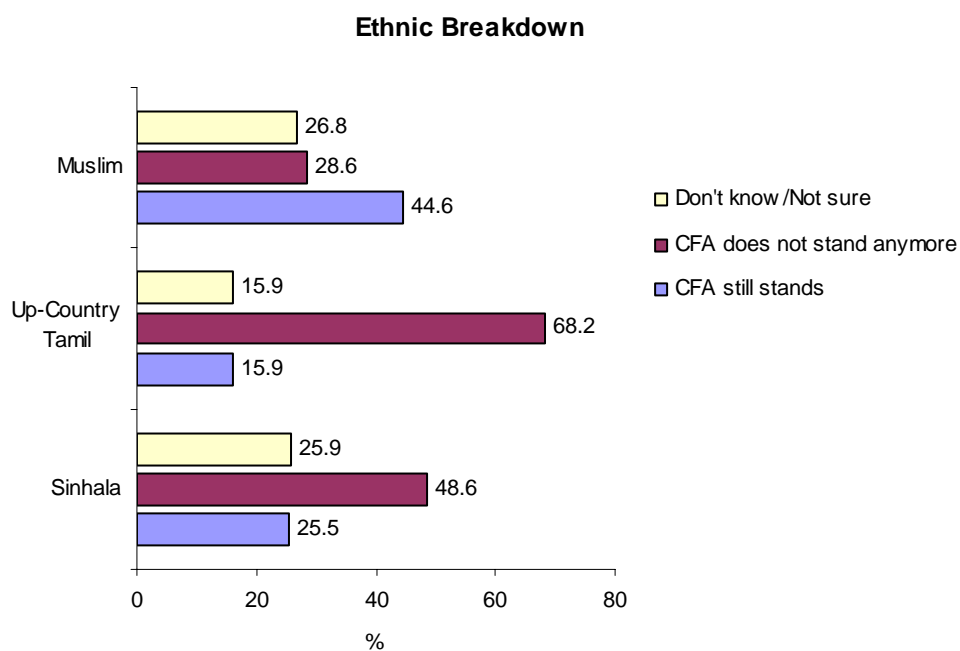


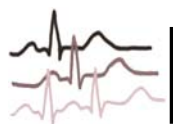
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)





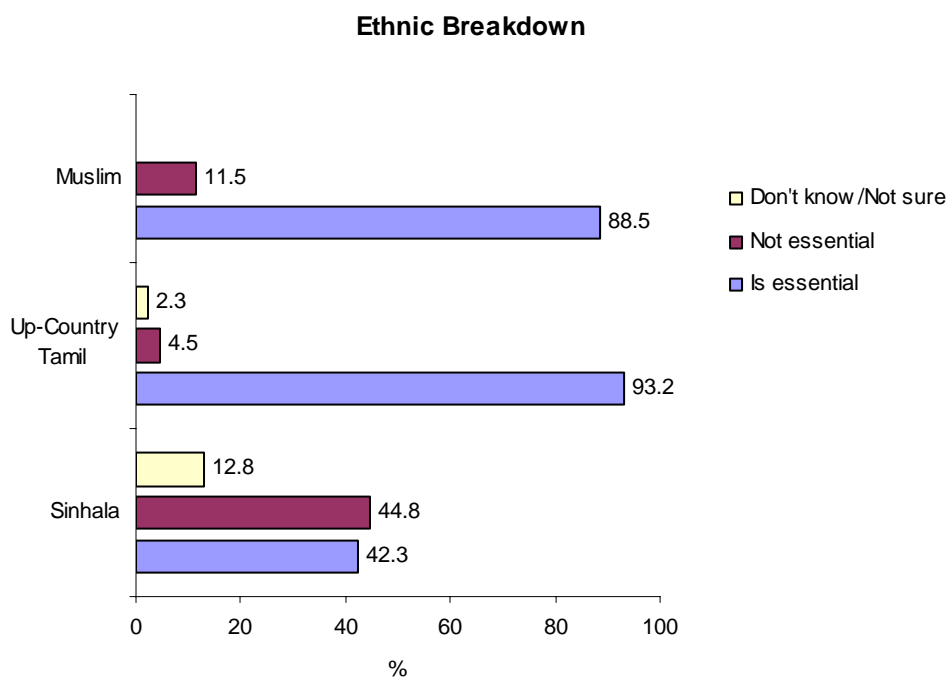
Some people say that the CFA still stands while the others say it does not. What do you think?



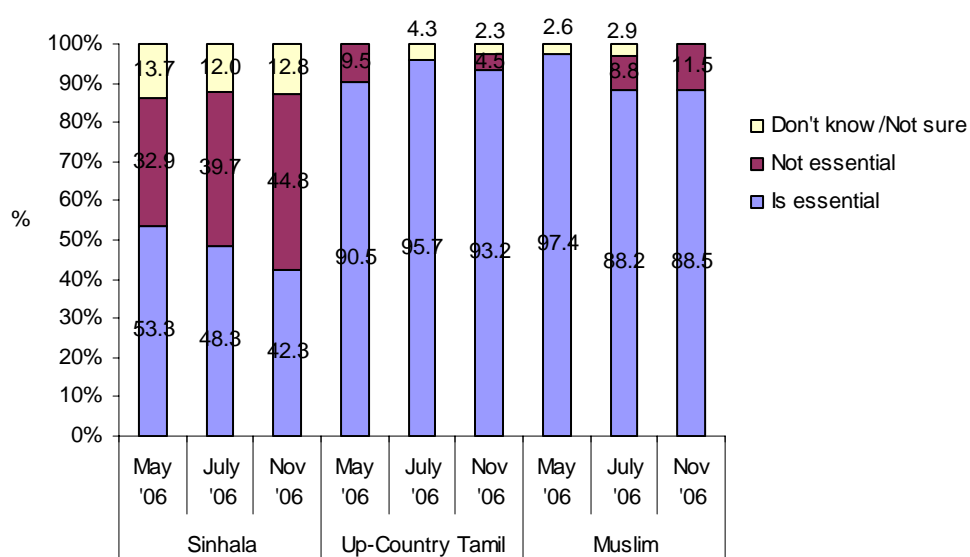


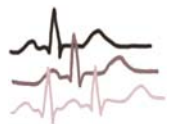
Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission

What is your opinion on the need of a monitoring mission?



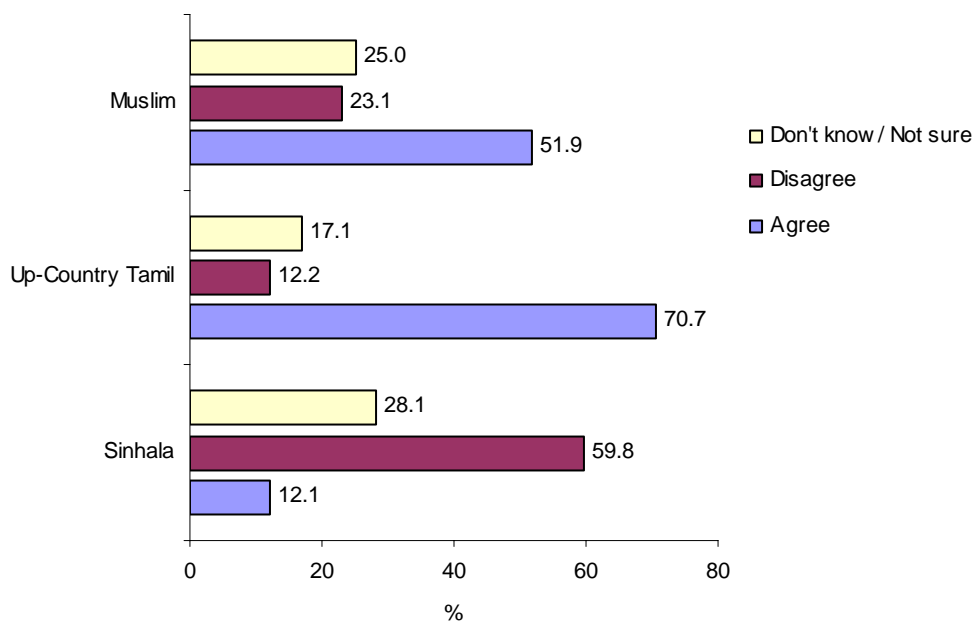
Changes of opinion amongst the Sinhala, Up-Country Tamil and Muslim communities



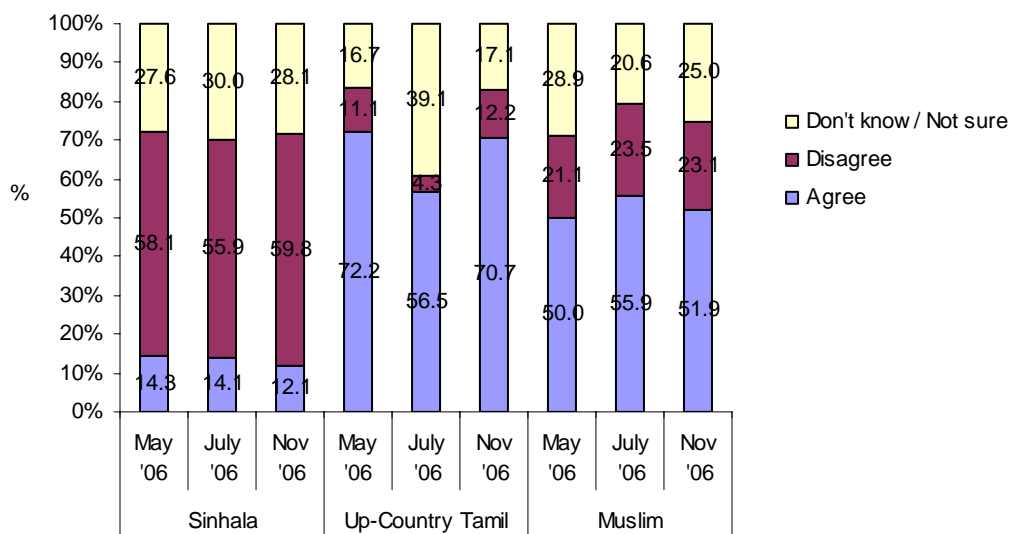


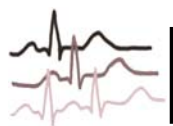
I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.

Ethnic Breakdown



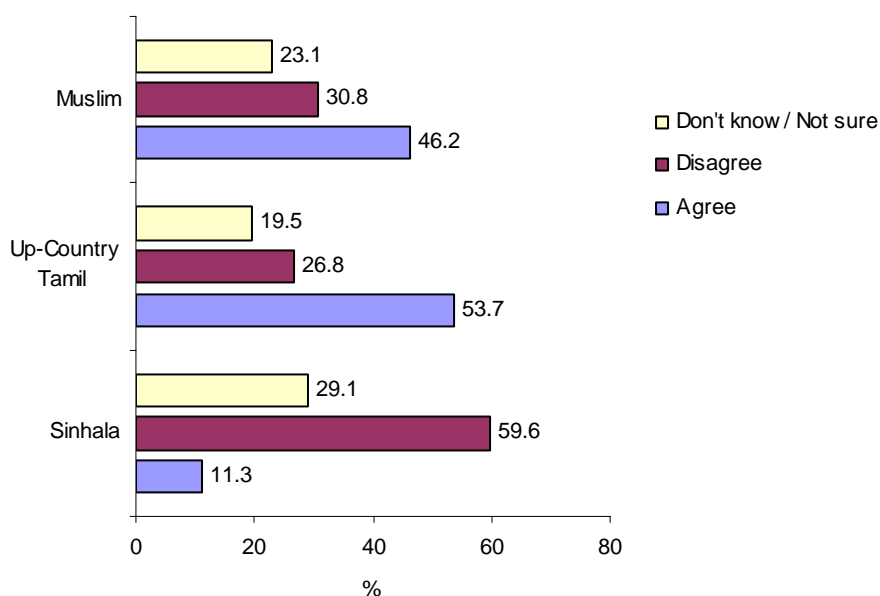
Changes of opinion amongst the Sinhala, Up-Country Tamil and Muslim communities



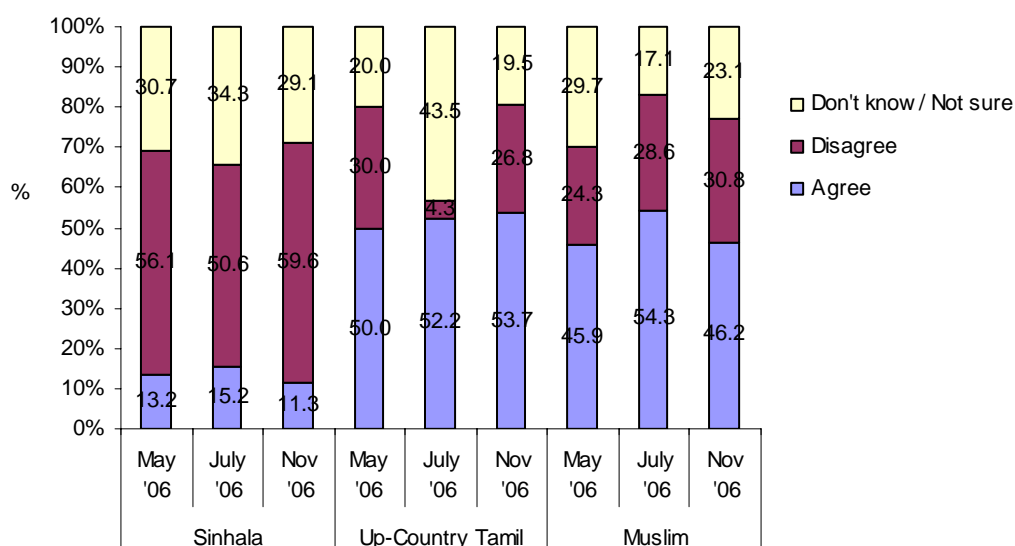


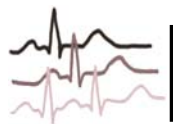
I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.

