

**Forced Evictions of Tamils  
in Northeast  
Since 1980's  
by Sri Lankan Armed Forces**

**A Report by NESOHR**

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## **1. Introduction**

In order to explain the human rights aspect of this phenomenon as it has occurred in many parts of Northeast of Sri Lanka we will first explain this phenomenon using the United Nations Fact Sheet No 25 titled, "Forced Evictions and Human Rights". In particular the characteristics that distinguish forced evictions from other forms of mass displacements, relevant passages from several UN human rights instruments on forced evictions and the human cost of forced eviction are reproduced below. This is then followed with detailed statistics about the civilian spaces occupied by the military in Northeast.

Over the nearly 60 years since independence the government of Sri Lanka, rather than implement the political agreement it reached with the Tamil representatives, has consistently chosen to use repression to control the Tamil populace. It therefore needed to locate huge numbers of military among thickly populated places. The method used was to evict people from their homes in large scale in order to provide accommodation to the military. We reproduce statistical data collected throughout Northeast with more detailed data for the Jaffna district. This forced eviction of the Tamil populace has continued since the 1980's by the SriLankan Armed Forces.

SriLankan military take over of civilian owned land in Northeast is extensive. Declaration of High Security Zones is one approach. The name high security zone in the Northeast context is a misnomer in relation to the commonly known meaning of the term. In Northeast entire villages that include large number of civilians are evicted and denied access to their homes, farmlands, fishing coast, schools, factories and places of worship. It in fact amounts to the cultural destruction of a people's way of life.

In Trincomalee for example high security zones were used as a cover to evict Tamil villagers from their land by terrorising them and adjoining Sinhala villagers were then made to settle in the Tamil owned land. Scores of massacres to terrorise and evict simple village folks from remote villages have occurred in Trincomalee. We will produce documentary evidence of this in a future report.

Land outside high security zones is also occupied extensively by the military. The red circles in the Jaffna map are locations of military camps within one of the most densely populated area in Northeast.

## **2. UN Fact Sheet 25: Forced evictions and human rights.**

### **What is forced eviction**

Fact sheet No 25 on “Forced Evictions and Human Rights” published by the United Nations distinguishes forced eviction from other forms of mass displacement through four characteristics (pp 7). These are,

1. Forced evictions can always be attributed directly or indirectly to the decisions, legislations or policies of States.
2. Forced evictions invariably involve an element of “force” or coercion.
3. Virtually all instances of forced evictions are planned, formulated and often announced prior to being carried out.
4. Forced evictions can affect both individuals and groups.

Many UN human rights instruments comment about this violation of human rights. Some are,

- Human right to adequate housing is expressed in the UDHR (article 25 paragraph 1).
- Human right to adequate housing is also expressed in the Convention on Economic Social and Cultural rights (article 11 paragraph 1)
- Committee on Economic and Social and Cultural (ESC) Rights in its General Comment No. 4 (1991) on *adequate housing*: Instances of forced evictions are prima facie incompatible with the requirements on ESC Rights and can only be justified in exceptional circumstances.
- Commission on the Status of Women (E/CN.6/1994/3 para 5): Evictions particularly increase the vulnerability of women and children and women bear the brunt of traumatized and dislocated communities.
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination prohibits and obliges States to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination in all its forms in the enjoyment of, inter alia, the right to housing(article 5(e)(iii))
- The Convention on the Rights of Children (article 27) says State must take appropriate action to provide every child a standard of living adequate for its physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development.

One can list many other comments made by UN institutions on this subject.

Some further comments from the fact sheet are worth reproducing here.

### **Human cost of forced eviction**

- Evicted people not only lose their homes and neighbourhoods, in which they have often invested considerable proportion of their incomes over the years but are also often forced to relinquish their personal possessions. Evictees also

lose the often complex reciprocal relationships which provide a safety net or survival network of protection against cost of ill health, income decline or the loss of a job and which allow many tasks to be shared. They often lose one or more sources of livelihood as they are forced to move away from the where they had jobs or sources of income (pp 10).

