## FINAL REPORT

## ON

## **ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE:**

## GENERAL ELECTION 2001 -5<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2001

# **CENTRE FOR MONITORING ELECTION VIOLENCE (CMEV)**

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July 2002

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## **PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE**

## **Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)**

#### 2001 GENERAL ELECTION - FINAL REPORT

#### **Executive Summary**

The 2001 General Election was, in comparative terms, the most violent election held in Sri Lanka since 1994. In addition, the frequency and magnitude of post-election violence in the aftermath of this election is unprecedented in the recent past, and harks back to the practice of nearly twenty years ago. Whereas the majority of incidents during the campaign and on election day were allegedly committed by supporters of the People's Alliance (PA), the alleged perpetrators of post-election violations are supporters of the United National Party (UNP).

Police partisanship was again a negative factor in curbing violence, and the immediate *volte face* of the Police after the results were announced in favour of the UNP, which added to the intensity of the so-called retaliations, is a frightening index of the extent of the partiality and politicization of the police force, which needs to be addressed, together with the apathy and worse of many election-day officials, if any impact is to be made on reducing election-related violence in the country.

CMEV regrets that this time too the European Union (EU) Observer Mission saw fit to endorse the election on the basis of inadequate information, insufficient preparation and flawed methodology. This is all the more so since, for the first time, four of CMEV's own international monitors (in addition to many local monitors) were subjected to threats and intimidation on election day in areas that have been endorsed by the EU. Despite claims made by the authorities that election violators will be prosecuted expeditiously, CMEV has not seen sufficient proof of the good faith of the main parties to this end. Both the PA and UNP take a high moral stand vis-à-vis election violations while in the opposition, but do little to bring the culprits to book once they come in to power. Identified perpetrators still continue to hold high office in these party hierarchies. Unless this situation is remedied, the electorate will lose all faith in the democratic process in Sri Lanka.

#### Introduction

The Centre for Monitoring Election Violence's (CMEV) Final Report on the 2001 General Election comprises four distinct parts. The first relates to violence during the election campaign period from October 27, 2001 to December 4, 2001, the second is confined to an analysis of election day itself, and the third to post-election violence. The final section contains a gender analysis of the violence, and includes CMEV's recommendations, the methodology followed and other related elements pertaining to the 2001 Parliamentary General Election.

The report presents data in graphic and tabular form, confining descriptive text to a minimum, since the information is selfexplanatory, allowing the reader to examine the details and nuances contained therein. Basic assessments of the various aspects of the election are contained in the executive summary and in the introductions at the beginning of each section.

#### PART ONE: ELECTION CAMPAIGN VIOLENCE

By the end of the five-week campaign period of the 2001 Parliamentary General Election, 2735 incidents of election-related violence had been reported to the Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV). Of these, 1562 (57.1%) have been classified as Major incidents which include Murder (48), Attempted Murder (82), Hurt (271), Grievous Hurt (52), Assault (469), Threat and Intimidation (405), Robbery (75), Arson (140), and 20 incidents involving the Misuse of State Resources [See **Table II**].

These statistics reflect a clear qualitative and quantitative increase in the incidence of violence over the General Election held in October 2000. During that election campaign period of 39 days a cumulative total of 2044 incidents was reported, with the number of incidents almost doubling between the third and fourth weeks and then again between the fourth and fifth weeks. Throughout the current campaign the incidence of violence was greater. For instance, at the end of the first three weeks the number of reports was nearly double that of the 2000 campaign. Overall, the 2001 campaign resulted in 33.7% more incidents of violence, which reflected a 39.3% increase in Major incidents.

In addition, whereas this year has seen the alleged use of firearms in 677 cases (or 24.7%), in 2000 this figure stood at 444 (21.7%). The number of Murders recorded was 48, as opposed to 66 during the last election campaign period, but over 40 of these were caused by alleged LTTE suicide attacks. The comparison between these two elections is detailed in **Figures 1** – **4** which well demonstrates the fact that the 2001 General Election was irrevocably flawed even during the campaign stage. This adverse comparison with the 2000 General Election is itself a strong indictment of the 2001 General Election campaign since the former is considered to be among the most violent elections in Sri Lanka's recent history, and clearly more so than the 1999 Presidential Election already demonstrated a greater level and intensity of violence than the 2000 General Election, even at the campaign stage, this did not bode well for the election itself.

The People's Alliance are the alleged perpetrators in 1284 (47%) incidents. 740 (57.6%) of the complaints against the PA allege Major Offences and 544 (42.4%) fall under the Minor Offences classification. The UNP is allegedly responsible for 751 (27.5%) incidents of violence of which 432 (57.5%) fall into the category of Major Offences. 69 (2.5%) complaints relating to incidents of violence have been made against the SLMC of which 40 (58%) are in relation to major offences. The EPDP stands accused in 27 incidents, of which 14 are major offences. The JVP, TULF, PLOTE are allegedly responsible for 09, 17 and 11 incidents of violence respectively, whilst 544 (19.9%) complaints have been made against persons of unknown political affiliation.

Thus, if we consider only the offences in which the alleged perpetrators have been identified, the PA and UNP taken together account for 92.9% of all campaign-related violations, reinforcing CMEV's repeated claim that these two main contenders are almost exclusively responsible for the unacceptable levels of violence at this and other national elections. The contention these two parties are culpable not merely for the quantitative increase in violence but also for its qualitative heightening is established by the fact that taken together they account for 92.4% of all incidents involving the use of firearms in which the alleged perpetrators' party affiliation has been identified.

Self-identified UNP supporters have lodged 1474 (53.9%) of the complaints reported, of which 1124 or 76.3% have been made against supporters of the PA and 26 against fellow party members. 806 (29.5%) complaints have been made by the PA, of which 23 are intra party complaints and 599 (74.3%) are against UNP supporters. The JVP has made 130 (4.8%) complaints, mainly against the UNP (51.1%). Persons of unknown party affiliation have been accused in 544 incidents, and persons of undeclared party affiliation have made 139 (05.1%) complaints, which is roughly equal to the percentage of such complaints during the 2000 general election.