Ethnic Breakdown



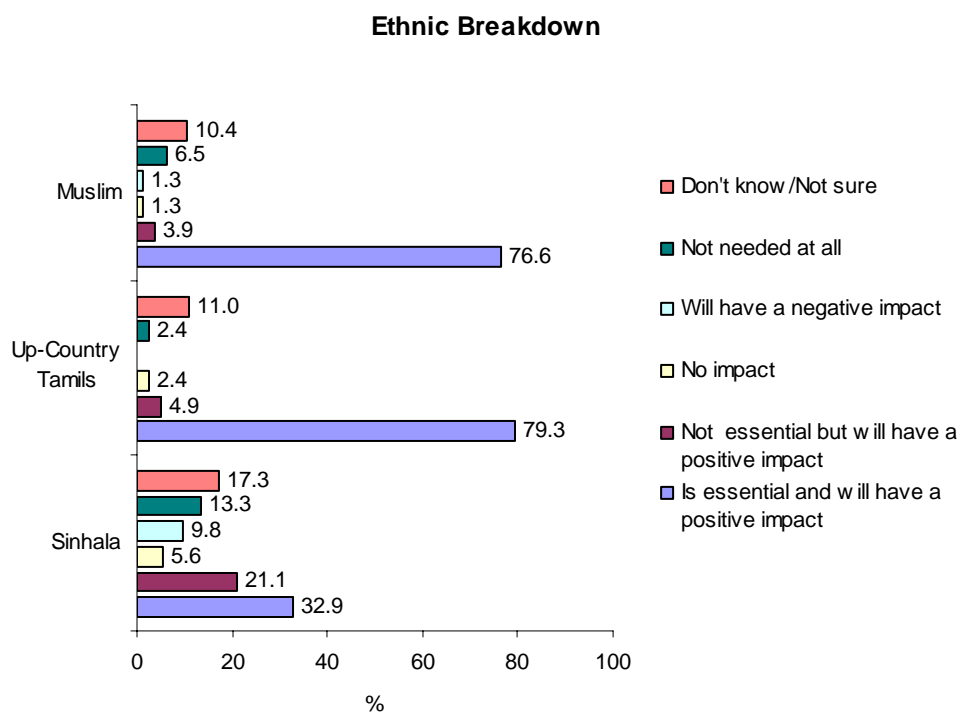
Changes of opinion amongst the Sinhala, Up-Country Tamil and Muslim communities





Foreign Involvement

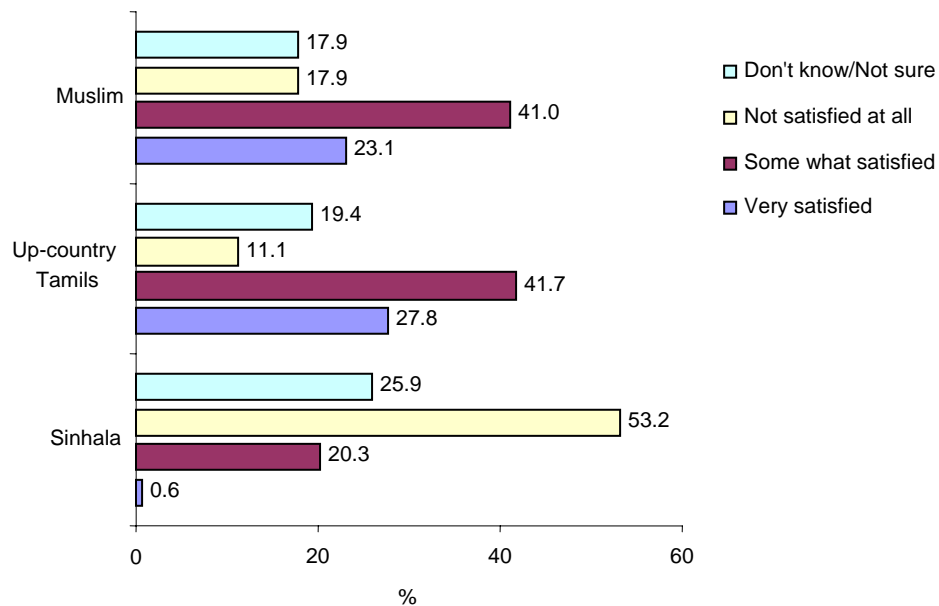
What is your opinion on the need for an international third party as a facilitator to the negotiations, to solve the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka?



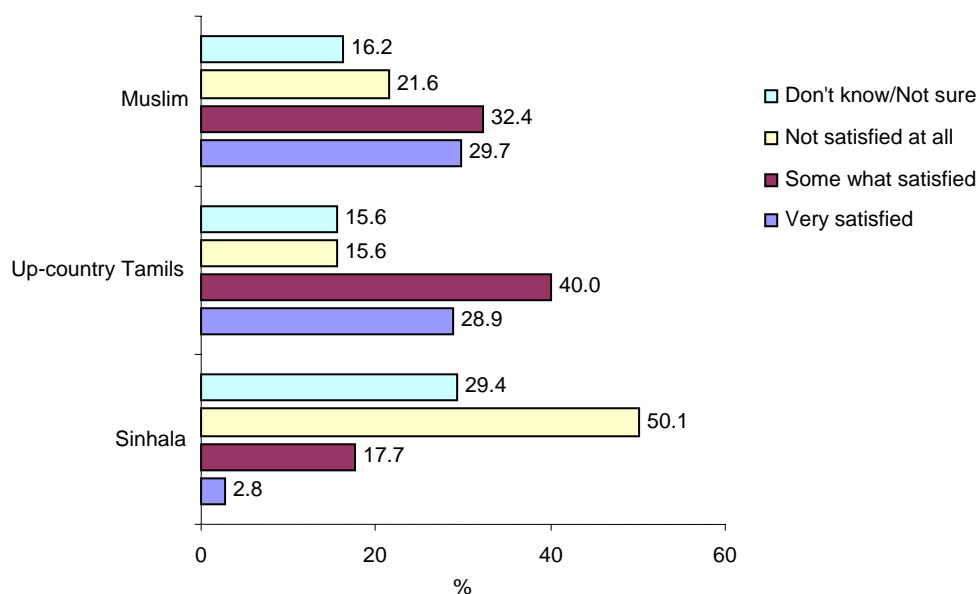


The Norwegian government has been officially facilitating peace negotiations since November 2001. Please tell me your level of satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator.

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



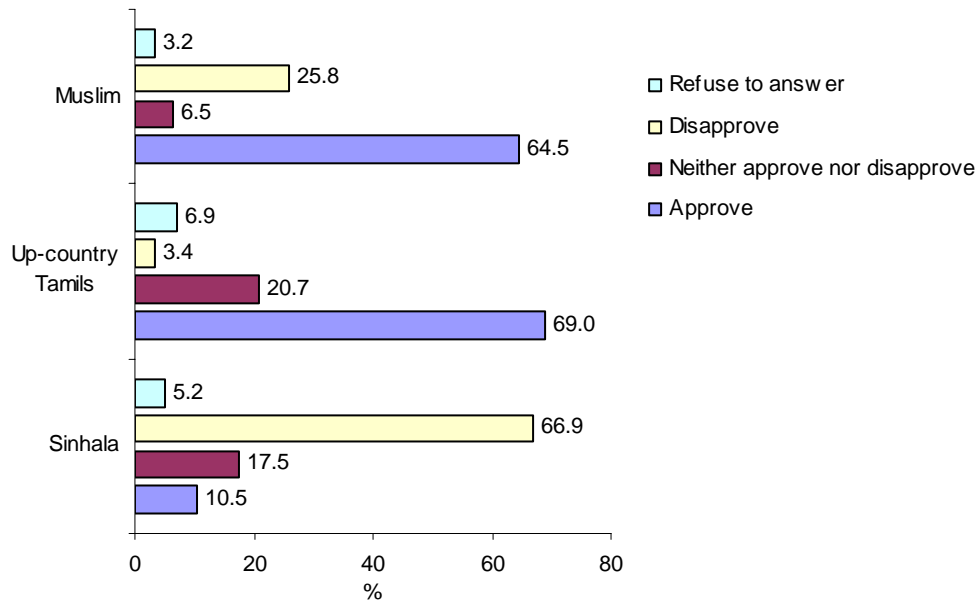
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



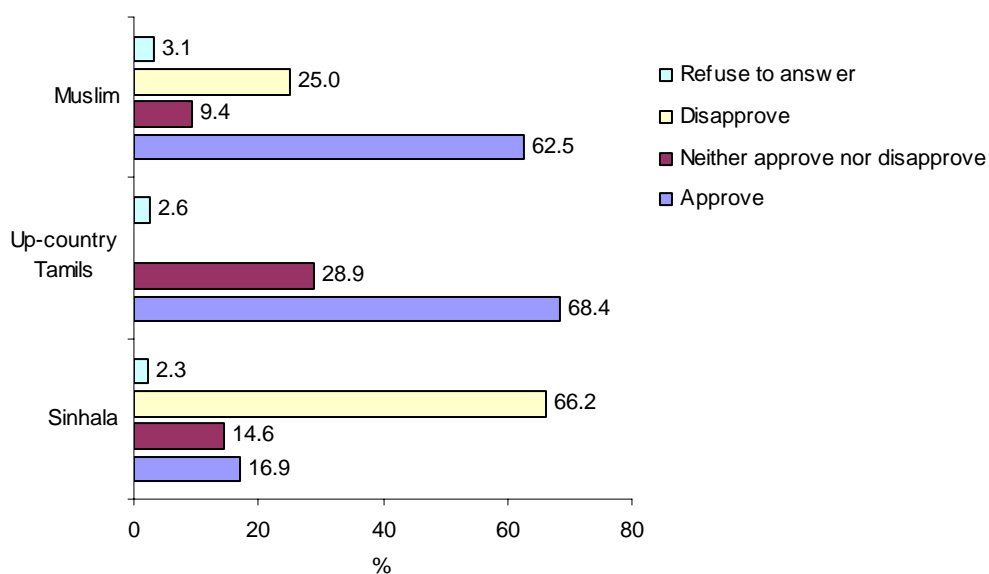


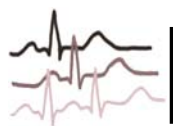
Please state if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process.

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



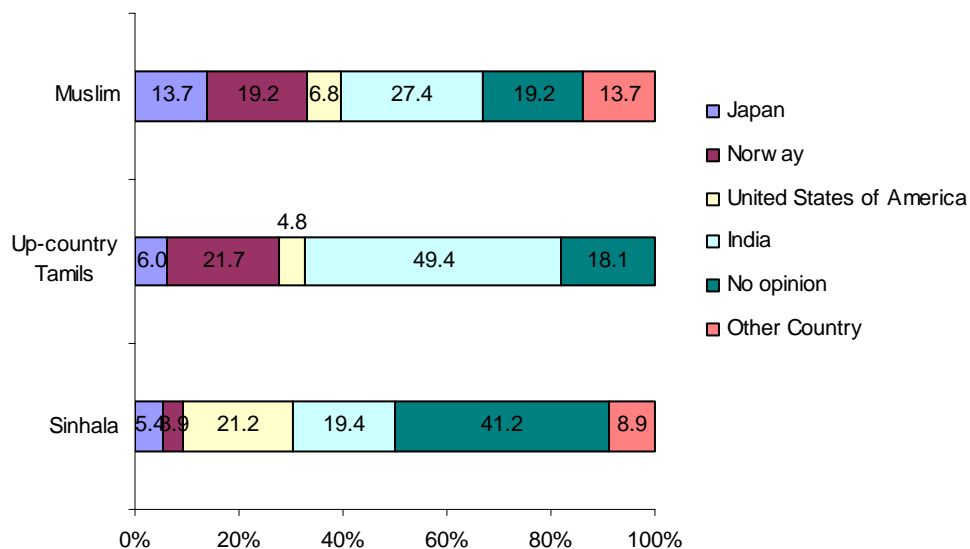
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace Talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)

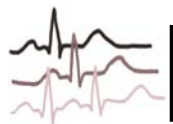




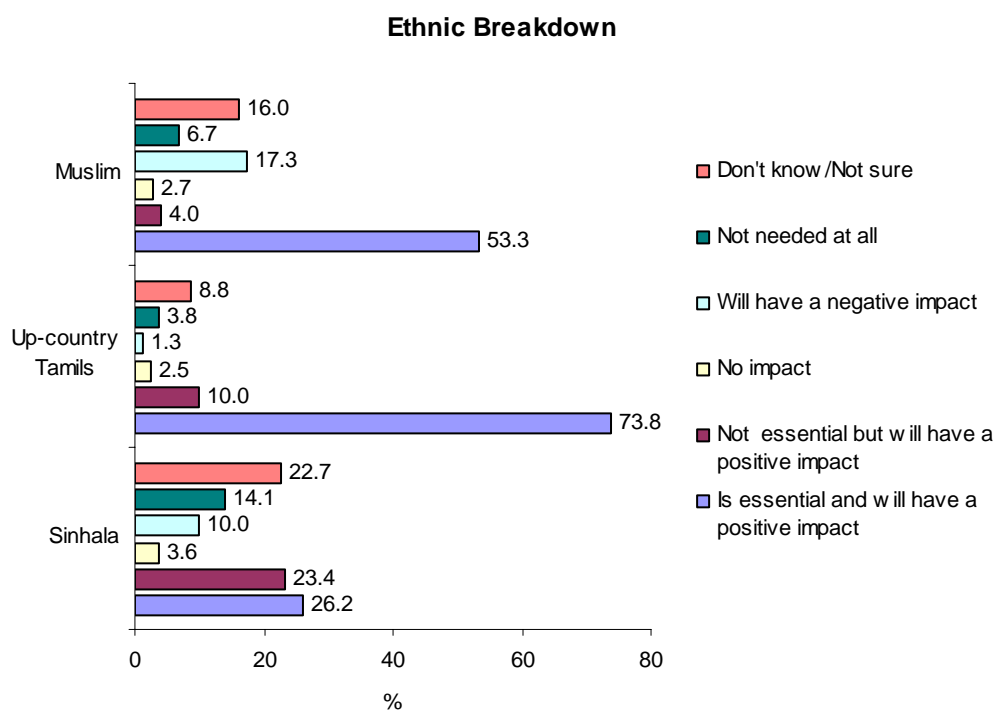
Please state the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator in the peace process.