- Human cost of forced eviction include the following, multiplying individual and social impoverishment, physical, psychological and emotional trauma, insecurity for future, medical hardship, loss of livelihood and traditional land, worsened housing conditions, removal children from school, loss faith by victims in the legal and political system, loss of culturally significant sites, confiscation of personal goods and property, increased social isolation (pp 10).
- Under the heading “forced evictions and human rights” it says, “While the right to adequate housing is perhaps the most obvious human rights violated by forced evictions, a number of other rights are also affected. The rights to security of person, means little in practical terms when people are forcibly evicted with violence and intimidation. Direct government harassment, arrests and even killings of community leaders opposing forced evictions are common and violate the right to life, freedom of expression. (pp17)
- Approaching housing concerns from the point of view of human rights and the relationship between these rights and forced evictions puts clear focus on the legal obligations of governments to respect, protect and fulfil housing rights (pp17).

### **3. Statistics on High Security Zone in Northeast**

The Table in section 3.1 gives the overall statistics about the HSZs in Northeast. This statistics can never fully bring out the destruction of a way of life of the people. It will not tell stories of the indignity of life in crowded welfare camps for several years. It will not tell about the lack of privacy that women suffer in taking a bath, going to toilets and even in family life. It will not tell the stories of how hard working people are reduced to dependency on welfare and the ensuing social deterioration. It still is a telling statistics on the human rights violations of a people that has remained hidden to the world.

### 3.1 Over all statistics on HSZs

	Amparai	Batticaloa	Trinco	Vavuniya	Mullaitivu	Mannar	Jaffna
Total area of HSZ in acres	260	700	200	1000	16800	1360	3800
Number of homes in the HSZs from which owners were evicted	72	399	305	1505	1004	50	28830
Number of places of worship inaccessible to civilians	02	04	0	23	14	02	201
Total area of farmland (acres) made inaccessible to civilians	40	86	50	106	16711	42	12929
Total length of sea and lake fishing coastline made inaccessible (Km)	01	01	20	21	19	24	80
Number of families whose livelihoods were directly affected.	32	193	286	1103	1004	65	20969
Number of schools prevented from functioning	00	01	00	21	04	07	35

### 4. HSZ statistics for Jaffna district

Each of the eight districts in Northeast has unique characteristics and the method used by the Sri Lankan armed forces to suppress the people is slightly different. In Trincomalee for example, eviction of Tamils and settlement of the vacated land by Sinhala people is the most common approach. In Jaffna which is one of the most densely populated areas in Northeast occupation by the armed forces under the pretext of HSZ is the most common approach. The rest of the statistics in this report covers data about military occupation in the Jaffna district.

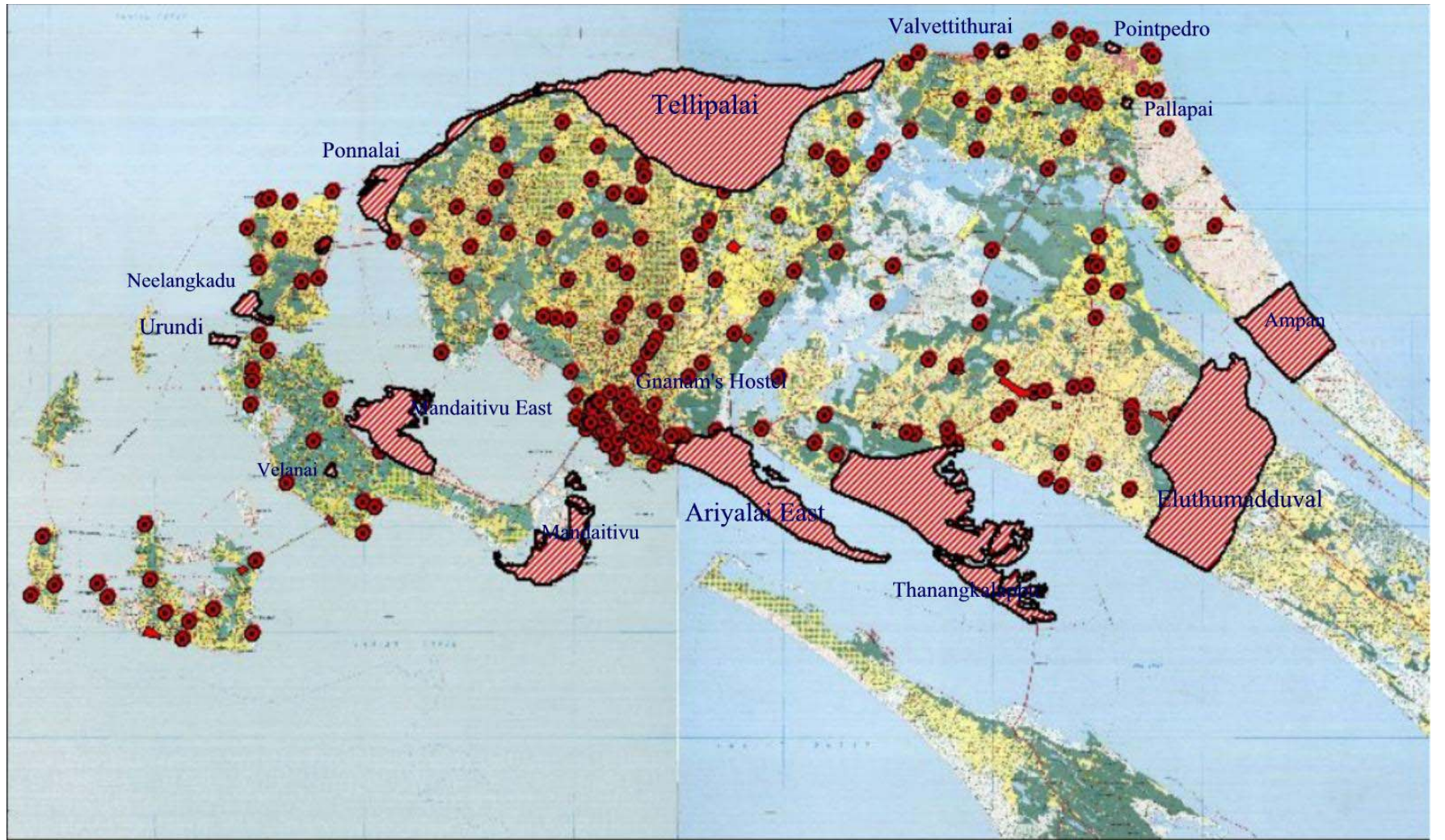
#### 4.1 Names of the HSZ in Jaffna district