The use of firearms has been reported in 677 (24.8%) incidents, with the PA named as the alleged perpetrator in 321 (47.4%) incidents and persons of unidentified political affiliation in 173 (25.6%). The UNP has been identified as the alleged perpetrator in 144 (21.3%) incidents involving the use of firearms. As has been pointed out earlier in this report, the increase in firearm use by 3% during this election is not only a clear objective indicator of the exacerbated violence of this campaign, but also a warning of the violence to be expected on polling day and thereafter.

The highest number of incidents (503) has been reported from the North Western Province, which constitutes 18.4% of the total number reported to CMEV. Next in degree of violence is the Western Province recording 481 (17.6%) incidents. The Uva Province is the only one recording under 200 incidents, and at 90 reports is significantly less than half its nearest rival, Sabaragamuwa Province (235). In comparison with the previous election, the Southern Province has shown the greatest increase from 204 (in 2000) to 421 (in 2001). At the district level, Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Puttalam and Gampaha are clearly the most quantitatively violent, reporting 267, 256, 247 and 247 respectively. It is significant that Gampaha and Kurunegala were the most violent even in the October 2000 election.

In terms of the seriousness of the incidents recorded, Kurunegala District accounts for the highest number of Major Incidents (171),

followed by Puttalam (167), Gampaha (156) and Anuradhapura (153). The most significant change for the worse, in comparison with the previous election, was recorded from Hambantota (151 incidents in total of which 114 were Major), which was more than three times that of the October 2000 campaign. In the Anuradhapura District, the PA is allegedly responsible for over twice the number of violations of the UNP, in Hambantota and Gampaha this figure increases to approximately three and five times respectively. In Puttalam both the UNP and PA are allegedly responsible for a similar share of the intolerable level of violence experienced in the district. Outside the two northern districts, Kalutara, Badulla and Trincomalee are the only districts in which the UNP has more allegations than the PA, and of these both Badulla and Trincomalee have recorded under 35 incidents. In all of the 17 other districts the PA is allegedly responsible for more violations than the UNP.

However, in general, this election campaign has marked a clear increase in the UNP's alleged perpetration of violence, vis-à-vis the 2000 General Election and others before it in the post-1994 period. Yet, strong disparities still exist, as outlined above, both in the number and seriousness of the incidents recorded.

#### Alleged Perpetrators of Violence (Cumulative Figures)

Date:04/12/01

AREA/PARTY	PA	UNP	JVP	MEP	NUA	UCPF	EPRLF	SU	CWC	TULF	EPDP	PLOTE	POLICE	SLMC	A - Z	PNG	TOTAL
Western																	
Colombo	39	34	4					3			1	1	2			52	136
Gampaha	142	55											1			49	247
Kalutara	27	40	1													30	98
Sub Total(Western)	208	129	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	131	481
Central																	
Kandy	77	42												1		22	142
Matale	16	17														7	40
N ' Eliya	40	39														16	95
Sub Total(Central)	133	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	45	277
North Western																	
Kurunegala	137	83											2			34	256
Puttlam	118	110														19	247
Sub Total (Nor-West)	255	193	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	53	503
North Central																	
A 'pura	151	74	1													41	267
Polonnaruwa	51	36														4	91
Sub Total (N-Central)	202	110	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	358
Southern																	
Galle	68	13	1													29	111
Hambantota	75	15														61	151
Matara	51	38	1													69	159
Sub Total (Southern)	194	66	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	159	421
Uva																	
Badulla	12	16													1	2	31
Monaragala	29	24											1			5	59
Sub Total (Uva)	41	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	90
Sabaragamuwa																	
Ratnapura	60	19														9	88
Kegalle	92	35														20	147
Sub Total (Sabara)	152	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	235
Northern																	
Jaffna		15								9	18		1		1	11	55
Wanni	6	11					1			3	1	5	1		1	13	42
Sub Total (Nothern)	6	26	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	12	19	5	2	0	2	24	97
Eastern																	
Batticaloa	18	1			2							5		38		17	81
Trincomalee	7	10	1								1					2	21
Digamadulla	68	24			1					5	6		2	30	3	32	171
Sub Total (Eastern)	93	35	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	5	7	5	2	68	3	51	273
GRAND TOTAL	1284	751	9	0	3	0	1	3	0	17	27	11	10	69	6	544	2735