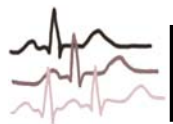
Ethnic Breakdown





What is your opinion of the need for India's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process?

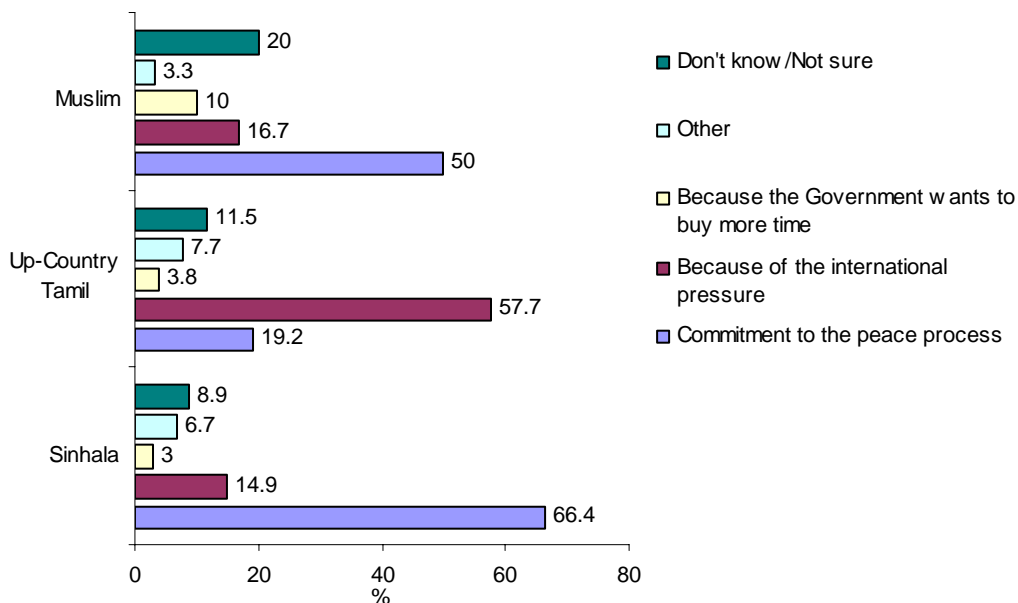




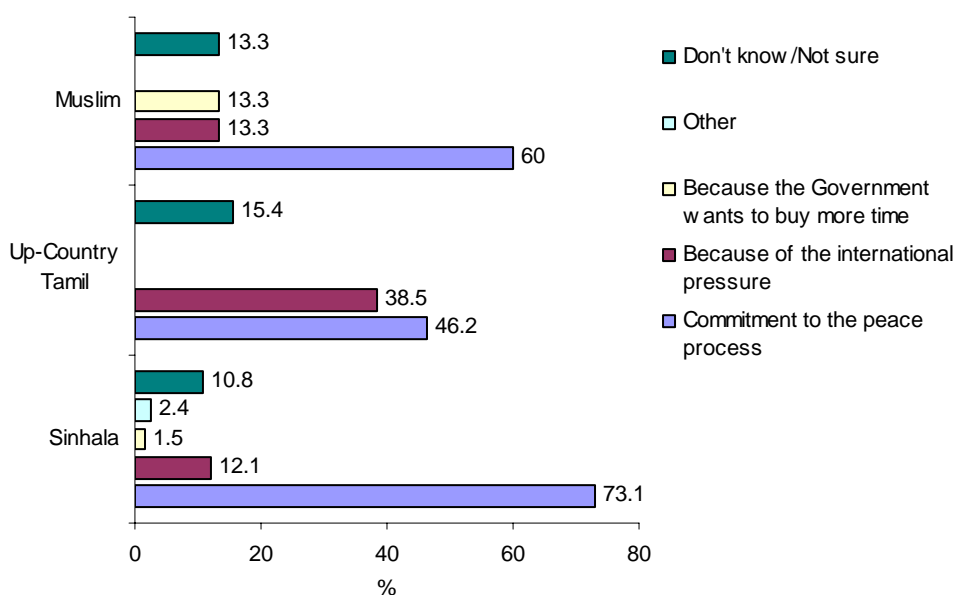
Peace Talks

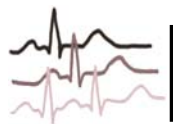
Why do you think the Government is willing to start talks?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



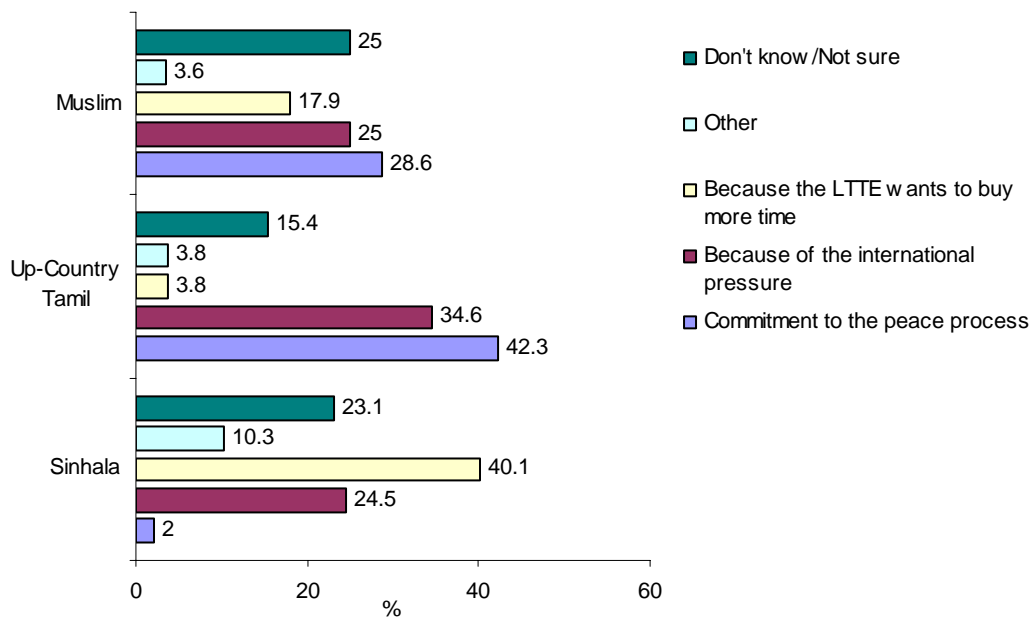
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



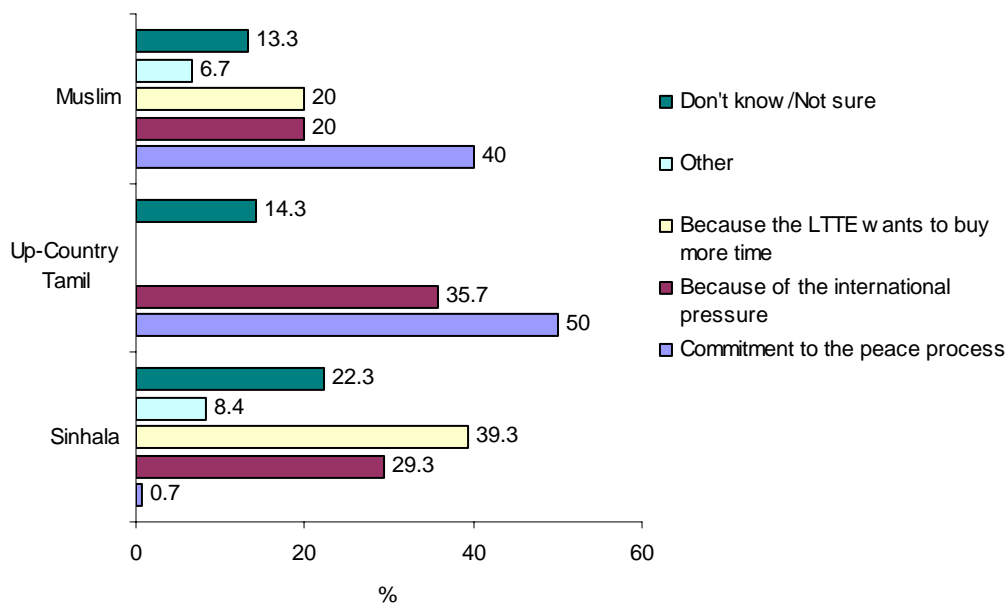


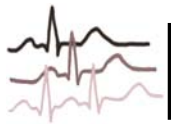
Why do you think the LTTE is willing to start talks?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



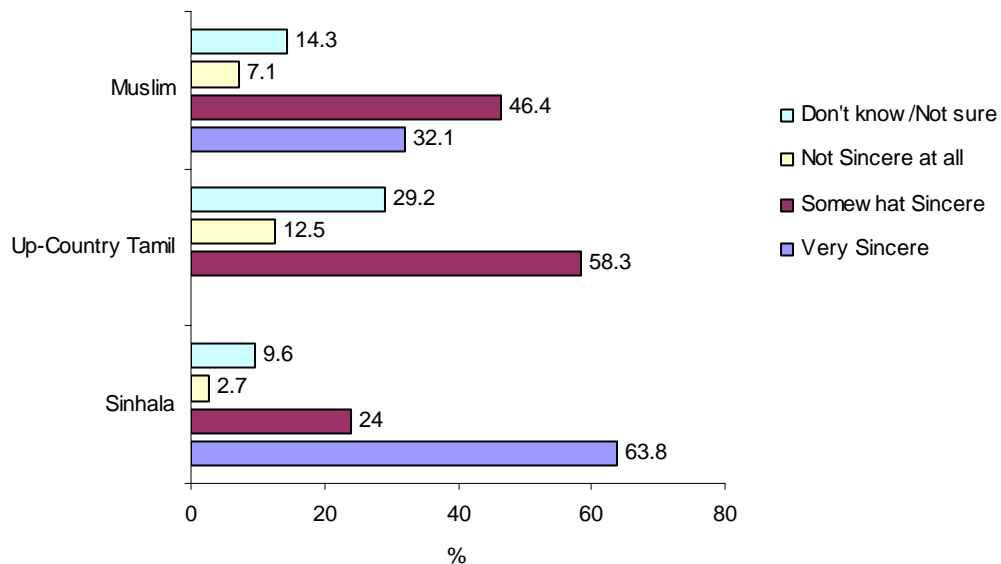
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



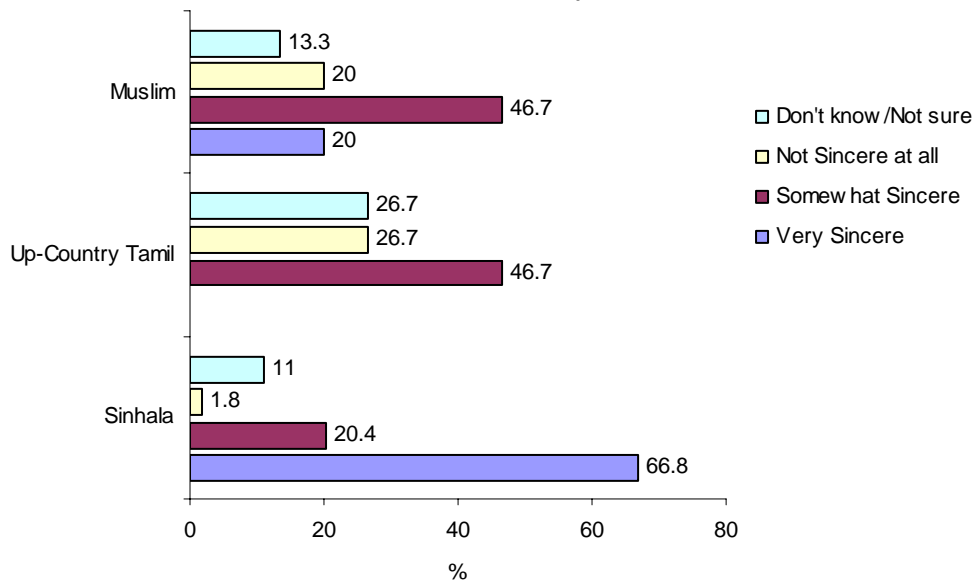


How sincere do you think is the Government in going for peace talks?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