Neelankadu HSZ,  
 Urundi HSZ,  
 Velanai HSZ,  
 Mandaitivu HSZ,  
 Mandaitivu west HSZ,  
 Gnanam's hostel HSZ,  
 Ariyalai east HSZ,  
 Thalankilappu HSZ,

Eluthumadduval HSZ,  
 Amban HSZ,  
 Pallappai HSZ,  
 Pointpedro HSZ,  
 Valvettithurai HSZ,  
 Tellipalai HSZ, and  
 Ponnalai HSZ

#### 4.1 Summary statistics of HSZ in Jaffna district

Name of HSZ	No of Houses	No of families initially affected	Total number of families waiting to resettle	Total area of HSZ	Area of farmland within in acres	Farming families affected	No of factories inside	No of factory workers affected	Coastline made inaccessible (Km)	Fishing families affected	No of places of worship	No of villages partly or fully within the HSZ	No of public buildings	No of schools
Neelankadu	150	150	200	1.25	5	3	3	165	4	77	4	12		
Urundi	152		98	75	25	10	1	72	4	142	1		1	
Velanai	50	61	61	0.25	17	60								
Mandaitivu	150	557	553	8.0	320	127			12	373	1			1
Mandaitivu west		472	359	2.0	671	553	1	50						
Gnanam's hostel	150	125	125	0.15										
Ariyalai east	1970	2450	2296	12.0		225	5	420	4	543	6		7	4
Thalankilappu	715	709	624	25.0	2689	516			11	291	7		1	2
Eluthumadduval		687	651	34.5	440	483			4	135	11			4
Amban	536	551	551	12.5	294	137	1	46	5	226	15	2	4	3
Pallappai	10	10	10	0.15	3	10					1	1		
Pointpedro	38	50		0.5			5	7	1	50	5	2	3	3
Valvettithuri	15	20	20	0.1					0.5	25	2	2		
Tellipalai	24549	24816	18939	49	8465	14398	18	960	30	2574	27	3	16	18
Ponnalai	300	320			8	35			2	200	1			
Total	28785	30978	24487	220.4	12937	16557	34	1720	80	4436	80		32	35



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Jaffna High Security Zone (HSZ) Map with Names of HSZs and Military camps outside HSZ Marked in Red