#### Date:04/12/01

	Major Incidents										Minor incidents						Total # of	Rem	arks
AREA / OFFENCE	Murder	Att.	Hurt	Griev.	Assault	Threat &	Misuse of State	Robbery	Arson	Major	Mischief	Threat	Damage to	Election	Others	Minor	Incidents	Firearms	Poll
Western		Murder		Hurt		Intimid.	Resources			(Total)			Property	Offence		(Total)		Involved	Related
Colombo	8	3	2	2	30	8	3	1	9	66	27	26	1	10	6	70	136	13	1
Gampaha	3	9	25	8	58	44		4	5	156	42	36	7	4	2	91	247	78	6
Kalutara		1	10	3	19	9	1	1	2	46	27	16	3	4	2	52	98	12	
Sub Total (Western)	11	13	37	13	107	61	4	6	16	268	96	78	11	18	10	213	481	103	7
Central																			
Kandy		12	14		24	28		2	3	83	28	23	6		2	59	142	42	2
Matale	1	1	5	1	5	5				18	9	8	4		1	22	40	8	
N ' Eliya	1		14		17	9		2	1	44	26	20	1	2	2	51	95	10	
Sub Total (Central)	2	13	33	1	46	42	0	4	4	145	63	51	11	2	5	132	277	60	2
North Western																			
Kurunegala	7	16	27	4	45	49	1	5	17	171	44	31	4		6	85	256	73	1
Puttlam	7	12	18	6	43	51	2	17	11	167	27	41	7		5	80	247	92	
Sub Total (Nor-West)	14	28	45	10	88	100	3	22	28	338	71	72	11	0	11	165	503	165	1
North Central																			
Anuradhapura	3	5	38	5	41	42		7	12	153	69	37	7		1	114	267	67	1
Polonnaruwa			14	2	21	7	1	3		48	23	17	1		2	43	91	11	
Sub Total (Nor-Cen.)	3	5	52	7	62	49	1	10	12	201	92	54	8	0	3	157	358	78	1
Southern						-													
Galle	1	1	12		6	8		1	8	37	66	5	3			74	111	14	
Hambantota		5	9	1	13	64		7	15	114	20	12	3	2		37	151	87	2
Matara			10	1	15	15		2	31	74	64	15	2	2	2	85	159	20	
Sub Total (Southern)	1	6	31	2	34	87		10	54	225	150	32	8	4	2	196	421	121	2
Uva																			
Badulla			2	2	6	2	1		1	14	5	9	1	2		17	31	3	2
Monaragala			7	1	12	5	6	1	2	34	12	9	2	2		25	59	8	
Sub Total (Uva)	0	0	9	3	18	7	7	1	3	48	17	18	3	4	0	42	90	11	2
Sabaragamuwa																			
Ratnapura	6	6	18	3	18	7	1		3	62	16	4	4		2	26	88	30	
Kegalle		1	10	4	26	13	4	6	9	73	29	41		1	3	74	147	22	2
Sub Total (Sabara)	6	7	28	7	44	20	5	6	12	135	45	45	4	1	5	100	235	52	2
Northern																			
Jaffna	2	1	4	1	11	5		3		27	5	12		4	7	28	55	13	5
Wanni	2	1	3	1	5	4		6	1	23	5	11		1	2	19	42	11	5
Sub Total (Nothern)	4	2	7	2	16	9	0	9	1	50	10	23	0	5	9	47	97	24	10
Eastern																			
Batticaloa	4	2	6		17	11		5	4	49	9	15	6		2	32	81	17	
Trincomalee	1		5	1	3	1		1		12	4	1		2	2	9	21	5	1
Digamadulla	2	6	18	6	34	18		1	6	91	39	21	7	7	6	80	171	41	2
Sub Total (Eastern)	7	8	29	7	54	30		7	10	152	52	37	13	9	10	121	273	63	3
GRAND TOTAL	48	82	271	52	469	405	20	75	140	1562	596	410	69	43	55	1173	2735	677	30

					Major II	ncidents					Minor Incidents							Remar	ks
Perpetrators	Murder	Att. Murder	Hurt	Grie. Hurt	Assault	Threat & Intimidation	Misuse Of state resources	Robbery	Arson	Major (Total)	Mischief	Threat	Damage to Property	Election Offence	Others	Minor (Total)	Grand Total	Firearms Involved	Poll., Related
PA	11	30	141	26	230	189	18	36	59	740	281	191	37	15	20	544	1284	321	7
UNP	15	24	88	21	156	91		18	19	432	140	144	8	12	15	319	751	144	1
JVP					4			1		5	2	2				4	9		
MEP										0						0	0		
NUA						1				1		1	1			2	3	1	
UCPF										0						0	0		
EPRLF										0		1				1	1		
SU					1					1		2				2	3		
CWC										0						0	0		
TULF			1	1	3	2			1	8	2	3		1	3	9	17	1	
EPDP	2	1		1	5	4		1		14	1	6	1	2	3	13	27	9	2
PLOTE			1		4	1		2		8	1	2				3	11	3	
POLICE	2				2	1				5	1	2			2	5	10	3	
SLMC		4	6	1	13	12		2	2	40	10	10	9			29	69	20	
A - Z		1	2			1	1			5	1					1	6	2	
PNG	18	22	32	2	51	103	1	15	59	303	157	46	13	13	12	241	544	173	20
TOTAL	48	82	271	52	469	405	20	75	140	1562	596	410	69	43	55	1173	2735	677	30

#### Category of Offences Carried Out by Each Party (Cumulative Figures) Date:04/12/01

PA: People's Alliance UCPF: Upcountry People's Front TULF : Tamil United Liberation Front SLMC : Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

UNP: United National Party NLF: New Left Front JVP: Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

MEP: Mahajana Eksath Peramuna

LP: Liberal Party

EPDP: Eelam People's Democratic Party

SU: Sihala Urumaya

CWC: Ceylon Workers' Congress PLOTE : People's Liberation of Organization Tamil Eelam

A - Z : Other Listed Parties PNG: Parties Not Given Table III

Comp.by Party against / Party	PA	UNP	JVP	MEP	NUA	UCPF	EPRLF	SU	CWC	TULF	EPDP	PLOTE	POLICE	SLMC	A - Z	PNG	TOTAL
Complaints by PA against	23	599	1								1	3	5	43		131	806
Complaints by UNP against	1124	26	6							1	10	1	4	8	2	292	1474
Complaints by JVP against	24	67						3								36	130
Complaints by MEP against	1																1
Complaints by NUA against														4			4
Complaints by UCPF against																	0
Complaints by EPRLF against		1												1			2
Complaints by SU against	1	2	2													1	6
Complaints by CWC against																1	1
Complaints by TULF against	1	1									8	5				3	18
Complaints by EPDP against		13								13	1	1				5	33
Complaints by PLOTE against										1						4	5
Complaints by POLICE against	3	7									1			1		2	14
Complaints by SLMC against	38	6			2									2	1	7	56
Complaints by A - Z against	13	7			1		1			1		1		8	2	12	46
Complaints by PNG against	56	22								1	6		1	2	1	50	139
TOTAL	1284	751	9	0	3	0	1	3	0	17	27	11	10	69	6	544	2735

#### Tabulations of Party Affiliations of Perpetraters and Complainants (Cumulative Figures ) Date:04/12/01

Sub Total (N-Central)

PA: People's Alliance UCPF: Upcountry People's Front TULF : Tamil United Liberation Front A - Z : Other Listed Parties

UNP: United National Party NLF: New Left Front PNG: Parties Not Given

JVP: Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna SU: Sihala Urumaya

MEP: Mahajana Eksath Peramuna LP: Liberal Party CWC: Ceylon Workers' Congress EPDP: Eelam People's Democratic Party PLOTE : People's Liberation of Organization Tamil Eelam SLMC : Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