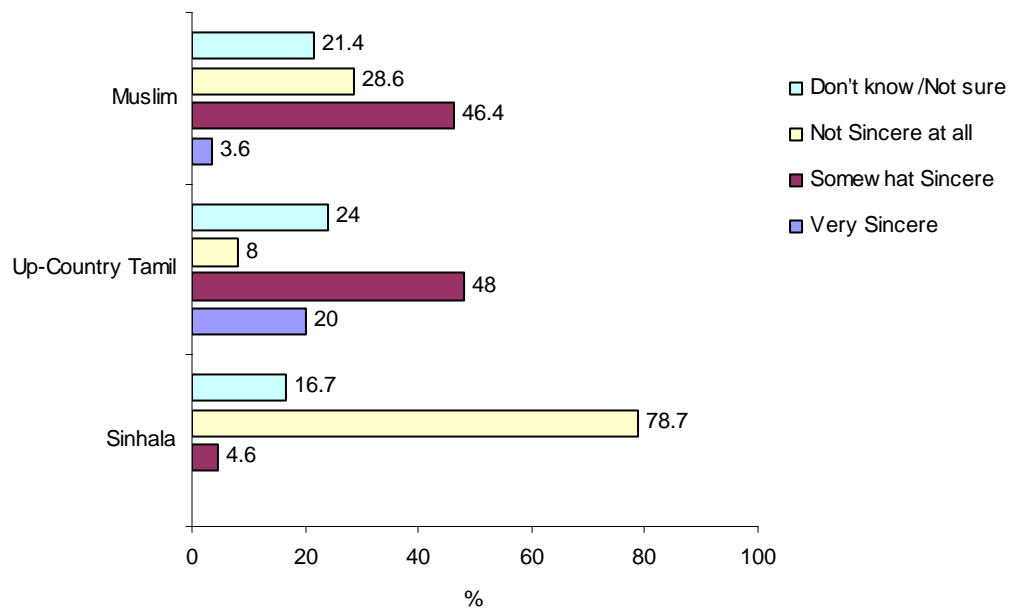
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



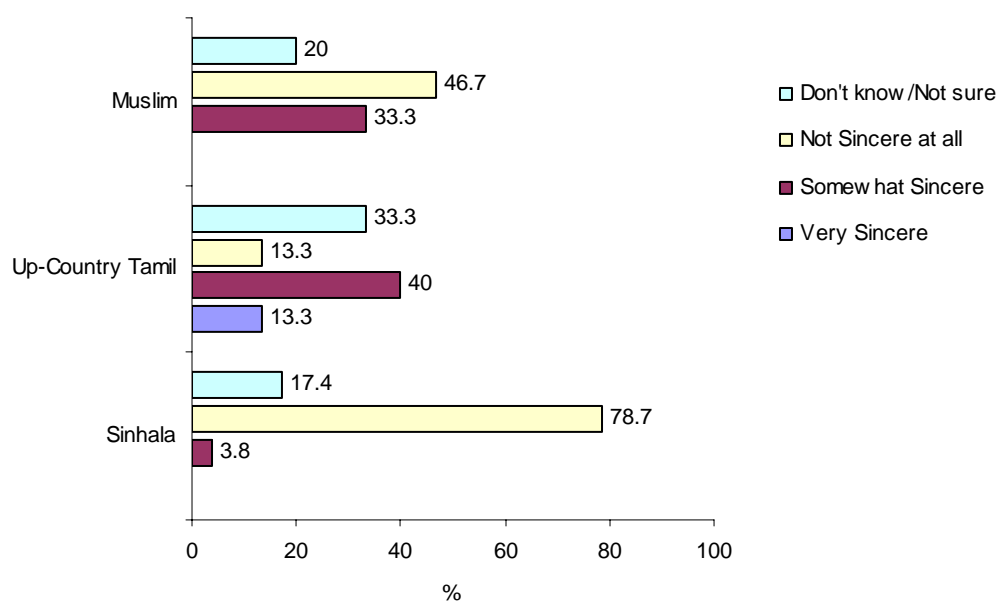


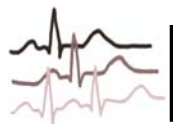
How sincere do you think is the LTTE in going for peace talks?

Ethnic Breakdown - Before Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)

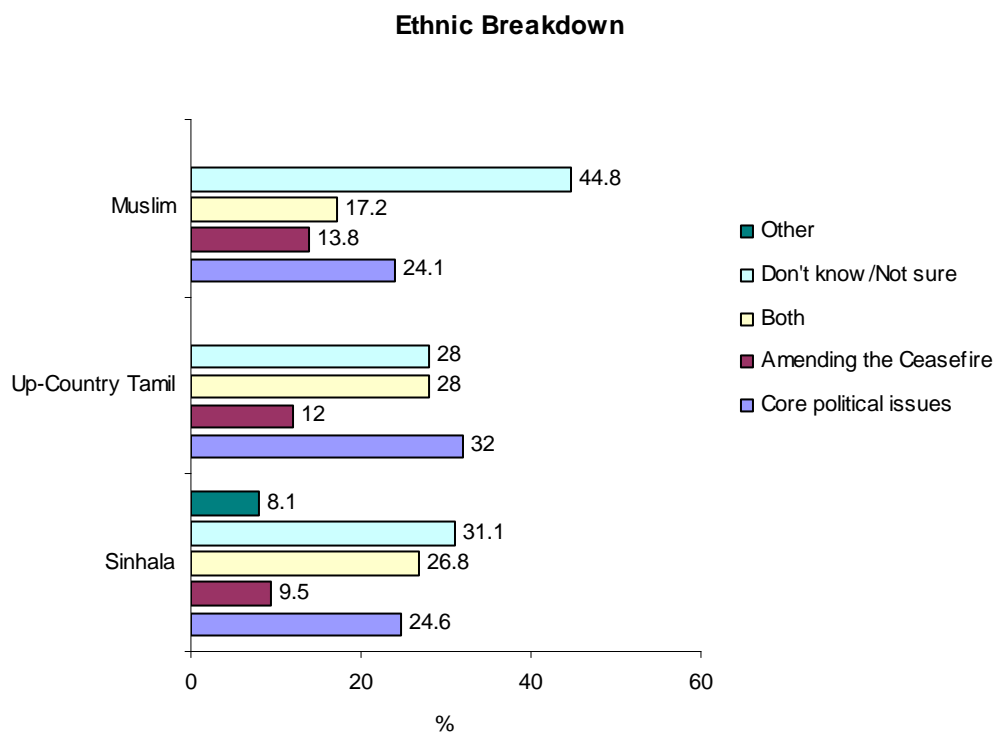


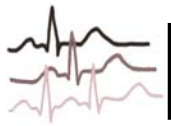
Ethnic Breakdown - After Peace talks in Geneva (28th & 29th October 2006)



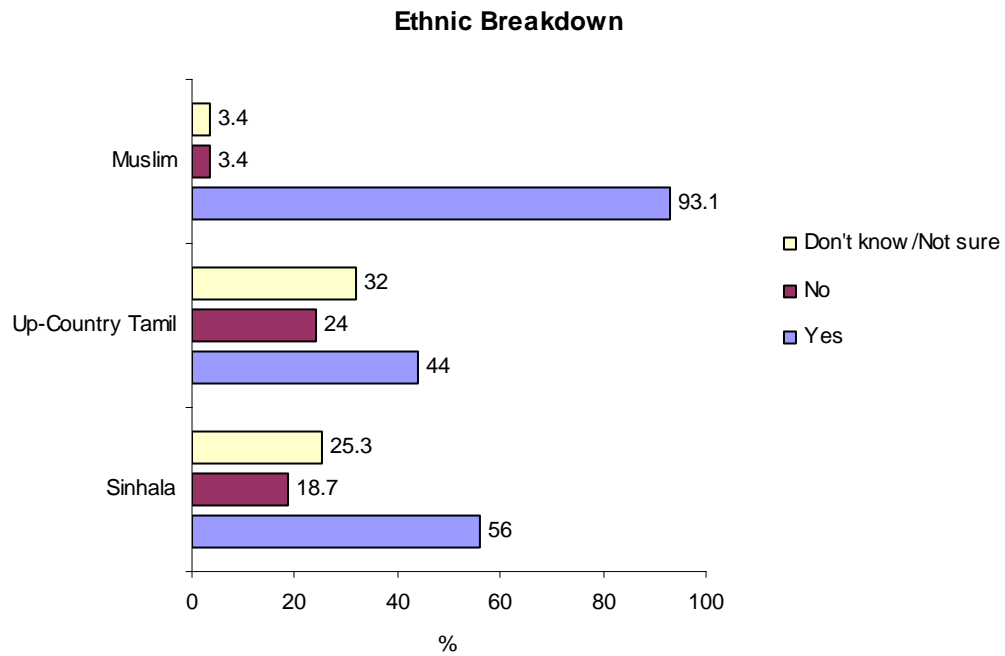


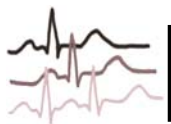
What do you think the talks between the Government and the LTTE should be about?





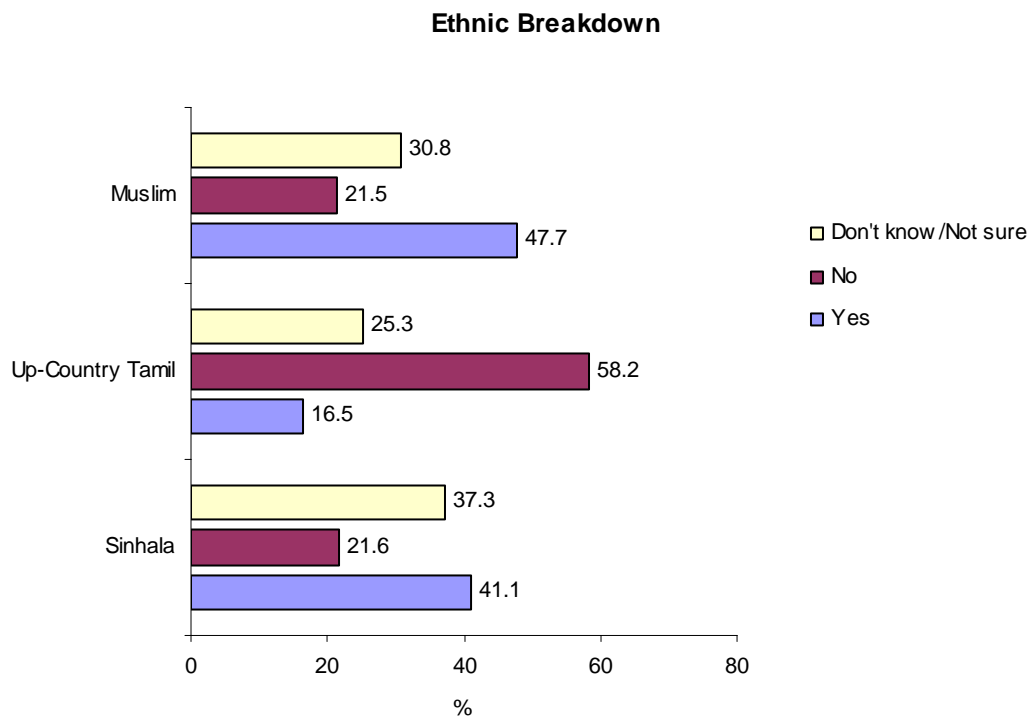
Do you think there should be a separate Muslim representation at the peace talks?





Situation In The North & East

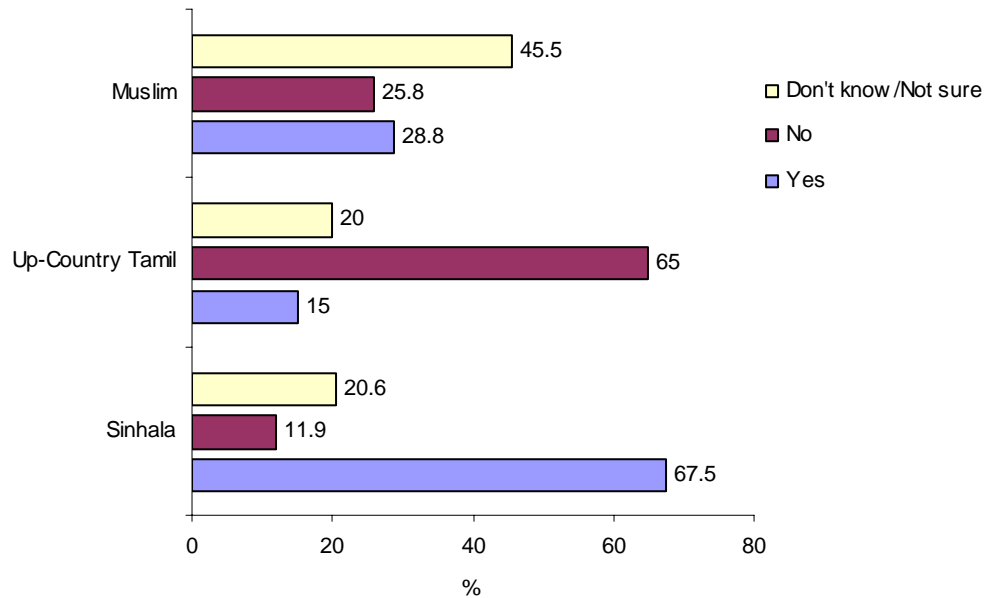
Do you think the people in the north and east are getting adequate food and medical supplies?

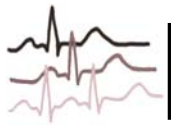




Do you think the people responsible are doing enough to ensure the adequate supply of food and medicine?

