

CHAPTER IV

PEACE EFFORTS BY THE INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

This chapter will focus on the how the peace efforts that have been done by the third party (International actors) in resolving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The peace efforts that have been done by the third party will be focused on 2000-2009. There will be an explanation of what kind of peace efforts that have been done by the international actors.

The failure of the efforts to bringing in the peace at least made the government aware that the way of violence was incapable of resolving the conflict in Sri Lanka, even worsening the situation and causing greater losses. This led to the initiative of the Sri Lankan government to present a third party as a mediator for the settlement of the interethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

The period of 2000-2005 was an important stage in the conflict resolution process in Sri Lanka. In this period the process of conflict resolution has been a positive development,

which has never been achieved before. The process of resolving the conflict in the period 2000-2005 provides a new atmosphere by presenting the third party as a facilitator. The conflict rooted in this discrimination subsequently developed into violent conflict marked by the attacks of the LTTE, a Tamil armed group in 1983. For the first time, the LTTE showed its existence by carrying out attacks and burning alive 600 anti-Tamils on July 23, 1983 (GAM dan Macan Tamil). Since the onslaught violence continues in Sri Lanka and has claimed many casualties.

Different types of third-party interventions will be effective at different stages of conflict process and the types of interventions that match are dependent on the nature and stages of the conflict. As the softer forms of intervention are more appropriate when communication errors and suspicions are so strong, while the more violent forms of intervention work more successfully when substantive interests are at the forefront (Fisher & Abdi, 2001). Facilitator plays a role in bringing representatives of conflicting parties to meet in a

neutral territory. Facilitators also have a role in leading meetings and encouraging communication safely and non-threatening (Harris & Reilly, 2000). In this ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan government itself has engaged a third party in its settlement since 1987. The peace efforts that have been done by the third party can be categorized as:

A. Third Party Intervention

In this concept, there are some approaches, they are Hard realism; Soft realism; Governance-based approach; and Social-psychological approaches. Moreover, the soft realism approach is the suitable one to be implemented in this issue, because of the characteristics, and also the behavior of the conflict is suitable for the points of soft realism approach. In the Soft Realism Approach, there are several points of strategic conflict that are being used by the international actors, they are:

1. Military aids

1.1. India

As one of the dominant superpowers in South Asia and also a neighboring country of Sri Lanka, India is a strong actor of its contribution to this inter-ethnic conflict. India's involvement in the Sri Lankan conflict was motivated by several factors. The first is that India believes that conflicts cannot be resolved without its active participation. Due to its geographic location, India has seen itself as a 'security manager' and closely monitor the development of the conflict in Sri Lanka (Hargreaves, Karlsson, Agrawal, Hootnick, & Tengtio).

The second is the close ties owned by some 55 million Tamils living in Tamil Nadu state in South India with Tamils living in the north and east of Sri Lanka. Although physically these two Tamil populations are separated by Strait Palk, they share the same cultural, linguistic and religious ties. India

considers that any solution found should be within the framework of constitutional arrangements that will maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. This is a logic that India applies to separatist movements that appear in various parts of the Indian state (Kaldor, 2007).

In July 1987, the Indo-Lanka Agreement was signed between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka President Jayewardene. The Sri Lankan government recognizes many Tamil demands, allowing for devolution of powers in the North and East provinces and giving official status to the Tamil language. In return, India sent India's Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) to build order in the North and East and disarm the Tamil militant group. In November 1987, there were 20,000 IPKFs in northern Sri Lanka (Rudolph, 2003).

Within the few months, the IPKF involved in a battle with the LTTE who trying to dominate the

Interim Administrative Council that just established by the IPKF. Moreover, the LTTE also refuse to disarm, while other militant groups were agreed to disarm. Disarm was a pre-condition to enforce peace in Sri Lanka. If the LTTE refuses to disarm, the IPKF would like to fight back with force if it needed. These differences between the IPKF and LTTE made IPKF being rejected by LTTE. Thus, the Sinhalese People's Liberation Front (JVP) also for some reasons, rejects the IPKF in the south because these Sri Lankans disagree with President Jayewardene's cooperation with India or the concessions he approves for Tamil people. Thus, in 1988 - 1989, IPKF was involved in fighting with Tamil rebels in the north and Sri Lanka's security forces as well as JVP in the south. In this confrontation caused as many as 1,000 soldiers were killed (India's Sri Lankan scars, 2000).