#### Description of Incidents Reported by Date of Incident [as at 04/12/01]

1	Major Incidents Minor Incidents											Total # of	Ren	narks					
Dates of Alleged	Murder	Att.	Hurt	Grie.		Threat &	Mis. of state	Rob.	Arson	Major	Mischief	Threat	Dam. to	Elec.	Others	Minor	Incidents	Firearms	Poll.,
Offences		Murder		Hurt		Intimid.	resources			(Total)		0	Property	Offence		(Total)		Involved	Related
10/11/01										0		2				2	2		
10/12/01										0	-					0	0		
10/13/01										0	1					0	0		
10/14/01						1				0	1					1	1 2	1	
10/15/01 10/16/01						1					1							1	
10/16/01										0	-					0	0		
10/18/01					1					1		1				1			
10/18/01					1					1		1				0	2		
10/19/01			1		1	2					-	2	1				7	4	
10/20/01			2		1	3				4	2	2	1			3			
10/21/01			2		1	2				3	3	3			4	6	9	2	
		1			4	3			1	3		3			1	4	7	2	
10/23/01	4	1			4	4			1	10	3	2			0	5	15	4	
10/24/01	1		1		3	1		-		5		3	-		2	5	10	2	
10/25/01					2					3	1	9	1		1	12	15		
10/26/01			1		3	3				7	1	2	4		1	4	11	4	
10/27/01			7		7	1	ļ	0		15	11	6	1		1	19	34	1	
10/28/01	1		4		5	4		3	1	18	9	9	1		3	22	40	6	
10/29/01	6			4	1	3	ļ	1		11	4	9			2	15	26	5	
10/30/01			3	1	4	2		-		10	4	9				13	23	2	
10/31/01	1	1	1	0	4	1			1	9	5	6				11	20	3	
11/1/01	1	1	5	3	7	2				19	7	4				11	30	5	
11/2/01	2	1	13		7	4		1	1	29	13	7				20	49	9	
11/3/01	1	<u>^</u>	2	_	6	2			1	12	12	5	0			17	29	3	
11/4/01		3	4	2	4	7		2	1	23	8	6	2	1		17	40	12	
11/5/01			4	1	3	7		1	1	17	3	9				12	29	7	
11/6/01	1		2		5	2		2	1	13	8	7			1	16	29	5	
11/7/01	-	1	6		5	5	1	-	2	20	6	9				15	35	8	
11/8/01			7	3	4	3			2	19	7	2	1	2	4	16	35	5	
11/9/01			2	1	12	5		1	2	23	7	2	2		2	13	36	9	
11/10/01		1	10	_	15	7		4	2	39	8	5			5	18	57	14	
11/11/01	1	2	8	3	20	15	1		4	54	21	23	1	1		46	100	23	
11/12/01		3	12	2	12	7		1	3	40	15	13	3		1	32	72	12	
11/13/01		2	7	1	13	7	1	1	6	38	17	17	3	1		38	76	12	
11/14/01	1	1	6	1	14	6			3	32	25	9	-	1		35	67	8	
11/15/01		1	6	2	5	9	3	1	1	28	6	6	2	2		16	44	9	
11/16/01		1	4	_	7	4			3	19	13	7	1	1	1	23	42	7	
11/17/01	1	1	7	2	9	5	2	-	3	30	10	16	1	L	<u> </u>	27	57	7	
11/18/01		4	11	3	19	11	2	3	3	56	15	9			1	25	81	26	
11/19/01	1	5	7	1	16	11		1		42	16	12	3	.	.	31	73	21	<u> </u>
11/20/01			7	1	22	9		2	4	45	21	14	5	4	4	48	93	21	1
11/21/01		1	4	1	18	12	1	3	5	45	18	9	3	1	5	36	81	17	2
11/22/01		1	6	1	18	16		1	4	47	15	10	2	3		30	77	23	
11/23/01	2	L	4		13	6		4	2	31	22	14	1	2	2	41	72	11	2
11/24/01		1	7	2	14	9	1	2	11	47	29	15		5		49	96	13	
11/25/01	2		11	5	16	12	1	1	6	54	29	21	4		3	57	111	23	1
11/26/01	1	2	6	5	9	9	5	4	6	47	23	10	4			37	84	18	1
11/27/01	1	3	10	3	17	10	1	4	9	58	22	14	2		2	40	98	20	3
11/28/01	1		10	2	14	14	1	4	6	52	15	10	2			27	79	20	
11/29/01	3	5	9	2	10	23		2	11	65	19	9	2	1	1	32	97	35	1
11/30/01	4	4	12	1	19	15		3	4	62	20	11	1	1	1	34	96	28	1
12/1/01	3	10	17	3	19	19		4	13	88	26	18	2	4		50	138	39	4
12/2/01	7	12	16		33	28		9	8	113	44	10	3	7	1	65	178	58	8
12/3/01	1	5	4		12	26		4	4	56	19	9	4	1	1	34	90	31	2
12/4/01	5	9	6		16	51		6	5	98	14	2	11	5	9	41	139	81	4
Total	48	82	272	52	469	404	20	75	140	1562	596	410	69	43	55	1173	2735	677	30

### ALL INCIDENTS BY TYPE (2735)



### ALL INCIDENTS BY PARTY OF ALLEGED PERPETRATOR (2735)



### **MAJOR INCIDENTS BY TYPE (1562)**



## **MAJOR INCIDENTS BY PARTY OF ALLEGED PERPETRATOR (1562)**



### **MINOR INCIDENTS BY TYPE (1173)**



### **MINOR INCIDENTS BY PARTY OF ALLEGED PERPETRATOR (1173)**





#### **PROFILE OF ALL ALLEGED VIOLATIONS BY PARTY**

Source: Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)