#### 4.2 Statistics on Neelankadu HSZ in Karainagar AGA Division

Village names	Palakadu, Palodai, Neelankadu, Thopukadu, Rasavinthodam, Santhipuram, Madathuvalavu, Valupodai, Ampula, Kodapulam, Uri, Padiyellai
Number of houses	150
Number of families initially affected	150
Number of families waiting to resettle	200
Total area of the HSZ	1.25 Sq Km
Area of farmland	5 acres
Number of farming families affected	3
Number of factories inside	3
Number of affected families	165
Length of coastline fenced off	4 km
Number fishing families affected	77
Number of places of worship	4

#### 4.3 Statistics on Urundi HSZ in Urkavalthurai AGA Division

Village names	Urundi
Number of houses	152
Number of families waiting to resettle	98
Total area of the HSZ	75 Sq Km
Area of farmland	25 acres
Number of farming families affected	10
Number of factories affected	1
Number of worker's families affected	72
Length of coastline fenced off	4 km
Number of fishing families affected	142
Number of temples made inaccessible	1
Number of public places affected	1

#### 4.4 Statistics on Velanai HSZ

Number of houses	50
Number of initially affected	61
Number of families waiting to resettle	61
Area of the HSZ	0.25 Sq Km
Area of farmland	17 acres
Number farming families affected	60



#### 4.5 Statistics on Mandaitivu HSZ

Number of houses	150
Number of original families	557
Number of families waiting to resettle	553
Area of the HSZ	8 Sq Km
Area of farmland affected	320 acres
Number farming families affected	127
Length of coastline fenced off	12 km
Number of fishing families affected	373
Number of places of worship	1
Number of schools inside the HSZ	1

#### 4.6 Statistics on Mandaitivu West HSZ

Number of original families	472
Number of families waiting to resettle	359
Area of the HSZ	2 Sq km
Area of farmland affected	671 acres
Number farming families affected	553
Number of factories affected	1
Number worker families affected	50

#### 4.7 Statistics on Gnanams Hostel HSZ

Number of houses	150
Number of original families	125
Number of families waiting to resettle	125
Area of the HSZ	0.15 Sq Km

#### 4.8 Statistics on Ariyalai East HSZ

Number of houses	1970
Number of original families	2450
Number of families waiting to resettle	2296
Area of the HSZ	12 Sq Km
Area of coconut estate affected	
Number farming families affected	275
Number of factories affected	05
Number worker families affected	420
Length of coastline fenced off	4 km
Number of fishing families affected	543
Number of places of worship	6
Number of schools	4
Number of public places	7

#### 4.9 Statistics on Thannagkillipu HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Maravanpulo, Thannagkilippu, Arukuveli
Number of houses	715
Number of original families	709
Number of families waiting to resettle	624
Area of the HSZ	25 Sq Km
Area of farmland affected	2689 acres
Number farming families affected	516
Length of coastline fenced off	11 km
Number of fishing families affected	291
Number of places of worship	7
Number of schools inside the HSZ	2
Number of public places	1

#### 4.10 Statistics on Eluthumadduval HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Villuvalai, Uppuvil
Number of original families	687
Number of families waiting to resettle	651
Area of the HSZ	34.5 Sq Km
Area of farmland affected	440 acres
Number farming families affected	483
Length of coastline fenced off	4 km
Number of fishing families affected	135
Number places of worship	11
Number of schools	04

#### 4.11 Statistics on Ampan HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Ampan, Nagarkovil
Number of houses	536
Number of original families	551
Number of families waiting to resettle	551
Area of the HSZ	12.5 Sq Km
Area of farmland affected	294 acres
Number farming families affected	137
Number of factories	1
Number of factory worker families affected	46
Length of coastline fenced off	5 km
Number of fishing families affected	226
Number of places of worship	15
Number of schools	3
Number of public places	4

#### 4.12 Statistics on Pallappai HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Pallapai
Number of houses	10
Number of original families	10
Number of families waiting to resettle	10
Area of the HSZ	0.15 Sq Km
Area of farmland affected	3 acres
Number farming families affected	10
Number of places of worship	1

#### 4.13 Statistics on Pointpedro HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Theni, Koddi
Number houses	38
Number of original families	50
Area of HSZ	0.5 Sq Km
Number of factories	05
Number of factory worker families affected	07
Length of coastline fenced off	1 km
Number of fishing families affected	50
Number of places of worship	5
Number of schools	3
Number of public places	5