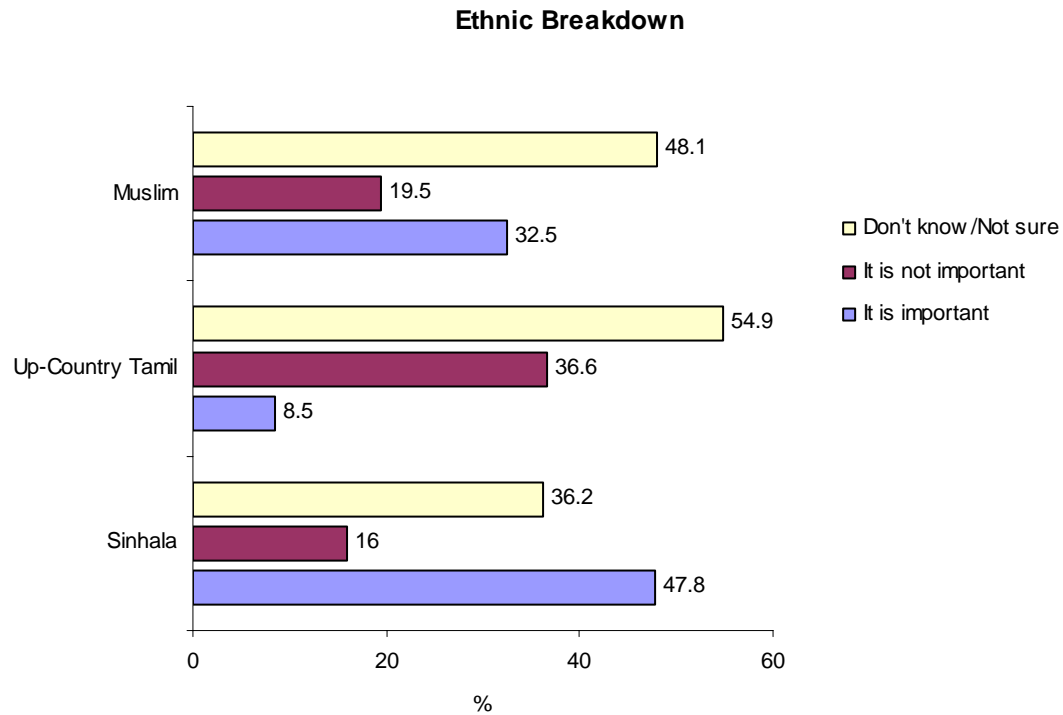
Ethnic Breakdown

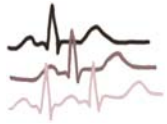




Karuna Group

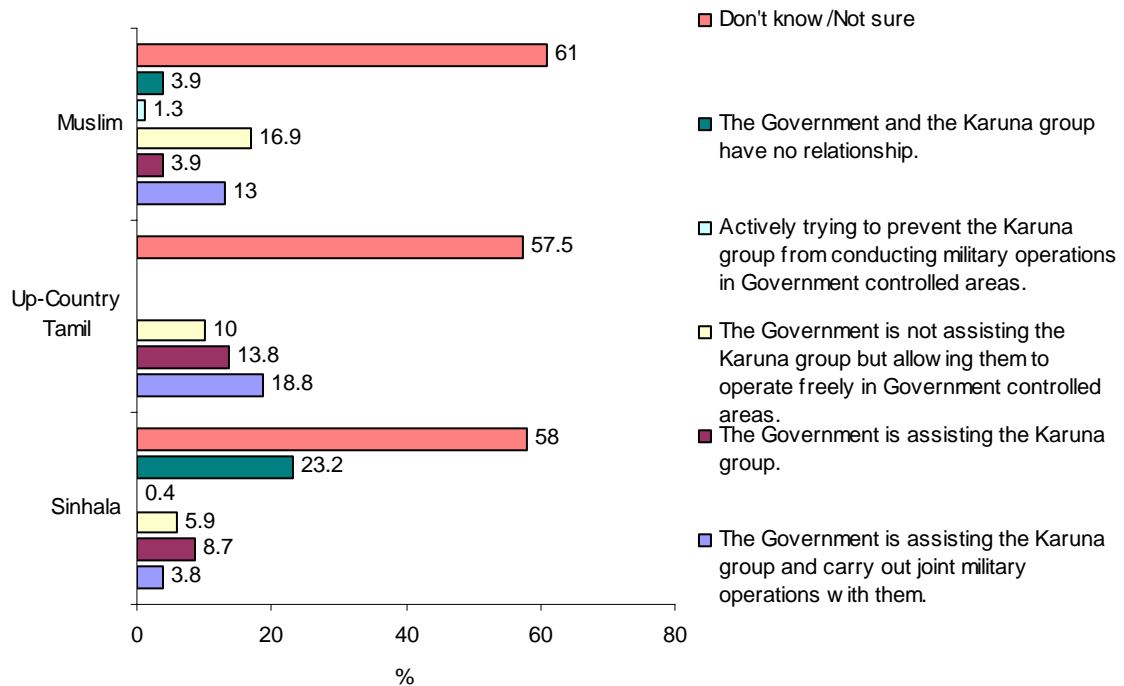
Recent news reports indicate that Karuna has shown willingness to participate in future talks. Do you think it's important to have Karuna faction representation in future talks?

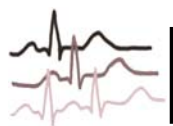




The LTTE alleges the Government of assisting the Karuna group. However the Government is denying this. Do you think,

Ethnic Breakdown



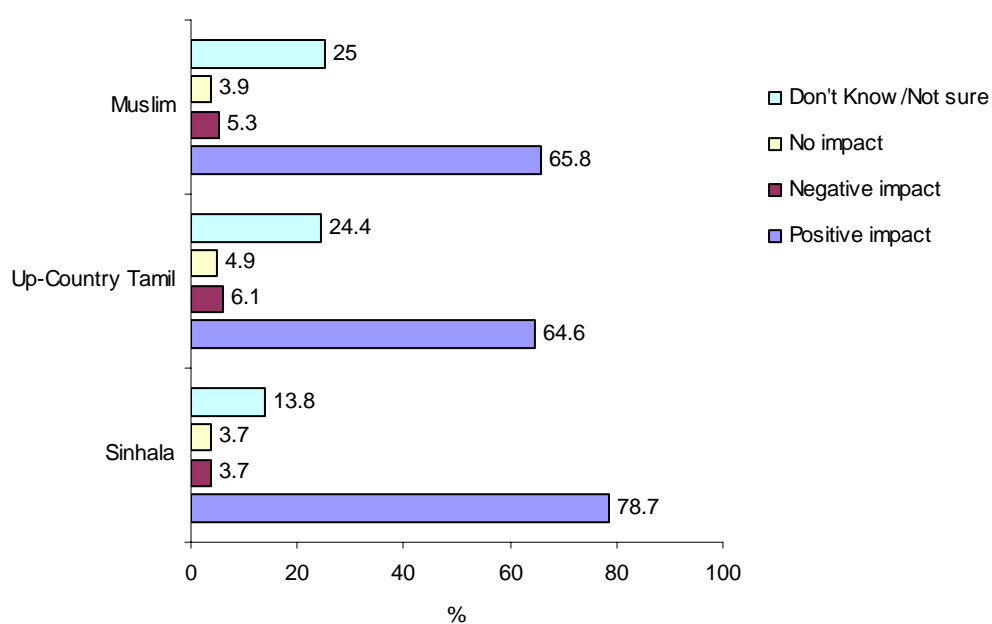


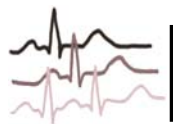
UNP & The Government

On the 05th of October 2006, the UNP and the SLFP reached a consensus on having a common approach to address the key national issues and agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) soon.

In your opinion what kind of impact will this consensus have on the peace process?

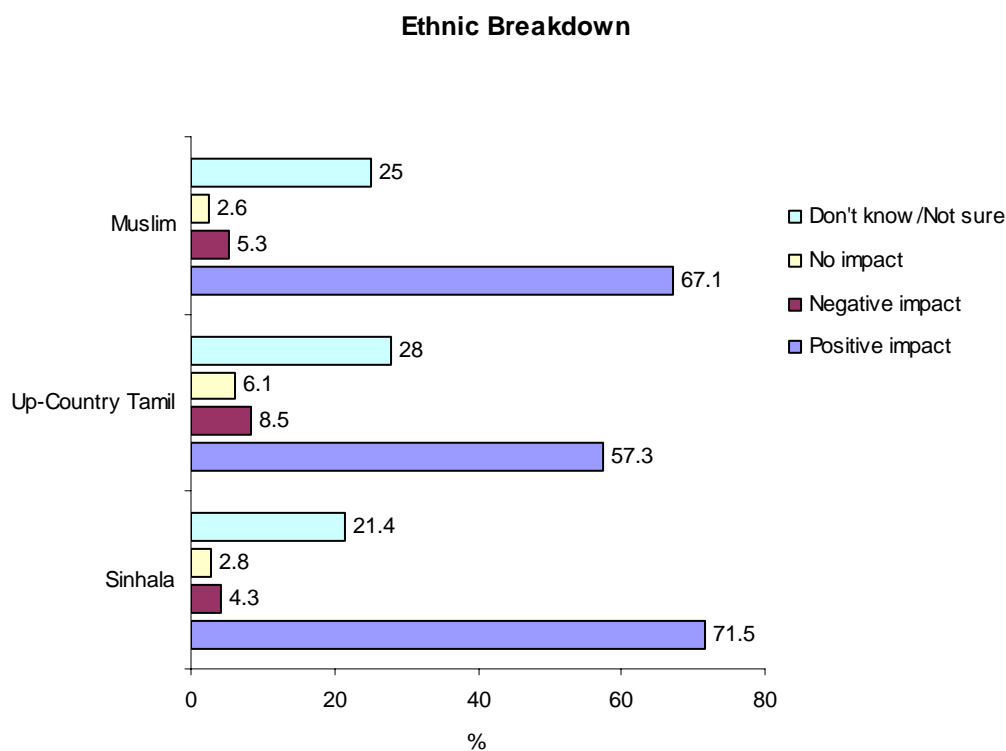
Ethnic Breakdown

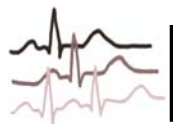




On the 05th of October 2006, the UNP and the SLFP reached a consensus on having a common approach to address the key national issues and agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) soon.

In your opinion what kind of impact will this consensus have on the country at large?

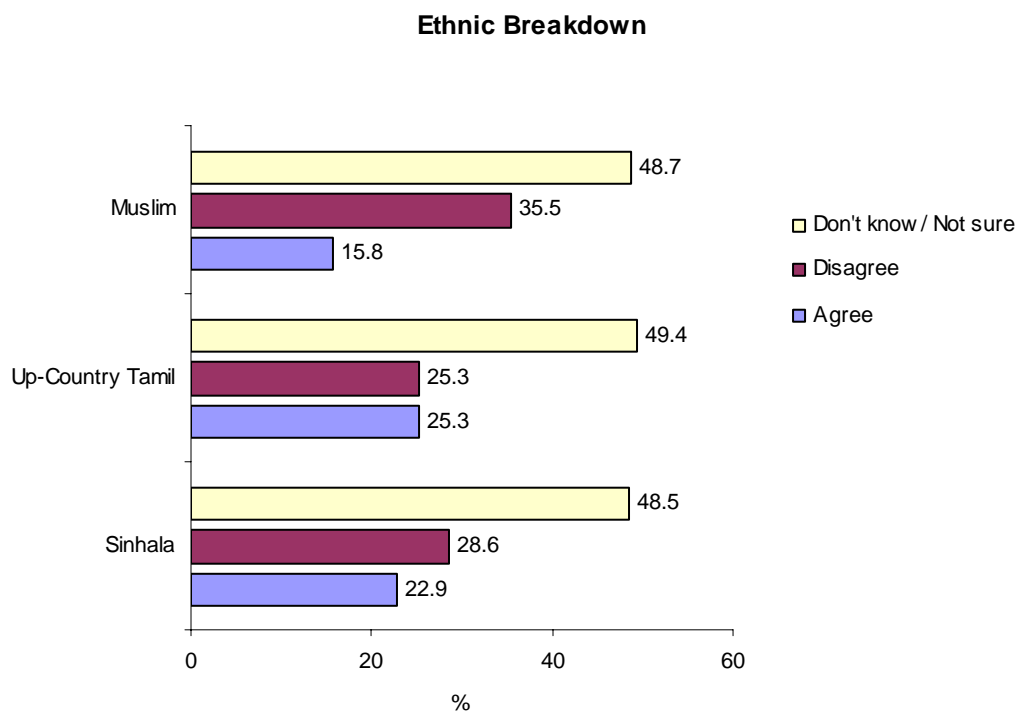


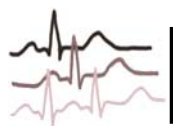


The JVP and The Government

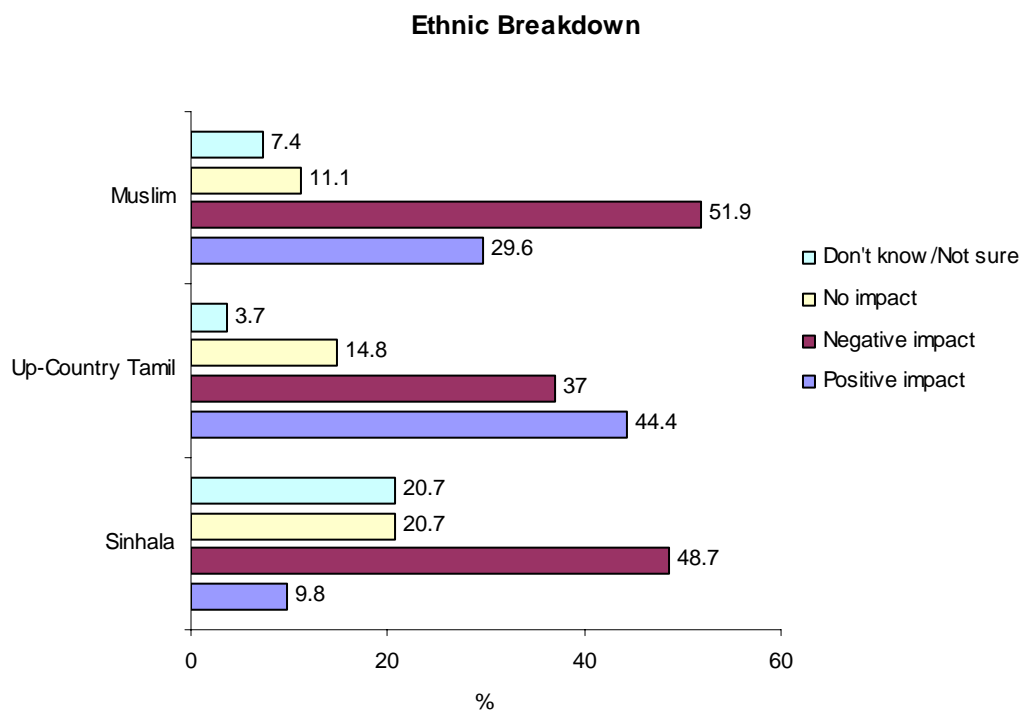
The JVP Politburo claims that the government agreeing to unconditional talks with the LTTE is a violation of the mandate given to the president by the people at the last presidential elections.