## PROFILE OF ALLEGED PA VIOLENCE MAJOR INCIDENTS (740)

#### PROFILE OF ALLEGED UNP VIOLENCE MAJOR INCIDENTS (432)



### PROFILE OF ALLEGED PA VIOLENCE MINOR INCIDENTS (544)

### PROFILE OF ALLEGED UNP VIOLENCE MINOR INCIDENTS (319)



## ALLEGATIONS AGAINST PA + UNP TAKEN TOGETHER (MAJOR INCIDENTS)

#### PA + UNP MAJOR VIOLATIONS (1172)

#### **ALL OTHERS - MAJOR VIOLATIONS (390)**



Figure 11

#### <u>ALLEGATIONS AGAINST PA + UNP TAKEN TOGETHER</u> (MINOR INCIDENTS)

#### PA + UNP MINOR VIOLATIONS (863)

**ALL OTHERS - MINOR VIOLATIONS (310)** 



### **COMPLAINTS MADE BY PA**

#### **COMPLAINTS MADE BY UNP**



## <u>COMPLAINTS MADE BY PA + UNP IN COMPARISON</u> <u>TO OTHER PARTIES</u>



#### Election Campaign Violations

### **OFFENCES REPORT BY PROVINCE**



2001 General Election Campaign

Source: Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)

## **OFFENCES REPORT BY DISTRICT**



## Comparison between 2000 and 2001 General Elections USE OF FIREARMS BY PROVINCE



2001 General Election Campaign

Source: Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)

#### Comparison Between 2000 and 2001 General Elections TOTAL NUMBER OF INCIDENTS



Source: Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)



**Comparison between 2000 and 2001 General Elections** 

#### Comparison between 2000 and 2001 General Elections TOTAL NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY PROVINCE



2001 General Election Campaign

Source: Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)

## **ELECTION DAY VIOLENCE**

#### PART TWO: ELECTION DAY, DECEMBER 05, 2001

The following detailed Tables are self-explanatory. They outline the nature and extent of irregularities during the actual election. The Elections Commissioner himself annulled 37 polling centers based on reports he had received from his Senior Presiding Officers §POs), but it is CMEV's view that there is no legal or ethical basis on which he removed stuffed ballots from other polling centers, while counting as valid all other votes polled in these centers. Since CMEV has written on this subject in previous reports and since there is a fundamental rights case being heard which relates to this and other ad hoc measures adopted by the Elections Commissioner, this report will not go into the matter in detail.

It is important to note, however, that in the 2000 General Election only 22 centres were annulled, which is another indicator that from the Commissioner's point of view as well this was a more violent and flawed election.

Detailed analysis of election day monitor reports indicate that 920 polling centers were seriously flawed, out of 6003 monitored by CMEV, which is 15.32% A comparison with police records and other complaints needs to be made in order to spell out the exact extent of the violence and violations on election day which marred the public's exercise of its franchise.

#### SUMMARY BY DISTRICT

ELECTORAL DISTRICT [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO. OF REGD. VOTERS	NO. OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO. OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS (All annulments and removal of ballots are by the Election Commissioner. Other comments reflect CMEV monitor reports)
Colombo [136]	777	368	80	1,440,682	1,081,934 (75.10%)	124761 (11.53%)	193,016 (UNP)	
Kalutara [98]	503	263	07	717,764	572,691 (79.78%)	14,636 (2.55%)	27,871 (UNP)	Relatively calm and peaceful on election day.
Gampaha [247]	850	449	105	1,285,973	1,012,687 (78.74%)	144920 (14.31%)	8,509 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Attanagalla, Ja Ela, Katana and Minuwangoda, electoral divisions should be re-polled
Kandy [139]	619	398	133	838,687	637,679 (76.03%)	129588 (20.32%)	80,660 (UNP)	26 Polling Centres Annulled. CMEV concludes that Galagedera, Gampola, Kundasale, Hewaheta, and Patha Dumbara electoral divisions should be re-polled
Matale [40]	226	108	20	299,606	233,539 (77.95%)	23569 (10.09%)	20,992 (UNP)	02 Polling Centres Annulled
Nuwara Eliya [97]	371	228	08	417,264	343,472 (82.34%)	7,103 (2.07%)	137,424 (UNP)	
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Kurunegala [255]	800	540	109	1,046,102	826,129 (79.01%)	121526 (14.71%)	49,993 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Hiriyala and Wariyapola electoral divisions should be re-polled
Puttalam [247]	361	249	73	426,193	304,847 (71.53%)	69,568 (22.82%)	25,892 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Anamaduwa and Nattandiya electoral divisions should be re- polled
Anuradhapura [267]	396	292	49	489,776	362,287 (73.97%)	55241 (15.25%)	15,662 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Kalawewa and Keirawa electoral divisions should be re-polled
Polonnaruwa [91]	219	123	08	240,444	189,574 (78.84%)	8244 (04.34%)	13,107 (UNP)	
Galle [111]	529	379	46	698,558	557,561 (79.81%)	47,217 (08.47%)	6,305 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Hiniduma electoral division should be re- polled
Matara [159]	414	306	23	534,694	402,235 (75.22%)	23,850 (05.93%)	374 (UNP)	
Hambantota [151]	357	190	53	369,073	287,487 (77.89%)	44969 (15.64%)	6,988 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Beliatta and Tangalle electoral divisions should be re-polled

Badulla [31]	462	410	28	491,288	400,463 (78.72%)	20011 (05.00%)	62,730 (UNP)	
Moneragala [59]	259	158	16	247,280	196,033 (79.27%)	12,009 (06.13%)	1,256 (PA)	
Ratnapura [88]	528	325	23	623,506	511,813 (82.08%)	32,161 (06.28%)	19,050 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Nivithigala electoral division should be re- polled
Kegalle [147]	445	356	29	554,698	430,285 (77.57%)	41,562 (09.66%)	37,764 (UNP)	CMEV concludes that Aranayake and Rambukkana electoral divisions should be re-polled
Jaffna [53]	445	265	61	633,457	197,279 (31.14%)	46114 (23.37%)	-	-
Wanni [41]	177	86	07	218,861	102,363 (46.77%)	3210 [03.145]	39871 [TULF]	-
Batticaloa [74]	269	152	10	282,079	188,723 (66.90%)	6098 [3.23%]	40565 [TULF]	-
Trincomalee [19]	230	138	05	212,280	169,567 (79.87%)	4747 [2.79]	21079 [TULF]	-
Digamadulla [166]	314	220	27	360497	289377 [80.27%]	34046 [11.77%]	75257 [SLMC]	-
TOTAL [2735]	9551	6003	920	124,28762	94,49878 (76.36%)	10,15150 (10.74%)	755,211 [ UNP ]	