In 1989, a new government under the ruling Premadasa president in Colombo called on Indian

troops to withdraw and leave the conflict. The result was that all IPKF troops left in 1990. The behavior of the Premadasa government was judged to have challenged India's hegemonic power in the region. After the IPKF withdrawal, India established a 'hands-off policy' of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. However, in 1991, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was killed in an election campaign while in Tamil Nadu. The killing is believed to have been carried out by one of the LTTE members in Tamil Nadu who also carried out the bombing action at the time.

After the killings, India labeled the LTTE as a terrorist organization, preventing any official interaction with them. After that, India's role was limited as an active player in conflict resolution and peacekeeping in Sri Lanka.

In 2002, when other countries such as Norway, the US, etc. intervened in the peace process in Sri Lanka, India preferred not to participate in the

peace process. In 2006, India's Defense Minister Pranab Mukherjee stated that "India fully supports the peace process in Sri Lanka but will not play an active role because it can complicate the situation (Suryanaryan, 2011).

1.2. China

China has consistently provided assistance to Sri Lanka since it first emerged as a global leader. Support for Sri Lanka has risen dramatically in the last decade of the conflict, the support which is the biggest contributing factor to the Sri Lankan government's victory over the LTTE in 2009. China insists that the conflict in Sri Lanka is an internal affair, but openly supports the government's right to defend itself from internal threats.

Sri Lanka formed an alliance with China after IPKF left Sri Lanka in 1991. As a result of its alliance are several naval ships and aircraft delivered to the government of Sri Lanka (Swamy, 2007). Small aid

actions continued for many years, until 2007 when Chinese military aid increased fivefold. This drastic military aid came as a result of the ending of direct US military aid to Sri Lanka after concluding that its human rights record deteriorated. China later became the largest military donor in Sri Lanka, providing nearly \$ 1 billion in aid. Available weapons, such as the Chinese Jian-7 fighter jet, anti-aircraft weapons, JY-11 and other 3D air control radar are the factors of Sri Lanka's military success against the LTTE. In April 2007 the Sri Lankan government signed a \$ 38 million pact to buy ammunition from China. Later in the following year, China gave six F-7 jets to Sri Lanka as a 'present'. In the same years as China increased its military aid to Sri Lanka, it also encouraged Pakistan to donate its own military aid to Sri Lanka. Such military assistance greatly benefits the Sri Lankan government forces (Hargreaves, Karlsson, Agrawal, Hootnick, & Tengtio).

1.3. Pakistan

In the inter-ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Pakistan has played an important role in the conflict, especially for regional interests. When India engages in conflict because it has a large Tamil population in its own country, India also implicitly affirms its political power over the South Asian region. Pakistan, as an Indian rival, has been involved with the Sri Lankan conflict as a means to disrupt India and affirm its own power over the region.

In the late 1990s, the LTTE considered that Pakistan was involved with the help and support of the Sri Lankan military offensive. Then, Sri Lanka and Pakistan have denied these allegations, as Pakistan insists that conflict is an internal matter that is not of their concern. But Pakistan has long regarded Sri Lanka as an ally. In 1997, it became common knowledge that Sri Lankan military officers were trained in Pakistan (Noyahr, 2006).

Pakistan's policy towards Sri Lanka changed under the rule of President Pervez Musharraf. From 1999 to 2008, Pakistan emerged as the second largest supplier of military aid (after China) to Sri Lanka. Some of the recorded transactions included the sale of 22 Al-Khalid tanks worth \$ 110 million to Sri Lanka in 2006. The government of Sri Lanka has also ordered a list of weapons worth millions more than Pakistan (Hargreaves, Karlsson, Agrawal, Hootnick, & Tengtio).

In 2008 Pakistan has increased its military aid loan to Sri Lanka to nearly \$ 100 million (Pakistan guiding Sri Lanka's War, 2006). There is also speculation that at the time the ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) from Pakistan may have provided weapons to the LTTE. It has also been reported that in 1993 the LTTE received arms shipments from Pakistan (China fuels Sri Lankan War, 2009). Specific details of Pakistan's direct involvement with the LTTE

are unclear, whether these weapons are purchased directly from the government or from illegal markets is uncertain. However, so far, Pakistan holds the largest illegal arms market in the sub-continent (Raman, 2004).

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is a conflict that will seriously disrupt the regional security of the South Asian region and also the power of power. Therefore, India, Pakistan, and China have played an important role in the Sri Lankan conflict as a way of asserting power over the region. Although India seeks to resolve the conflict in less peaceful ways, China and Pakistan are quite successful in helping to resolve the conflict by giving more influence to the Sri Lankan government through military aid.