#### 4.14 Statistics on Velvettithurai HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Valvai, Vadamaththi
Number of houses	15
Number of original families	20
Number of families waiting to resettle	20
Area of the HSZ	0.1 Sq Km
Length of coastline fenced off	0.5 km
Number of fishing families affected	25
Number of places of worship	2

#### 4.15 Statistics on Tellipalai HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Palaly, Valalai, Mathakal
Number of houses	24594
Number of original families	24816
Number of families waiting to resettle	18939
Area of the HSZ	49 Sq Km
Area of farmland affected	8465 acres
Number farming families affected	14398
Number of factories affected	18
Number factory worker families affected	960
Length of coastline fenced off	30 km
Number of fishing families affected	2574
Number of places of worship	27
Number of schools	120
Number of hospitals	16

#### 4.16 Statistics on Ponnalai HSZ

Villages inside HSZ	Ponnalai, Nelliyan
Number of houses	300
Number of shops	05
Number of families affected	320
Number of public places	6
Area of farmland affected	08
Number farming families affected	35
Length of coastline fenced off	2 km
Number of fishing families affected	200
Number of places of worship	1

<b>Other HSZ Damages</b>	No of Houses damaged	No of public buildings damaged
Neelangkadu	150	04
Urundi	152	01
Velanai	50	-
Mandaitivu	498	02
Gnanam's hotel	110	-
Ariyalai East	1970	14
Thannagkilippu	715	02
Eluthumadduval	687	11
Ampan	536	18
Pallappai	10	01
Pointpedro	38	07
Velettithurai	15	02
Tellipalai	24594	180
Araly	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>29525</b>	<b>242</b>

## 5. List of all military camps in Jaffna

### 5.1 Camps in Pointpedro

- 1 Manthihai junction camp (து.:415) 15 perches
- 2 Polihandi camp (து.:393) 10 perches
- 3 Athikovil camp (து.:388) 15 perches
- 4 Thikkan camp near breweries (து.:396) 20 perches
- 5 Thikkan camp (து.:396) 10 perches
- 6 Katkovala camp (து.:406) 1 acres
- 7 Pointpedro light house camp 8 perches
- 8 Alvai north camp (து.:400) 18 perches
- 9 Vallipuram junction camp (து.:416) 3 perches
- 10 Vallipuram beach side camp (து.:416) 3 acre
- 11 Viyaparamoolai security post (து.:399)
- 12 Chakkoddai camp (து.:398)

### 5.2 Camps in Karainagar

- 13 Valanthanai junction camp 30 perches
- 14 Aladi junction camp 10 perches
- 15 Cashuarina beach camp
- 16 Kovalam light house camp 100 perches
- 17 Thankodai camp 40 perches
- 18 Verampiddi camp 9 perches
- 19 Maruthapuram camp 8 perches
- 20 Varivalavu madaththadi camp 15 perches
- 21 Puthukkoddai camp 16 perches

### 5.3 Camps in Maruthankerni

- 22 Manatkadu beach camp (து.:418)
- 23 Manatkadu kalveddu camp (து.:418)
- 24 Potpathi beach camp (து.:421) 60 perches
- 25 Nadukkudaththani camp (து.:420)
- 26 Kudaththanai east junction camp (து.:419)
- 27 Manatkadu junction camp (து.:419) 6 perches

### 5.4 Camps in Tellipalai

- 28 8<sup>th</sup> Milepost camp (து.:227) 1 acres
- 29 Tellipalai rehabilitation camp (து.:227) 2 acres
- 30 Durkapuram police station (து.:229) 3 acres
- 31 Mallaham north camp (து.:214) 2 acres
- 32 Mallaham-Alaveddi road near Alavedi junction camp
- 33 Alaveddi west camp (து.:220) 3 acres
- 34 Alaveddi north camp (து.:215) 1 acres