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO. OF REGD. VOTERS	NO. OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO. OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS (All annulments and removal of ballots are by the Election Commissioner. Other comments reflect CMEV monitor reports)
Galagedara [23]	41	39	23	48,642	36,092 (74.70 %)	20,087 (55.65 %)	4,459 (UNP)	#24 two ballot boxes were burnt and Centre was annulled Centre Nos. 01,02,03,04,05,10,11,14,15 16,17,19,21,23,25,26,29,31 34,35,36 and 40 seriously flawed
Gampola [28]	54	10	10	77,854	57,323 (73.63 %)	11,622 (20.27 %)	291 (UNP)	Centre No. 31 was annulled. Ballots stuffed at #50 and #51 (84) #45 had 01 Murder. Another person killed at Andiyakadawatha. CMEV Monitor threatened. Centre Nos. 05,08,24,42,43 and 52 flawed.
Harispattuwa [01]	93	37	00	126,815	97,682 (77.03 %)	00	24,613 (UNP)	

Hewaheta [13]	47	39	33	57,850	28,034 (48.46 %)	20,269 (72.30 %)	3,684 (UNP)	Centre # 42- Murder. Centre Nos. 07, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38(m, f), 40, 41, 42, 43 were annulled [17 Centres in all] 38 Ballots stuffed at #46. Centre Nos 01,02,03,04,05,12,14,16,19, 21,23,27,34,36,39 and 44 flawed
Kandy [06]	25	25	01	35,351	26,690 (75.50 %)	676 (2.53 %)	10,275 (UNP)	Centre 01 flawed
Kundasale [02]	40	28	10	70,383	53,300 (75.73 %)	15,375 (28.85 %)	7,907 (UNP)	Centres 20 – 01 Murder Centre No. 01 was annulled. 56 ballots stuffed at #13.
Nawalapitiya [15]	47	19	04	72,986	55,233 (75.68 %)	7,971 (14.43 %)	3,520 (PA)	<ul><li>57 ballots stuffed at Centre</li><li>36.</li><li>Centre Nos 29,42 and 46</li><li>flawed</li><li>CMEV Monitor threatened.</li></ul>
Patha Dumbara [13]	48	24	24	67,327	45,121 (67.02 %)	25,187 (55.82 %)	450 (PA)	At Udathalawinna – 10 murders at 1700 hrs Centres No. 12(m, f), 16, 17, 22, 25, 30 were annulled. 14 and 78 ballots stuffed at #33 and 38 respectively. CMEV Monitor assaulted and robbed. Centre Nos 01,03,04,05,06,10,11,13,14, 15,23,24,27,28,29 and 39 flawed

Senkadagala [02]	41	35	02	61,677	46,997 (76.20 %)	1,570 (3.34 %)	9,851 (UNP)	69 ballots stuffed at Centre 5. Centre No 01 flawed
Teldeniya [02]	34	34	02	37,897	30,014 (79.20 %)	2,382 (7.94 %)	2,516 (UNP)	Centre Nos 12 and 23 flawed
Udu Dumbara [08]	48	37	01	49,524	37,752 (76.23 %)	1,124 (2.98 %)	3,367 (UNP)	Centre Nos 38 flawed
Udunuwara [02]	56	42	20	65,863	50,811 (77.15 %)	20,375 (40.10 %)	26,502 (UNP)	16 ballots stuffed at Centre 24. Centre Nos 01,02,03,07,10,11,14,16,21, 22,25,26,31,34,39,41,44,47 and 53 flawed
Yatinuwara [24]	45	29	02	66,518	51,991 (78.16 %)	2,950 (5.67 %)	4,553 (UNP)	Centre Nos 29 and 43 flawed
KANDY DISTRICT [139]	619	398	133132	838,687	637,679 (76.03 %)	129588 (20.32%)	80,660 (UNP)	Elections Commissioner annulled 26 polling centres. Compare with 13 annulled in October 2000 general election. CMEV concludes that all centres in Galagedera, Gampola, Hewaheta, Kundasale and Patha Dumbara should be re- polled.

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO. OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO. OF REGD. VOTERS	NO. OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO. OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS (See above for explanation)
Dambulla [17]	75	32	06	102,302	76,594 (74.87 %)	5,510 (7.19 %)	4,785 (UNP)	Centre No. 67 was annulled Centre Nos 59,62,63,66 and 68 flawed
Laggala [09]	54	09	06	56,244	42,451 (75.64 %)	6,658 (15.68 %)	4,821 (PA)	Centre No. 48 was annulled Centre Nos 20,47,51,52 and 54 flawed
Matale [08]	40	30	04	67,034	49,979 (74.56 %)	6,649 (13.30 %)	13,434 (UNP)	Centre Nos 01,02,13 and 36 flawed
Rattota [06]	57	37	04	74,026	56,831 (75.77 %)	4,752 (8.36 %)	7,582 (UNP)	Centre Nos 13,25,34 and 44 flawed
MATALE DISTRICT [40]	226	108	20	299,606	233,539 (77.95 %)	23.569 (10.09 %)	20,992 (UNP)	CMEV monitoring in the Matale District was less than satisfactory due to the late recruitment of local monitors.