1.4. The United States of America

Initially, the US did not see Sri Lanka as a priority in South Asia, as it did not focus on Sri Lanka's relations with India and Pakistan. However,

Richard Armitage, former Deputy Secretary of State, believes that the United States should play a significant role in the conflict and give it a position that preceded the US agenda. Armitage also argues that in 2003, the conflict will reach a point where both parties are willing to reach a solution and international pressure from the US can prove vital (Hargreaves, Karlsson, Agrawal, Hootnick, & Tengio).

Initially, in 1997, the US established the LTTE as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) (Lunstead, 2011). This limits the US role in the conflict peace process in Sri Lanka as it will be seen as a 'non-neutral' player by other nations. The United States put pressure on the LTTE, focusing on the use of child soldiers and human rights abuses while at the same time providing the Sri Lankan government with security assistance. Military support to the Sri Lankan government was given to prevent the LTTE from returning to war and providing resources which the

government needs if this hostility continues. The small US Military Unit provides training to government military personnel and funding for the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program in the country. In March 2008, the United States donated \$ 220,000 worth of anti-terrorism equipment to the Sri Lankan Police (Hargreaves, Karlsson, Agrawal, Hootnick, & Tengtio, p. 60).

1.5. Israel

Israel who have also sold weapons to the Sri Lankan government. It is known that Israel has provided a constant flow of weapons for Sri Lanka. Israel supports the Sri Lankan government because the conflict in Sri Lanka is very similar to what happened in Israel and Palestine.

The military aids that have been accepted by the Sri Lankan government were very useful for them. Because of the use of violence by the LTTE, the SLG has to make a quick move to response the use of

violence. Thus, they need the military aids, such as: military forces training and supply of military weapons. The international actors helped the SLG in providing the advanced military weapons, and it helps to calm down the riots that resulted from the LTTE rebellion. Then it also helps to maintain the security within Sri Lanka.

2. Financial aids

2.1. The United States of America

The financial aid to the Sri Lankan government is also provided by the US to help decrease the damaged development of Eelam War I. The main criteria for receiving this assistance is to ensure that the assistance does not contribute to the LTTE. However, it is sometimes difficult to assist the majority-controlled areas of the Tamil government, such as in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka, as often aid will pass through the LTTE region, where the group will levy taxes.

Table 1 (above) provided by the US government from 2000-2009 and also shows that since 2006, the amount of aid received by the Sri Lankan government has continued to decline as the peace process has failed.

Table 3 4.1 Aid funding from 1999-2009 in millions

2000	\$7.74	2005	\$16.1
2001	\$7.59	2006	\$7.43
2002	\$9.78	2007	\$6.56
2003	\$10.1	2008	\$6.95
2004	\$16.98	2009	\$4.0

Source: (Lunstead, 2011)

Furthermore, the Bush Administration developed the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) in which the participating countries were selected based on how well scores were on the following three points; - rule fairly, invest in people, and economic freedom - which is further divided into sixteen other categories. Sri Lanka qualified for assistance through

the program in May 2004, with an initial proposal of \$ 590 million, which fell to \$ 100 million due to slow discussions and was eventually canceled in 2006 due to security concerns in Sri Lanka at the time (Gamage, 2011).

2.2. Canada

After discovering that much of the diasporas Tamil funding in Canada has been the cause of indirect violence in Sri Lanka, the government banned the LTTE and labeled it a terrorist organization. It has supported a peaceful resolution to the conflict and has consistently asserted that there will be no military solution to this problem. The average Canadian has donated \$ 10 million for development assistance to Sri Lanka. Although Canada has tried its best to remain neutral throughout the conflict, Canada plays a minor role in reducing and perpetuating the conflict (Neatby).

2.3. Japan

Japan also played a role in the conflict by holding the Tokyo Donor Conference in 2003. Organized by Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, the US, Norway, and the EU were vice-chairmen of the conference. Held in June, the conference aims for the development and progress of peace in Sri Lanka and is attended by representatives from 51 countries (including mainly, China and Pakistan) and 21 international organizations.

Representatives from the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE were invited to the conference, but the LTTE declined, already unhappy with the progress of the peace talks and determined not to settle for anything less than their original demands for a separate state. Although representatives from the Sri Lankan government did attend, the conference was more or less null and void without the participation of the LTTE.