### 5.5 Camps in Thenmaradchchi

- 35 Meesalai camp (து.:318) 10 perches  
36 Meesalai camp (து.:321) 2 acres  
37 Vempirai junction camp 5 acres  
38 Kanakampuliyadi camp 8 acres  
39 Kodikamam junction camp 10 perches  
40 Eruvan camp 5 perches  
41 Chavachchieru Dutch road camp (து.:300) 15 perches  
42 Chvakachcheri beach camp (து.:300) 3 acres  
43 Kodikamam police camp 15 perches  
44 Allarai beach camp (து.:322) 5 acres  
45 Thamputhidda camp (து.:322) 1 acres  
46 Allarai camp (து.:322) 8 acres  
47 Kachchai beach camp (து.:324) 4 acres  
48 Kachchai junction camp (து.:324) 6 perches  
49 Iramavil camp (து.:320) 5 perches  
50 Puthur junction camp (து.:320) 10 perches  
51 Palavi beach camp 4 acres  
52 Palavi junction camp 4 perches  
53 Kaithadi-Navatkuli camp (து.:207) 300 perches  
54 Kaithadi west camp (து.:293) 1 acres  
55 Kaithadi junction camp 4 perches  
56 Usam camp (து.:329) 50 perches  
57 Maravanpulo camp (து.:298) 48 acres  
58 Ketpoli beach camp  
59 Ketpoli west camp (து.:332) 50 acres  
60 Ketpoli cantral (து.:332) 10 acres  
61 Eluthumadduval north camp (து.:334) 20 acres  
62 Uppuvil village camp (து.:334) 35 acres  
63 Navatkuli junction camp (து.:294) 3 acres  
64 Navatkuli camp (து.:294) 1 acres  
65 Amma kadai camp (து.:341, .:342) 20 acres  
66 Idaikurichchi Artillery camp (து.:341) 10 acres  
67 Idaikurichchi mini camp (து.:341) 1 acres  
68 Idaikurichchi west Aladi camp 5 acres  
69 Karampaham camp (து.:330) 1.5 acres  
70 Kaithadi-Nunavil camp (து.:309) .25 acres  
71 Nunail central camp (து.:307) 5 acres  
72 Odduveli camp (து.:334) 40 acres

#### 5.6 Camps in Karaveddi

- 73 Viluntha Aladi camp (து.:350) 10 perches  
74 Nelliadi camp (து.:351) 3 acres  
75 Valvai camp (து.:354) 5 perches  
76 Karavai north camp (து.:360) 22 perches  
77 Navindil camp (து.:361) 8 perches  
78 Security posts (து.:362)  
79 Security post (து.:365)  
80 Security post (து.:366)

- 81 Kaddupula camp (து.:368) 2.5 perches
- 82 Security post (து.:370)
- 83 Kalihai junction camp (து.:371) 20 perches
- 84 Security post (து.:377) 1 acres
- 85 Security post (து.:380)
- 86 Security posts (து.:381)
- 87 Anthanathidal camp (து.:382) 15 perches

### 5.7 Camps in Velanai

- 88 Punguduthivu west 4<sup>th</sup> ward camp (து.:33) 4 acres
- 88 Punguduthivu entry camp (து.:23) 60 perches
- 89 Malaiyadi Nachchimatha camp (து.:24) 90 perches
- 90 Kurikadduvan district camp 1 perches
- 91 Kurikadduvan harbour camp 1 perches
- 92 Nainativu south beach camp (து.:36) 16 perches
- 93 Velanai north camp 30 acres
- 94 Nannativu Nagavihara Naval camp (து.:34) 4 acres
- 95 Saravanai east bakery camp (து.:20) 5 perches
- 96 Mankumban Pillaiyar Kovol camp (து.:11) 10 perches
- 97 Velanai centre west camp (து.:18) 25 perches
- 98 Mamkumban camp (து.:11) 8 perches
- 99 Mankumban eats beach camp (து.:11) 3 perches
- 100 Velanai centre east camp (து.:16) 2 perches
- 101 Punguduthivu south camp (து.:26) 20 perches
- 102 Punguduthivu north camp (து.:22) 4 acres
- 103 Velanai east beach camp (து.:14) 1 acres
- 104 Velanai southeast camp (து.:15) 10 perches
- 105 Manadaitivu entry camp (து.:7) 1 perches
- 106 Mandaitivu Bid camp (து.:7௮8௮9) 3 acres
- 107 Allaipiddy junction camp (து.:10) 10 perches
- 108 Beach camp (து.:10) 1 acres

### 5.8 Camps in Urkavalthurai

- 109 Surivil junction camp (து.:50) 2 acres
- 110 Urkavalthurai police station camp 2 acres
- 111 Naranthanai camp 10 perches