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS (See above for explanation)
Hanguranketa [32]	63	39	01	60,044	47,532 (79.16 %)	1,392 (2.93%)	12,013 (UNP)	Centre No 57 flawed
Kotmale [05]	58	34	03	62,131	49,975 (80.43 %)	2,139 (4.28 %)	15,128 (UNP)	Centre Nos 19, 23 and 24 flawed
N'Eliya/ Maskeliya [25]	185	104	03	228,317	186,408 (81.64 %)	2,735 (1.47 %)	101,899 (UNP)	Centre Nos 123,124 and 184 flawed
Walapane [35]	65	51	01	66,671	53,450 (80.17 %)	837 (1.56 %)	7,849 (UNP)	Centre No 24 flawed
N'ELIYA DISTRICT [97]	371	228	08	417,264	343,472 (82.34 %)	7,103 (2.07 %)	137,424 (UNP)	CMEV monitoring of the plantation areas was weak.

### SOUTHERN PROVINCE – DETAILS BY ELECTORATE - GALLE DISTRICT

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS [See above for explanation]
Akmeemana [08]	53	30	04	73,397	59,026 (80.42%)	3,889 (5.29%)	764 (PA)	Centre Nos 19,35,40 and 52 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Ambalangoda [02]	46	43	05	61,813	49,141 (79.50%)	5,553 (8.98%)	114 (PA)	Centre Nos 05,10,13,15 and 35 flawed
Baddegama [26]	66	41	04	81,026	66,425 (81.98%)	5,102 (6.29%)	880 (PA)	Centre Nos 08,10,31 and 34 flawed
Balapitiya [00]	39	39	06	47,774	35,836 (75.01%)	4,145 (8.67%)	2,074 (UNP)	Centre Nos 12,19,32,35,36 and 39 flawed
Bentara – Elpitiya [07]	60	33	01	78,967	62,884 (79.63%)	1,153 (1.46%)	1,678( PA)	Centre No 02 flawed

Galle [01]	46	28	04	68949	51,322 (74.43%)	3,493 (5.06%)	11876(UNP)	Centre Nos 07,17,18 and 40 flawed
Habaraduwa [10]	57	30	02	71,473	55,090 (77.08%)	2,795 (3.91%)	1,891(PA)	Centre Nos 20 and 28 flawed
Hiniduma [46]	64	54	14	83,302	75,518 (84.65%)	15,181 (18.22%)	485 (PA)	Centre Nos 07,08,15,16,21,35,46,52,54, 57,59,61,62 and 63 flawed
Karandeniya [06]	44	29	02	60,273	46,918 (77.84%)	1,822 (3.02%)	302 (PA)	Centre Nos 08 and 36 flawed
Ratgama [05]	54	52	04	71,592	55,401 (77.38%)	4,084 (5.70%)	1,531(PA)	Centre Nos 02,13,08 and 39 flawed
GALLE DISTRICT [111]	529	379	46	698,558	557,561 (79.81%)	47,217 (08.47%)	6,305 (UNP)	

## SOUTHERN PROVINCE – DETAILS BY ELECTORATE - MATARA DISTRICT

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS
Akuressa [36]	59	39	01	79,850	63,899 (80.02%)	1,394 (1.74%)	UNP 78	Centre No 52 flawed
Deniyaya [27]	57	53	01	77,540	49,141 (84.54%)	1,471 (1.89%)	UNP 1,715	Centre No 15 flawed
Devinuwara [14]	58	50	06	70,412	53,733 (76.31%)	5,419 (7.69%)	UNP 2,469	Centre Nos 23,29,44,48,54 and 56 flawed
Hakmana [15]	58	30	04	77,929	60,033 (77.04%)	4,669 (5.99%)	PA 1,120	Centre Nos 08,09,13 and 33 flawed
Kamburupitiya [21]	60	45	00	72,590	55,329 (76.22%)	00 (00%)	PA 1,202	
Matara [18]	59	49	08	75,301	58,589 (77.81%)	7,777 (10.32%)	PA 104	Centre Nos 14,18,19,23,27,42,53 and 56 flawed
Weligama [28]	63	40	03	81,072	61,511 (75.87%)	3,120 (3.84%)	PA 1,462	Centre Nos 06,42 and 62 flawed
MATARA DISTRICT [159]	414	306	23	534,694	402,235 (75.22%)	23,850 (5.93%)	UNP 374	

### SOUTHERN PROVINCE – DETAILS BY ELECTORATE - HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS
Beliatta [34]	72	43	12	70,560	54286 (76.94%)	9968 (14.13%)	PA 815	08 and 61 ballots stuffed at Centres 22 and 47 respectively. Centre Nos 15,19,21,30,31,33,35,36,37 and 44 flawed
Mulkirigala [27]	80	47	10	82,382	63,309 (76.85%)	8112 (9.84%)	UNP 3,229	Centre Nos 11,15,16,17, 18,20,21,22,29 and 65 flawed
Tangalle [42]	86	61	25	94,126	74,040 (78.66%)	21,362 (22.69%)	PA 1,206	Forcible removal of 50 ballot papers at Centre #73. 55 ballots stuffed at # 15. Centre Nos 04,09,12,22,23,32,33,34,35, 36,39,43,44,53,70,75,78,79, 81,82,83,85 and 86 flawed
Tissamaharama [48]	119	39	06	122,005	95,852 (78.56%)	5,527 (04.53%)	UNP 5,780	01 Murder. 06 ballots stuffed at Centre 48. Cerntre Nos 13,77,97,109 and 114 flawed
HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT [151]	357	190	53	369,073	287,487 (77.89%)	44969 (15.64%)	UNP 6,988	

### SOUTHERN PROVINCE – DETAILS BY ELECTORATE - KALUTATA DISTRICT

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS
Agalawatta [17]	77	60	-	86,105	67,709 (78.64%)	-	4,587 (UNP)	
Bandaragama [13]	68	35	03	98,871	80,467 (81.39%)	9,274 (09.37%)	306 (UNP)	Centre Nos 31,54 and 61 flawed
Bulathsinhala [10]	65	36	-	67,795	54,176 (79.91%)	-	3,683 (UNP)	
Beruwela [09]	51	28	-	92,658	74,333 (80.22%)	-	11,068 (UNP)	
Kalutara [09]	58	29	01	95,698	75,316 (78.70%)	1,271 (01.32%)	3,651 (UNP)	# 27 A grenade was thrown to the polling Center at 0400-0500 hrs
Horana [09]	61	15	02	91,968	75,417 (82.00%)	2,564 (02.78%)	326 (PA)	Centre Nos 23 and 42 flawed
Panadura [11]	60	30	-	96,487	76,615 (79.40%)	-	2,725 (UNP)	
Mathugama [20]	63	30	01	88,182	68,658 (77.86%)	1,527 (01.73%)	3,529 (UNP)	Centre No 28 flawed
KALUTARA DISTRICT [98]	503	263	07	717,764	572,691 (79.78%)	14,636 (2.55%)	27,871 (UNP)	