After getting the financial aids through the conference, it is hard to find the records of the outcome of the conference. It appears that most of the money pledged was not sent to Sri Lanka as shortly after both sides broke the ceasefire agreement and violence had begun again. Within the following years, the failure of the conference, the deteriorating human rights record of the Sri Lankan government, the US pullout of military aid in Sri Lanka, and the failure to maintain the ceasefire agreement all led to an end of the majority of Western involvement in the conflict. As already mentioned above, after Western involvement decreased, China and Pakistan stepped in providing military aid to the Sri Lankan government (Hargreaves, Karlsson, Agrawal, Hootnick, & Tengtio). The financial aids for Sri Lanka have been used to purchase military weapons from suppliers like China and also Pakistan.

3. Humanitarian and Reconstruction aids

3.1. The United States of America

In times of man-made and natural disasters, USAID⁹ has played a lead role in providing humanitarian assistance. During the past decades, USAID has mobilized emergency aid for recovery, reconstruction, and rebuilding after the 2004 tsunami; the end of the conflict in 2009; and the floods that have been occurring every year since 2010. USAID works with the people of Sri Lanka to strengthen democratic governance, social cohesion and sustained and inclusive economic growth. After the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami destroying the bulk of Sri Lanka, USAID has provided and supervised approximately \$ 135 million in humanitarian and reconstruction assistance for Sri Lanka (Gamage, 2011, p. 71).

⁹ USAID (United States Agency for International Development) leads international development and humanitarian efforts to save lives, reduce poverty, strengthen democratic governance and help people progress beyond assistance.

3.2. Norway

Norway paid for US\$2.7 million into a newly established trust fund designed to help people in the North East of Sri Lanka reap early and tangible benefits from the on-going peace process. These were the first funds to be received by the North East Reconstruction Fund (NERF), which will be financed by International donors and administered by the World Bank's International Development Association. This contribution is in addition to a US\$16.5 million contribution for long-term assistance already pledged by Norway for Sri Lanka in 2003.

Humanitarian and reconstruction assistance began to be accepted by Sri Lanka since the separation of mass killings as well as the bombing carried out by the LTTE as a sign of Eelam I war has begun. The emergence of humanitarian assistance was also given after Sri Lanka was hit by the tsunami disaster of 2004. The existence of humanitarian and

reconstruction assistance has helped the victims of the tsunami and civil war victims.

As mentioned before, the soft realism approach that implemented in the efforts of resolving the conflict was improved through: (a) Power - sharing in military troops by India through IPKF, military training by Pakistan, and also the weaponry aids by the US, China, Pakistan; (b) Mediation by Norway, and the US; and also (c) The use of coercive diplomacy that has been done by both of the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil militant groups (LTTE).

The peace efforts by International Actors can be concluded as follows:

Table 4 4.2 The International Actors Intervention

The Third Party Intervention	The Actors
<p>Military Aids</p>	<p>1. India In July 1987, the Indo-Lanka Agreement was signed between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka President Jayawardene. India sent India's Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) to build order in the North and East and disarm the Tamil militant group. In November 1987, there were 20,000 IPKFs in northern Sri Lanka (Rudolph, 2003).</p> <p>2. Pakistan As a supplier of Military Weapons to Sri Lanka →The sale of 22 Al-Khalid tanks worth \$ 110 million to Sri Lanka in 2006. In 2008 Pakistan has increased its military aid loan to Sri Lanka to nearly \$ 100 million. Pakistan also helped to train Sri Lankan military officers.</p> <p>3. China China later became the largest military donor in Sri Lanka, providing nearly \$ 1 billion in aid. Available weapons, such as the Chinese Jian-7 fighter jet, anti-aircraft weapons, JY-11 and other 3D air control radar. In April 2007 the Sri Lankan government signed a \$ 38 million pact to buy ammunition from China. Later in the following year China gave six F-7 jets to Sri Lanka as a 'present'.</p> <p>4. The USA Military aids →The small US Military Unit provides training to government military personnel and funding for the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program in the country. In March 2008, the United States donated \$ 220,000 worth of anti-terrorism equipment to the Sri Lankan Police.</p> <p>5. Israel Sold weapons to the Sri Lankan government by providing a constant flow of weapons.</p>

	<p>1. The USA Financial aids → through the program of Millenium Challenge Account (MCA) with an</p>