### 5.9 Camps in Sanganaï

- 112 Arali west camp (து.:160) 3 perches
- 113 Arali cantre camp (து.:161) 1 perches
- 114 Arali south camp (து.:162) 3 perches
- 115 Arali east camp (து.:163) 7 perches
- 116 Vaddu southwest camp (து.:166) 15 perches
- 117 Vaddu west camp (து.:167) 8 perches
- 118 Tholpuram east camp 2
- 119 Sanganaï south camp (து.:180) 12 perches
- 120 Moolai junction camp (து.:171) 30 perches

### 5.10 Camps in Kopay

- 121 Irupalai Pillaiyar kovil camp 50 perches
- 122 Achchuvveli camp 150 perches
- 123 Punnalaikadduvan junction camp 10 perches
- 124 Idaikadu Thambalai junction camp 30 perches
- 125 Vallai junction camp 10 perches
- 126 Achchuvveli police station 75 perches
- 127 Achchuvveli civil office camp 20 perches
- 128 Vatharavaththai camp. 30 perches
- 129 Puthur east camp 30 perches
- 130 Avarangal camp 10 perches
- 131 Puthur junction camp
- 132 Nilavarai junction camp 5 perches
- 133 Achchuvveli technicalpark camp 15 perches
- 134 Nirveli junction camp 5 perches
- 135 Nirveli-Masuvan junction camp 5 perches
- 136 Kopay junction camp 10 perches
- 137 Irupalai junction camp 25 perches
- 138 Kopay-Kaithai camp 100 perches
- 139 Urelu police station 15 perches
- 140 Urelu camp 200 perches
- 141 Nirveli mathavadi camp 15 perches
- 142 Achchelu camp 400 perches

### 5.11 Camps in Nallur

- 143 Vaiman road junction camp 5 perches
- 144 Muththirai junction camp 3 perches
- 145 Kantharmadam junction camp. 0.5 perches
- 146 Palali road camp 1 perches
- 147 Kantharmadam junction post 3 perches
- 148 Kantharmadam southeast camp 25 perches
- 149 Iluppaiyadi junction camp 1 perches
- 150 Thaddatheru junction camp 3 perches
- 151 Kondavil Depot camp (சூ.119) 16 perches
- 152 Kondavil camp (சூ.116) 8 perches
- 153 Ariyalai centre south camp (சூ.96) 15 perches
- 154 Thirunelveli farm (near) camp 20 perches
- 155 Nallur Kailasapillaiyar camp 2 perches
- 156 Oddumada camp 1 perches
- 157 Nanthavil camp 8 perches
- 158 Sangiliyan road junction camp 6 perches
- 159 Kaladdi camp (சூ.123) 10 perches
- 160 Thalaiyali camp (சூ.123) 2 perches

### 5.12 Camps in Sandilipay



- 161 Thunasai camp
- 162 Camp (து.:145) 10 perches
- 163 Camp (து.:151) 20 perches
- 164 Mullanai camp (து.:156) 50 perches
- 165 Pandatharippi camp (து.:146) 30 perches
- 166 Koolavadi camp (து.:133) 50 perches
- 167 Navali north camp (து.:134) 7 perches
- 168 Yathambai camp (து.:151) 20 perches

### 5.13 Camps in Jaffna

- 169 Chinnakadai camp (து.:72) 1 acres
- 170 Ariyakulam camp (து.:78) 0.25 perches
- 171 Stanley road camp (து.:78) 0.5 perches
- 172 Kurunagar camp (து.:68)
- 173 Beach road junction camp (து.:67)
- 174 Maruthadi camp (து.:77)
- 175 Navanthurai south camp (து.:84)
- 176 Kolumbuthiurai west camp
- 177 Kolumbuthurai camp (து.:62)
- 178 Kurunagar camp (து.:69)
- 179 Oddumadam camp (து.:88) 2 perches
- 180 Mullavan junction camp (து.:74) 0.5 perches
- 181 Old park camp (து.:76) 0.5 perches
- 182 Kovil road junction camp (து.:76) 2 perches
- 183 Five junction camp 1 perches
- 184 Vannarpannai sivan camp 0.5 perches
- 185 Yarl station junction camp (து.:73) 0.5 perches
- 186 Ariyalai mampalam junction camp 2 perches

### 5.14 Camps in Uduvil

- 187 Chunnakam junction camp (து.:197) 40 perches
- 188 Tellipalai road camp (து.:198) 64 perches

## 6. Conclusion

How should the international human rights community treat the occupation of Tamil civilian space in Northeast by the Sri Lanka military? Is this a human rights violation or is it justified as a measure of national security. National security for whom?