Do you agree or disagree with this claim?

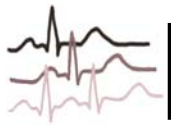




What impact will the collapse of talks between the Government and the JVP in forming a political alliance have on the country at large?*



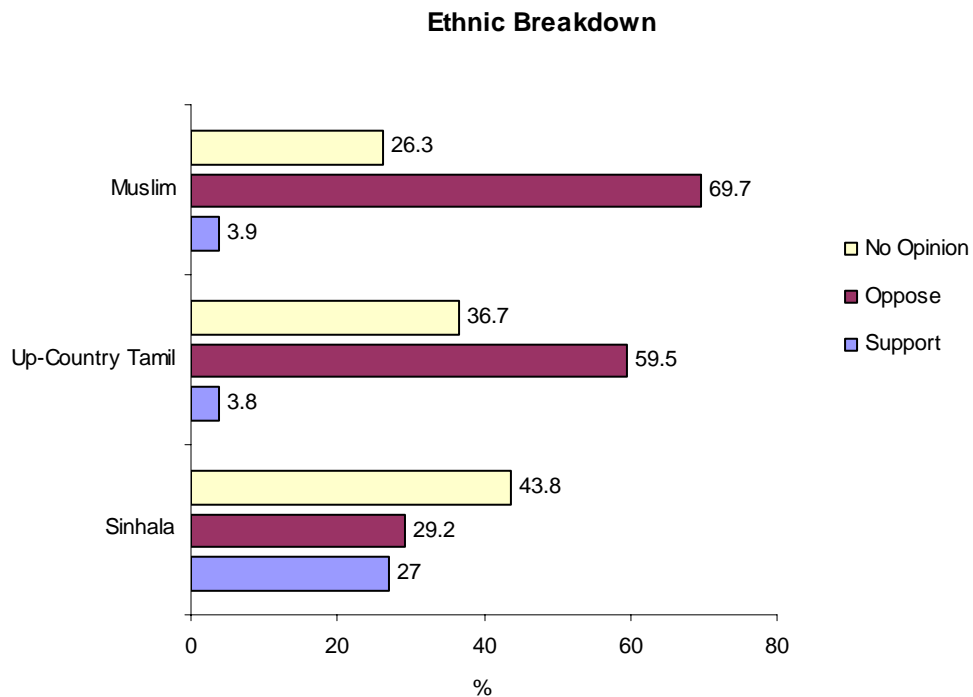
* Only 41.8% of the respondents are aware of the collapse of talks between the Government and the JVP in forming a political alliance
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In the twenty points put forward by the JVP, they wanted the government to abrogate the CFA, remove Norway from the peace facilitator role, de-merger of the North-East and the reduction of the Cabinet to 30 members.

Please tell me whether you support, oppose or have no opinion on these statements.

Abrogating the CFA

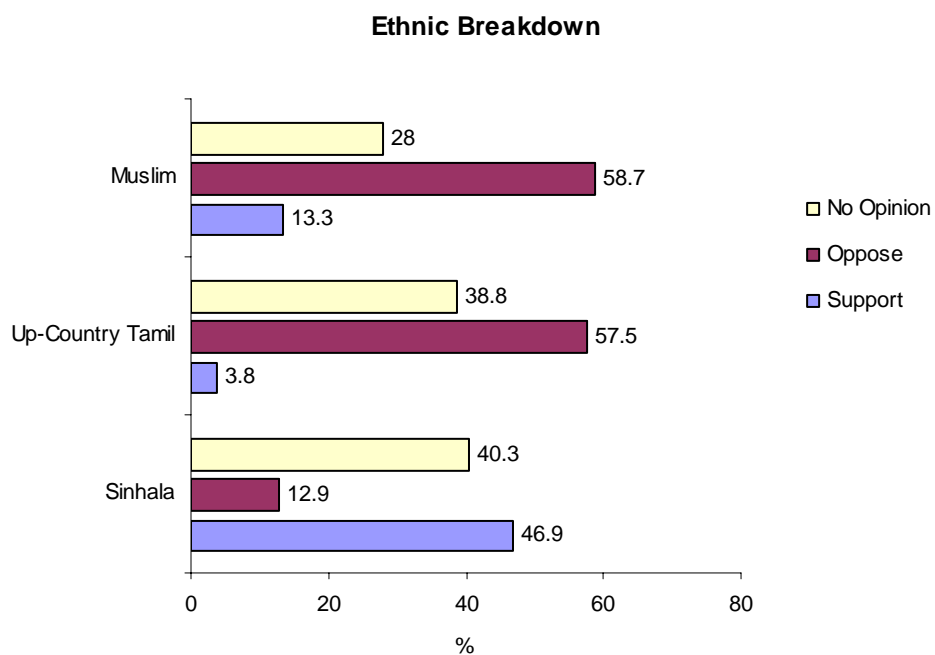




In the twenty points put forward by the JVP, they wanted the government to abrogate the CFA, remove Norway from the peace facilitator role, de-merger of the North-East and the reduction of the Cabinet to 30 members.

Please tell me whether you support, oppose or have no opinion on these statements.

Removing Norway from peace facilitator role

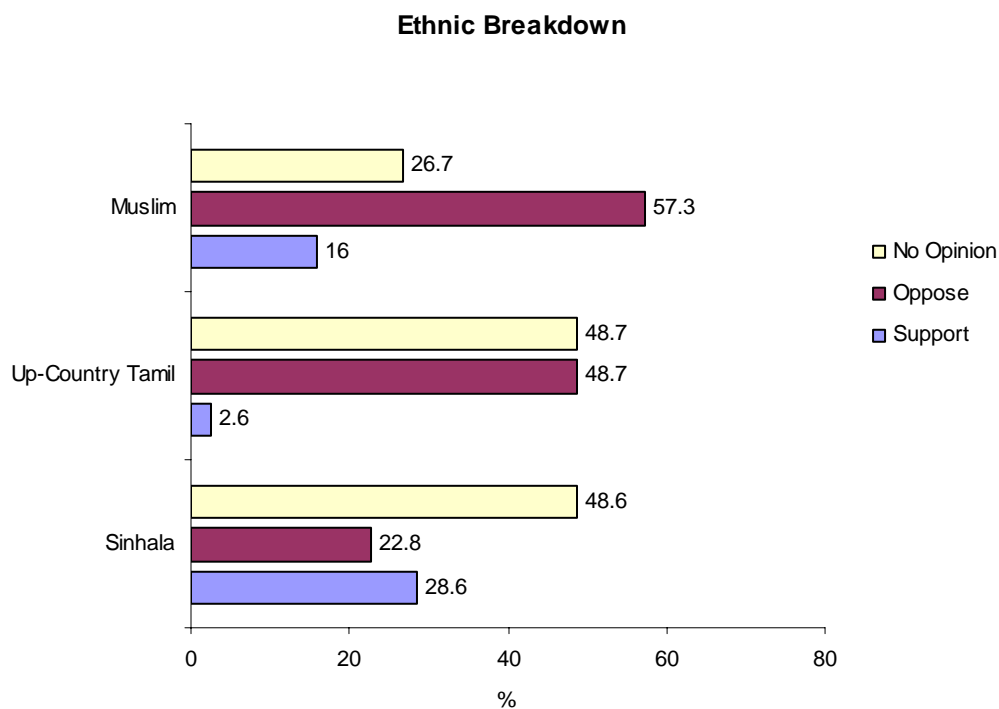




In the twenty points put forward by the JVP, they wanted the government to abrogate the CFA, remove Norway from the peace facilitator role, de-merger of the North-East and the reduction of the Cabinet to 30 members.

Please tell me whether you support, oppose or have no opinion on these statements.

De-merger of the North-East

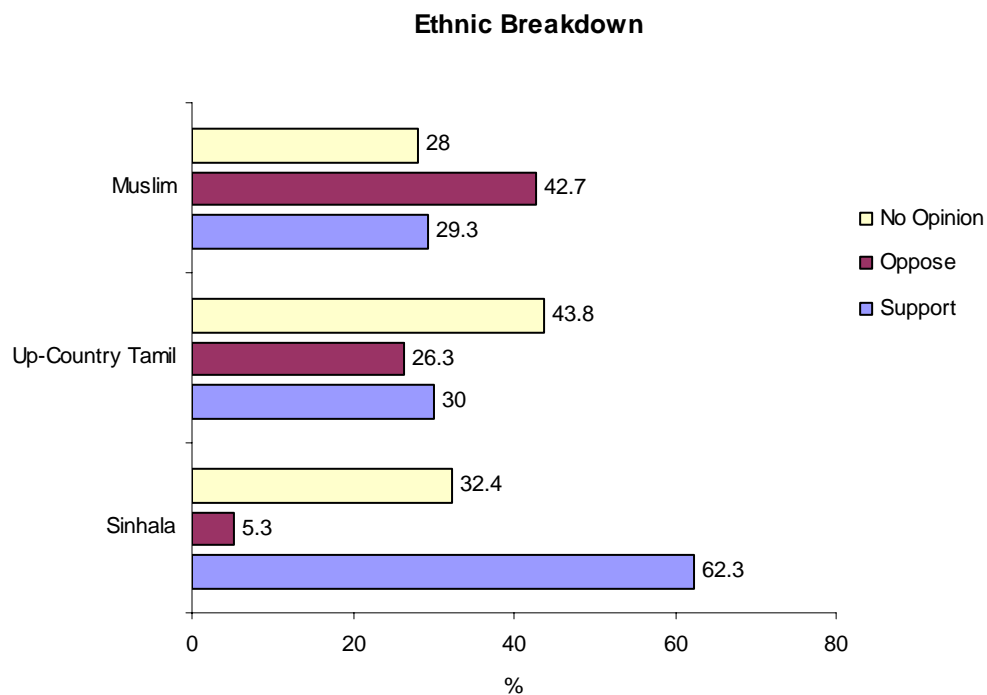


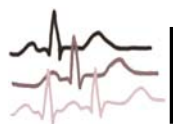


In the twenty points put forward by the JVP, they wanted the government to abrogate the CFA, remove Norway from the peace facilitator role, de-merger of the North-East and the reduction of the Cabinet to 30 members.

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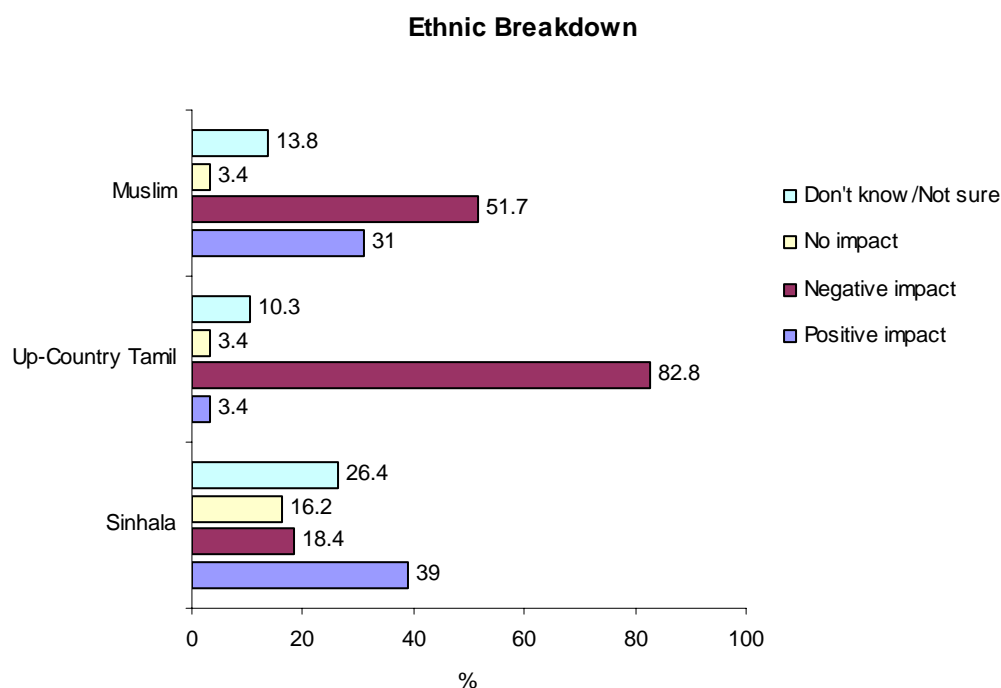
Reduction of cabinet to 30 members



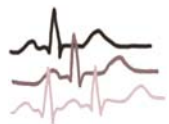


Supreme Court Ruling on De-Merger of North and East

What would be the impact of the Supreme Court ruling on the 16th of October 2006, that merger of North and East is invalid, on the peace process?*