Financial Aids	<p>initial proposal of \$ 590 million, which fell to \$ 100 million due to slow discussions.</p> <p>2. Canada The average Canadian has donated \$ 10 million for development assistance to Sri Lanka.</p> <p>3. Japan Holding the Tokyo Donor Conference in 2003. Organized by Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, the US, Norway, and the EU were vice-chairmen of the conference. Gathering all the donors for Sri Lankan.</p>
Humanitarian and Reconstruction Aids	<p>1. The USA Humanitarian and Reconstruction aids through USAID →USAID provided and supervised approximately \$ 135 million in humanitarian and reconstruction assistance for Sri Lanka.</p> <p>2. Norway Reconstruction aids → through NERF, Norway paid for US\$2.7 million into a newly established trust fund designed to help people in the NorthEast of Sri Lanka reap early and tangible benefits from the on-going peace process. In addition to a US\$16.5 million contribution for long-term assistance already pledged by Norway for Sri Lanka in 2003.</p>

B. Peacemaking Efforts

1. Facilitation

The first facilitation did by Britain. Britain is one of the countries that have initiatives to help

resolve the inter-ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. This was taken by the deputy Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Liam Fox, to refer to a bipartisan agreement between government leaders and the opposition (Perera, 2005). In 1997, with England as a facilitator, Kumaratunga (Perera, 2005). The talks are aimed at paving the way for negotiations with the LTTE (Saifuddin, 2004). However, the agreement was not implemented, due to the lack of mutual trust on both sides.

The second facilitation has been done by the US. As the superior country in the world, the US also intervene the inter-ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The US support for the Wickremasinghe government that ruled from 2001 to 2004 has also been demonstrated through concrete and symbolic means. During this period, the US increased its assistance in military and development projects and increased its involvement with the peace process. Furthermore, Prime Minister

Wickremasinghe was invited to the White House twice, in July 2002 and November 2003, to meet President Bush. These two meetings were held in a short time, given the US's limited strategic importance in Sri Lanka (Lunstead, 2011, p. 71). In addition to interactions with the Sri Lankan government, the US is also involved with other groups, such as the Tamil National Alliance and various Tamil political groups, as well as with political parties and factions Muslims to facilitate the peace process.

Although US military relations with Sri Lanka increased drastically from what was initially completely non-existent to drastic aid by the US. The real impact on the low level of engagement by Americans cannot yet be described. Nevertheless, the involvement and pressure it provides during the peace process may play an important role as one of the factors of signing the truce.

2. Negotiation

In this inter-ethnic conflict, the negotiation process was done by Norway. The new hope for a conflict resolution that has taken more than 20 years to arrive in early February 2000, when Norway through its Foreign Minister Knut Vollebaek declared willing to facilitate a meeting between the two sides (GAM dan Macan Tamil). The seriousness of the Norwegian government to help Sri Lanka resolve the conflict was demonstrated by sending a special envoy, Eric Solheim meeting with President Chandrika, the opposition chief, and Tamil and Muslim political figures to then hold a meeting with the LTTE (Department, 2000).

Eric Solheim's initial effort as a facilitator was to persuade the two sides to negotiate and seek to build trust between the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE. The effort has been made by mediating and creating a secure and conducive atmosphere in the

meeting with the representatives of both parties (Ashraf, 2006). Finally, this effort of mediation resulted in the availability of negotiations with the LTTE government.

During the negotiation process, the Sri Lankan government wants a police station and a court in which its membership comes from both sides of the eastern part of the province which is mostly occupied by Tamil Tiger rebels, while the Tamil Tigers want the Sri Lankan government apart from police and military personnel do not carry weapons while carrying out political activities in order to create a conducive atmosphere during the negotiations.

In resolving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka Norway is involved in the membership of Subcommittee De-escalation and Normalization. This unit has four main tasks to create a high-security zone in the conflict area and there are many victims. This is done because of the frequent occurrence of acts of

terror perpetrated by both parties who disagree with some results of the ongoing negotiating process (K.S, 1993).

In the final negotiations, Norway succeeded in helping to issue a conflict resolution in addition to sustaining the peace process via economic immediate assistance, which the Tamil Tigers agreed to join in the Sri Lankan government system to stop the rebels' desire to secede from Sri Lanka

3. Mediation

Norway also becomes a mediator that has been chosen by the SLG and the LTTE as well. For Norwegian efforts, the stance of both parties finally softened and they were willing to conduct peace talks. The conflict resolution process in Sri Lanka is also supported by the goodwill of both parties to resolve the conflict. This is demonstrated by the unilateral declaration of ceasefire by the LTTE on 19 December

2001 (Saravanamuttu, 2003). A ceasefire is the most minimal process of resolving a conflict, by forcing the conflicting parties to stop the armed violence (Chandrawati, 2005). The LTTE Initiative has later received a response from the Sri Lankan Government which also announced a ceasefire two days after the LTTE declared a unilateral ceasefire (Saravanamuttu, 2003).