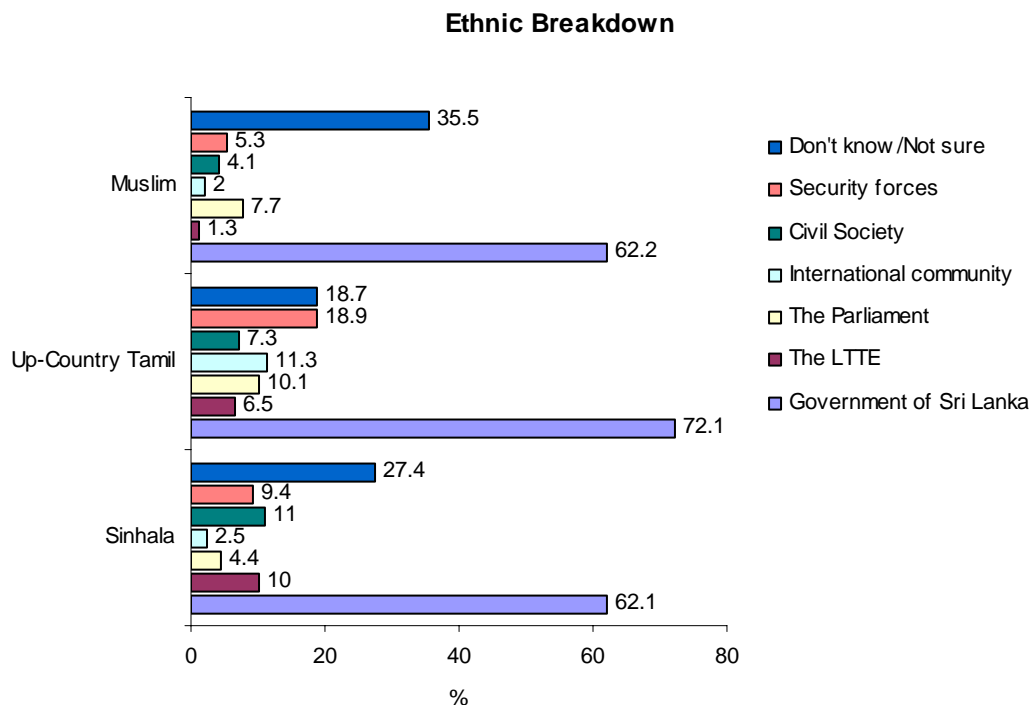


* Only 37% of the respondents are aware of the Supreme Court ruling on the 16th of October 2006, that merger of North and East is invalid
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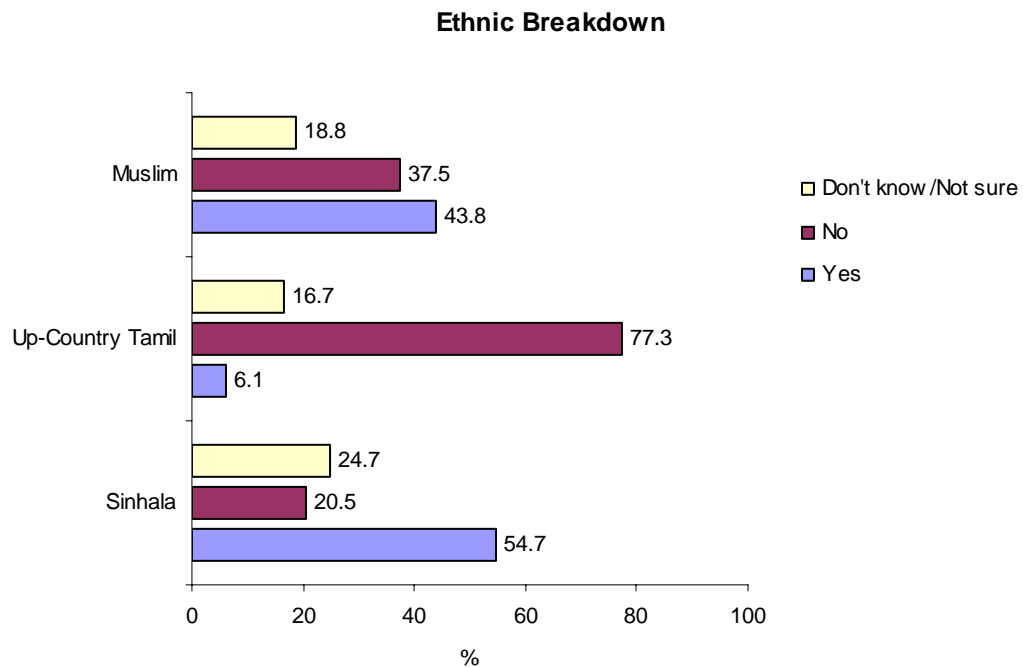
Human Rights Abuses

Who do you think has the responsibility for the protection of human rights?





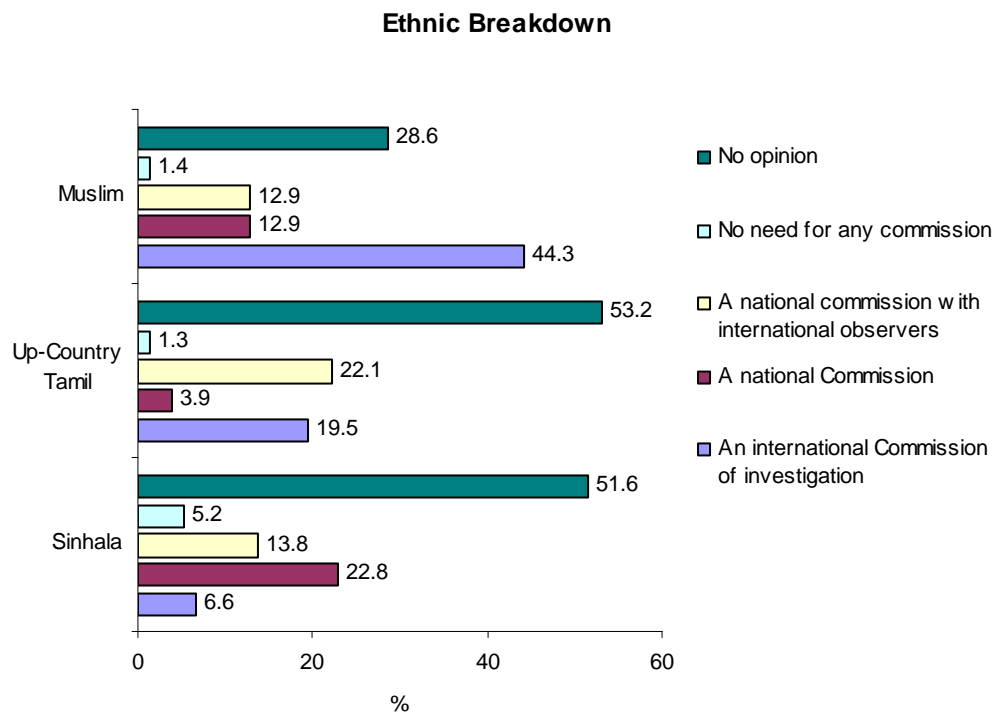
Do you think the actor responsible for protecting human rights has done enough to protect human rights?

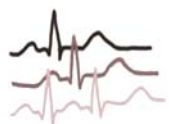




The President called for an international commission to investigate into the recent killings, disappearances and abductions in Sri Lanka. Subsequently the president called for a national commission to investigate the killings with an international panel of observers.

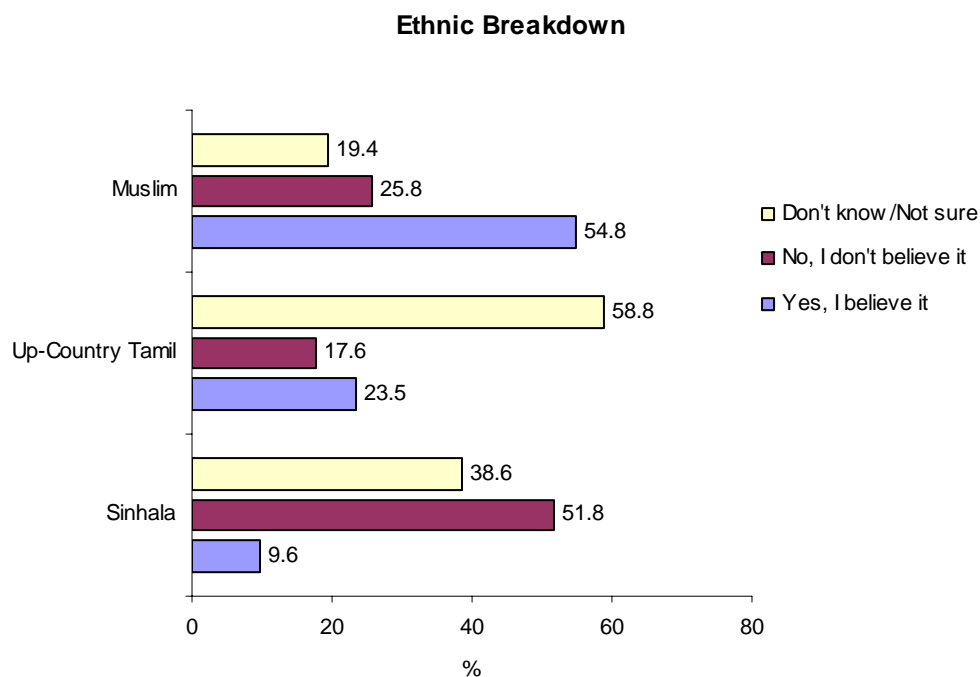
Do you think the Government should call for,





Recent Fighting In Muhamalei

There have been media reports which indicate that the Sri Lankan armed forces are committed to battle in Muhamalei without the knowledge of the political leadership.[†] Do you believe this or not?*



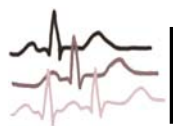
[†] “Muhamalai debacle: The shocking story” by Iqbal Athas – The Sunday Times, 15th October 2006 (Sunday)

“SLFP-UNP talks: The drama behind the drama” by The Sunday Times Political Editor, 15th October 2006

“Enemy No 1 far from dead – II” – Editorial, 16th October 2006

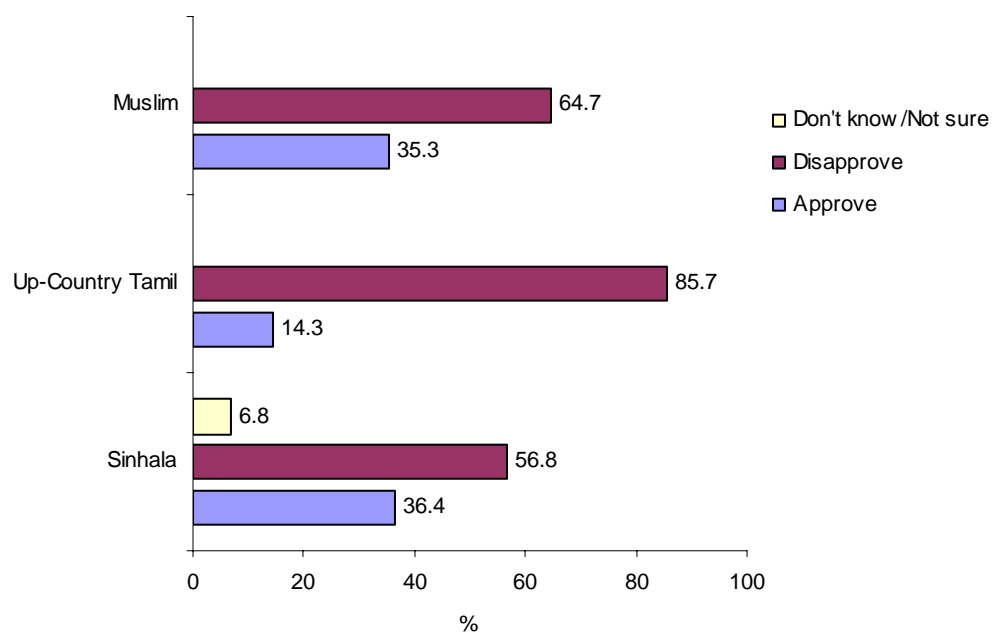
Divaina – Editorial, 16th October 2006

* Only 65% of the respondents are aware of the recent encounter between the security forces and the LTTE in Muhamalei.



If you believe it, do you approve or disapprove it?*

Ethnic Breakdown

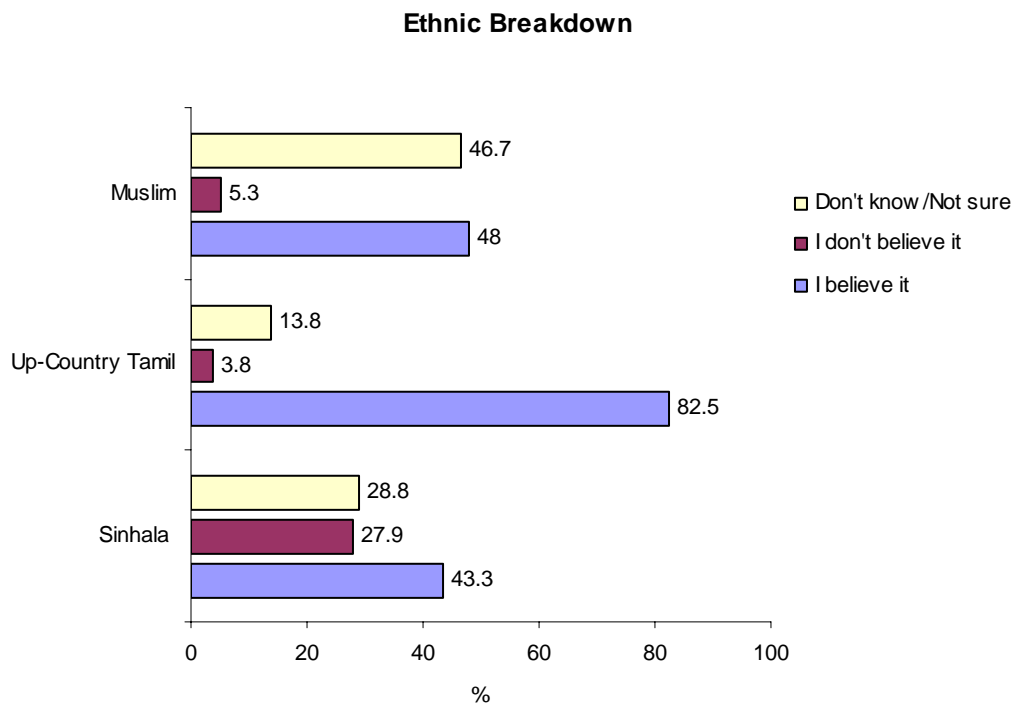


* Only 11.4% of the respondents believe the media reports which indicate that the Sri Lankan armed forces are committed to battle in Muhamalei without the knowledge of the political leadership.
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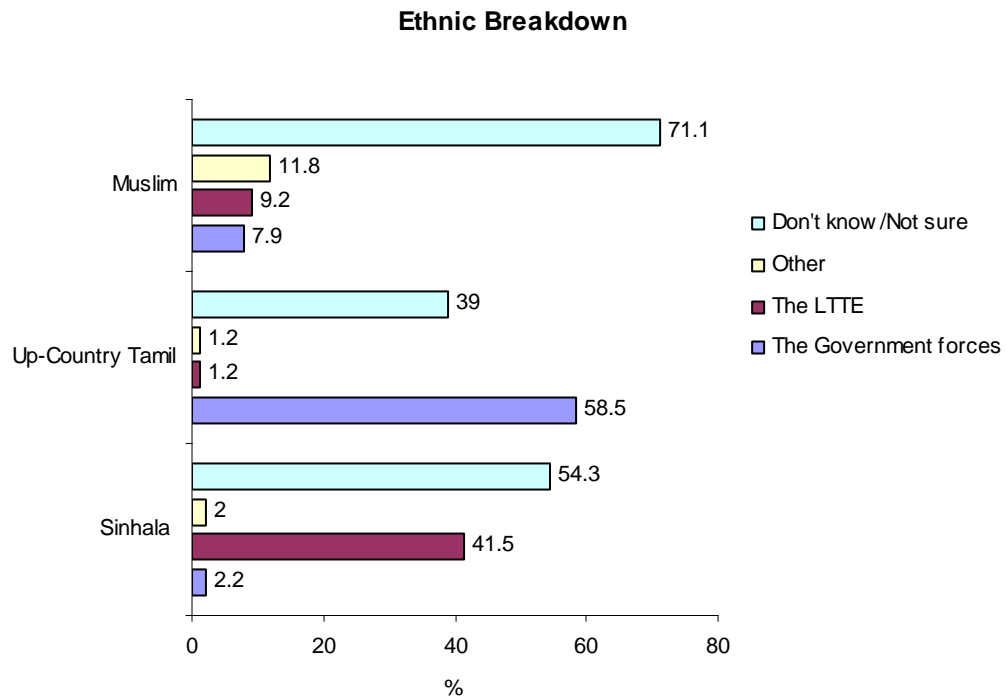
Recent Killings

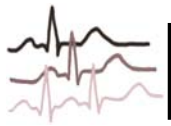
Some people say that the recent confrontation with the LTTE has resulted in large number of civilian killings. Do you believe this statement?



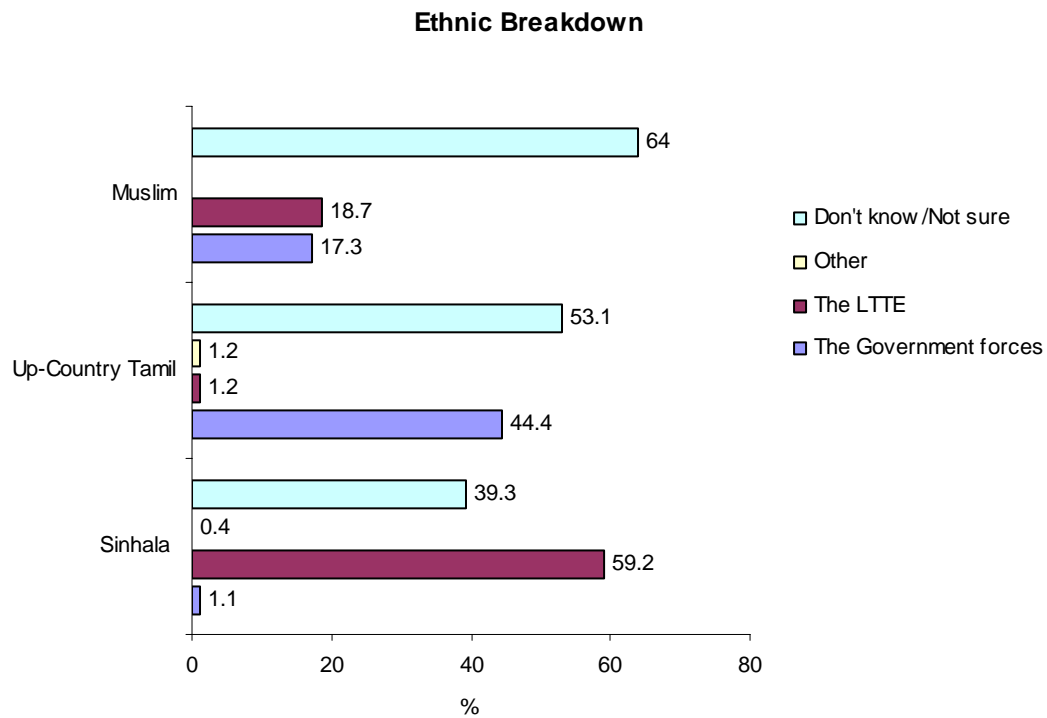


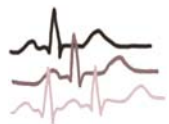
Reportedly in Colombo there have been a number of abductions of Tamil civilians. Who do you think is responsible for these abductions?



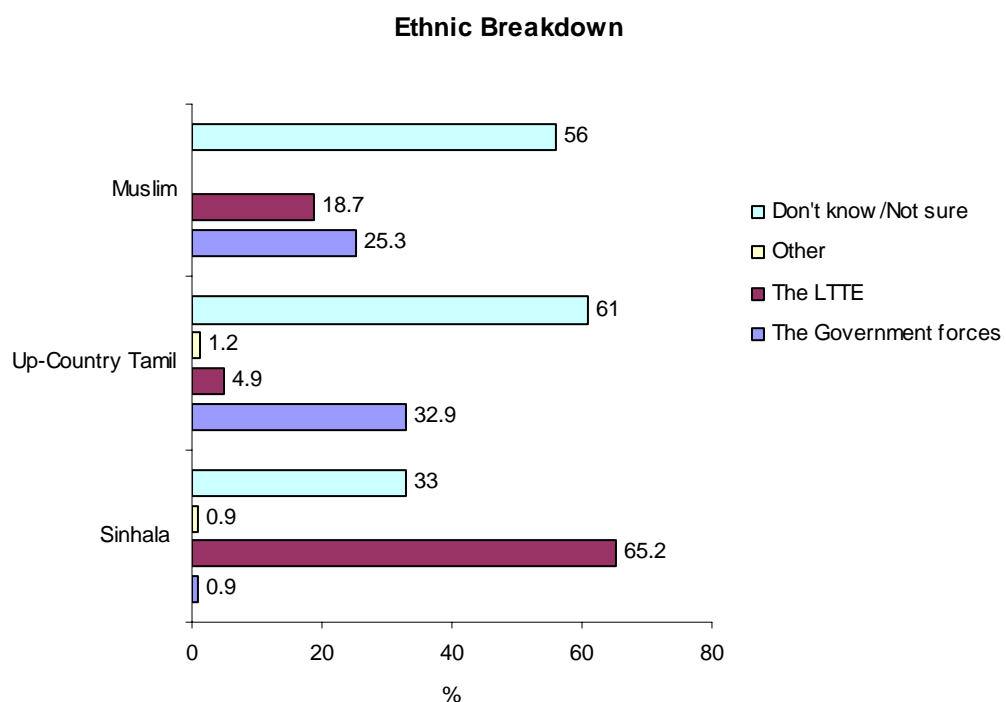


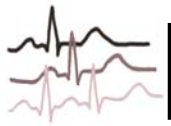
Recently 17 bodies of Aid workers were found in Mutur following the Government recapture of Mutur from the LTTE. Who do you think is responsible for these killings?





Recently 10 Muslims were killed in Pottvil. Who do you think is responsible for these killings?

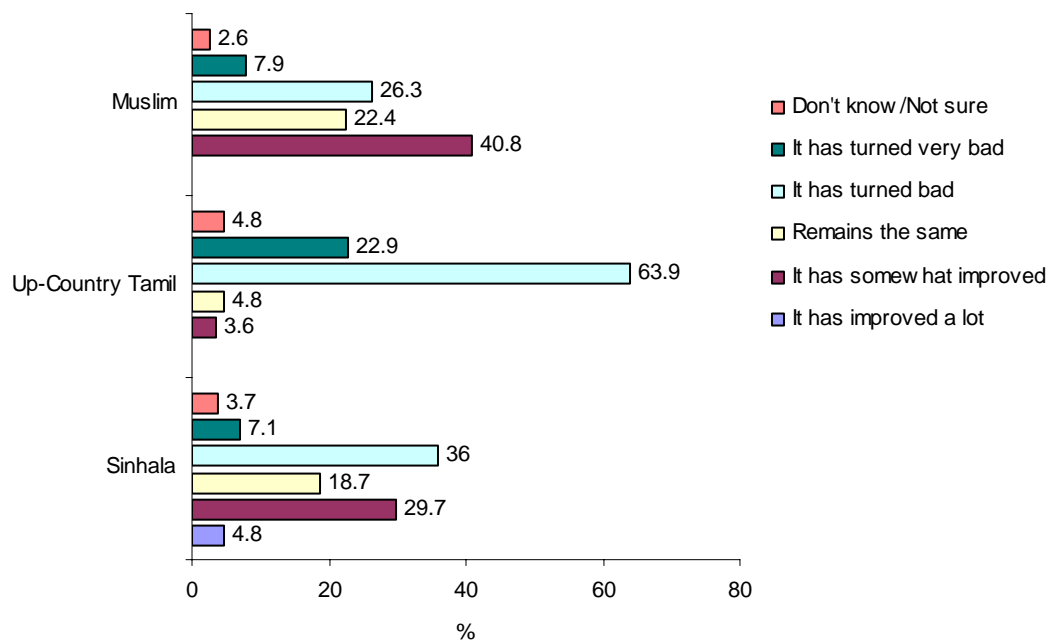




Current Security Condition

Compared to the situation a year ago, do you think the security situation in the country has improved or worsened?

Ethnic Breakdown





Annex

District sample (unweighted) distribution in November 2006

DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	160
Gampaha	60
Kalutara	90
Kandy	180
Matale	190
Nuwara Eliya	120
Galle	60
Matara	60
Hambantota	60
Kurunegala	100
Puttalam	100
Anuradhapura	60
Polonnaruwa	60
Badulla	120
Monaragala	60
Ratnapura	60
Kegalle	60
NATIONAL	1600

Ethnic sample (unweighted) distribution in November 2006

ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	980
Muslim	320
Up-Country Tamil	300
NATIONAL	1600

Sampling Methodology

Given that the goal of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) study is to measure the fluctuations in public confidence levels towards the peace process over time it is essential that the study be conducted repetitively with equal pauses during the study. Hence, from May 2001 to February 2004, PCI was conducted bi-monthly, however, from March 2005 onwards, SI decided to conduct the study quarterly to make the PCI more efficient.

The study is conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1800 respondents during each phase of the study. This sample is adequate to capture the minimum ethnic diversity within the span of ten days of fieldwork. Although it is undeniable that an individual's opinion on the peace process is influenced by a number of factors, the ethnic factor, which is the most important and influential, is the sole factor that has been accommodated in this model.

The total sample is distributed amongst 17 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, excluding the North and East provinces due to the escalation of violence in the months prior to the survey. The sample size assigned to each stratum is approximately equal to the population proportions. However, some districts are over sampled due to the ethnic heterogeneity but the over sampling biases are eliminated by weighting the sample.

A sample is allocated to a particular ethnicity within a district only if the population proportion of that particular ethnicity exceeds 9%. A Divisional Secretariat (DS) is selected as the primary sampling unit using the Simple Random Sampling technique while the Grama Niladhari Divisions (GND) in a DS are selected randomly as the secondary sampling unit using the '**Grama Niladhari Divisions of Sri Lanka 1996**' published by the Department of Census and Statistics as the sample frame.

To maintain the quality of the fieldwork and ensure a maximum dispersion of the sample within a DS, enumerators are allowed to conduct a maximum of ten interviews a day in a GND. Within a given GND, the enumerator is advised to select a starting point randomly and proceed with interviews using the random walk (right hand rule) technique in order to assure the random selection of households.

In the case of urban areas, the interviewer is instructed to skip a house while selecting the households, thus resulting in the interview-taking place at every alternative household. As the final sampling unit, the respondent is chosen from the household using the 'KISH' grid thus ensuring that each member of the household has an equal chance of being selected to the PCI sample.

The PCI national level estimates are subject to a 3% error margin with a .95 confidence level. It is noteworthy to mention here that the PCI model does not support the regional level analysis at the same level of precision.

Social Indicator (SI) is an independent social research organisation, which conducts polls on socio-economic and political issues.

Operating under the Board of Directors of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), SI was established in September 1999, and filled a longstanding vacuum for a permanent, professional and independent polling facility in Sri Lanka on social and political issues.

Polling is an instrument of empowerment, a means by which the silent majority of the public can express their opinions on issues affecting them. Our mission is to conduct surveys on key social issues, thereby providing a means through which public opinion can influence the public policy debate.



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