The efforts to resolve the inter-ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka reached a bright spot in 2002. On February 22, 2002, a ceasefire agreement that could be called a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed by the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE (Cooperation, 2003). The signing of the truce was carried out separately with the Sri Lankan Government represented by Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe. Meanwhile, from the LTTE, LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran signed the deal (Saravanamuttu, 2003).

The ceasefire also has a tremendous positive impact on the security conditions in Sri Lanka that are finally able to support the conflict resolution process. With the ceasefire is expected to create conditions conducive to continue the process of conflict resolution in the next stage. The creation of conducive conditions makes it possible to bring together conflicting parties to discuss the root causes and find solutions through a peace agreement. Due to the creation of ceasefire agreement, the existence of SLMM institution later in the confidence-building process is needed to provide oversight of the content of the ceasefire agreement and facilitate further negotiation process.

4. Conciliation

In order to keep the ceasefire agreement implemented overall by both of the SLG and the LTTE, the government asked Norway to help them in

term of monitoring the running of the ceasefire agreement on 2002. During the conciliation process, Norwegian government sought to find the root of the conflict and reduce the fight to create negotiations between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan government. This is confirmed by the establishment of a SLMM (Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission) a Norwegian-led agency tasked with reporting to donor countries on the progress of the peace process and the implementation of the ceasefire agreement.

It is not unusual for a peace agreement to be created between two conflicting parties and then monitored by an independent monitoring team. In addition to the ceasefire agreement, on 22 February 2002, the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission was established by the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. This monitoring institute consists of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland. SLMM is based in Colombo and has six district offices in the

eastern and northern regions of Mannar, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Ampara, and Vavuniya.

As a decision of the CFA, a Norwegian-headed body, the SLMM, established on February 22, 2002, was assigned to monitor the ceasefire and overcome ceasefire violations from both sides. Despite its limited mandate, it helps maintain the commitment of protagonists in resolving conflicts through problem and consensus approaches. However, from May 2006 onwards, SLMM faced difficulties in carrying out its mandate due to increased hostility from both sides.

The Norwegian-led institution is intended to keep the ceasefire agreement undisturbed by violent disputes and victimization. The formation of SLMM aims to help reduce the tensions that may be created. If an incident arises, the conflicting parties may bring their complaints to the SLMM, rather than taking their own action in solving the problem.

After cancelling the ceasefire agreement, SLMM suspended its remaining activities in 2008. During its working time in Sri Lanka, SLMM was criticized for not taking sides with anyone to pacify the conflicting parties. However, it is also recognized by the international community that SLMM has a very important role in maintaining a fragile ceasefire. As co-chair with the EU, USA, and Japan Norway joined the 2003 Tokyo Donor Conference, attended by 51 countries and 22 international organizations to support the peace and reconstruction process (Goodhand, Jonathan, & Klem, 2005, p. 72).

Norwegian presence and the establishment of SLMM are the beginning and involvement of the international community. It is proved by the goodwill of some countries to host the negotiating process between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka. This indicates the desire of these countries to help Sri Lanka get conflict resolution.

In the end, it can be seen that Norway played a significant role in the formulation of the CFA and also in providing space for direct negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. The CFA began to face obstacles in mid-2003 and eventually collapsed in January 2008 after the government decided to withdraw from CFA (Noyahr, 2006). However, through approaches for peacebuilding and the establishment of SLMM, Norway was able to maintain its role in Sri Lanka until 2008.

The peacemaking efforts by International Actors can be concluded as follows:

	1. Norway	Creation of <i>joint task force</i> , a resolution of sustaining the peace process via economic immediate assistance, and also the succession of gaining back the Tamils into Sri Lankan government.
Facilitation	1. The USA	Facilitate the meeting between President Bush and the Tamil militant groups in order to persuade Tamils militant group to getting back together with the SLG. Also the signing of the truce between LTTE and SLG.
	2. Britain	The deputy Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Liam Fox, to refer to a bipartisan agreement between government leaders and the opposition (Perera, 2005) and aimed at paving the way for negotiations with the LTTE (Saifuddin, 2004). However, the agreement was not implemented, due to the lack of mutual trust on both sides.