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Anuradhapura East [37]	57	41		73,626	54,788 (74.41%)		3,062 (UNP)	
Anuradhapura West [50]	65	41	4	78,076	56,818 (72.77%)	4,881 (8.59%)	6,542 (UNP	Centre Nos 35,39,49 and 57 flawed
Horowpathana [21]	49	28	2	62,393	46,037 (73.79%)	1,990 (4.32%)	2,692 (UNP)	Centre Nos 41 and 42 flawed
Kekirawa [35]	49	44	7	62,502	46,897 (75.03%)	9,394 (20.03%)	5,765 (UNP)	Centre Nos 05,06,09, 16,22, 27 and 34 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Kalawewa [92]	69	48	25	97,120	72,665 (74.82%)	27,060 (37.23%)	2,760 (PA)	Centre Nos 19,29,30,33,35,38,39,40,41 ,42,43,44,47,48,50,51,52, 53,55,57,64,66,67,68 and 69 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Madawachchiya [18]	62	60	2	65,903	47,820 (72.56%)	1861 (3.89%)	627 (PA)	Centre Nos 05,20 flawed
Mihinthale [14]	45	30	9	50,126	37,262 (74.34%)	10,055 (26.98%)	1,240 (UNP)	Centre Nos 20,25,27,30, 37,40,42,43 and 44 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
ANURADHAPURA DISTRICT [267]	396	292	49	489,776	362,287 (73.97%)	55241 (15.25%)	15914 (UNP)	

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Medirigiriya [6]	55	38	2	63,518	50,879 (80.10%)	2750 (4.33%)	5,301 (UNP)	Centre Nos 11 and 25 flawed
Minneriya [18]	61	29	3	66,645	51,624 (77.46%)	3033 (5.87%)	2,013 (UNP)	Centre Nos 07 and 17 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened. # 09 annulled.
Polonnaruwa [67]	103	56	3	110,281	87,071 (78.95%)	2,461 (2.82%)	5,818 (UNP)	Centre Nos 38,43 and 56 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
POLONNARUWA DISTRICT [91]	219	123	8	240,444	189,574 (78.84%)	8244 (04.34%)	13,132 (UNP)	

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Kayts [03]	38	38	38	51072	21361 [41.83%]	21361 [100%]	11074 (EPDP)	No other polling agents Except EPDP allowed into polling centres
Jaffna [09]	27	21	02	55244	13578 [24.58%]	3,499 [25.76%]	3721 (TULF)	EPDP chased away voters, rigged forcibly Centre Nos 20 and 21 flawed
Vaddukoddi [00]	44	35	04	60967	20128 [33.01%]	5,034 [25.00%]	5191 (TULF)	Centre Nos 34,36,39 and 40 flawed
Kopai [01]	45	17	-	61334	23415 [38.17%]	-	6239 (TULF)	
Point Pedro [15]	36	30	01	43087	14031 [32.56%]	1,403 [9.99%]	5789 (TULF)	Centre No 03 flawed

Kankasanthurai [02]	45	14	-	64119	17159 [26.76%]	-	3318 (TULF)	
Manippai [13]	45	43	04	64262	25339 [39.43%]	1684 [6.65%]	6089 (TULF)	Centre Nos 08,16,27 and 30 flawed
Chavakacheri [02]	44	05 (Clustered in "cleared" areas)	No polling centres provided	54779	15840 [28.92%]	-	7644 (TULF)	The non-provision of polling centres to voters of this area is travesty of democracy.
Uduppiddy [08]	39	34	4	53941	18448 [34.2%]	6394 [34.65%]	9108 (TULF)	Centre Nos 11,27,30 and 35 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Nallur [00]	32	28	8	67057	19776 [29.49]	23353 [33.73%]	7222 (TULF)	Centre Nos 03,05,20,21,22,23,24 and 25 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Kilinochchi [00]	50		No polling centres provided	57595	1944 [3.38%]	-	669 (TULF)	The non-provision of polling centres to voters of this area is travesty of democracy.
Total [Jaffna District- [53]	445	265	61	633457	197279 [31.14%]	46114 [23.37%]	EPDP - 15378 [7.79%] TULF - 95914 [48.61%]	—

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Kalmunai [36]	45	44	14	57563	46016 [79.82%]	19106 [41.52%]	11207[SLMC]	Severe form of rigging votes had taken place Centre Nos 01,03,04,05,09,10,12,13, 15,16,17,23,24 and 25 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Amparai [62]	119	106	04	126660	98544 [77.80%]	4478 [4.54%]	17664 [UNP]	Centre Nos 18,57,58 and 108 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Pottuvil [61]	100	54	05	116710	96159 [82.39%]	6326 [6.57%]	165 [SLMC]	Centre Nos 20,56,57,58 and 59 flawed
Samanthurai [07]	50	16	04	59474	48658 [81.81%]	4136 [8.50%]	15724 [SLMC]	Centre Nos 09,12,13 and 25 flawed
Digamadulla District [166]	314	220	27	360407	289377 [80.27%]	34046 [11.77%]	SLMC - 73517 [25.4%] UNP - 41149 [14.2%]	

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Bingiriya [29]	60	45	02	72,990	57,778 (79.16%)	(2.42%) 1,399	4,787 UNP	Centre Nos 29 and 45 flawed
Dambadeniya [05]	61	31	08	80,821	64,382 (79.66%)	(14.45%) 9,309	2,607 UNP	Centre Nos 32,36,37,45,50,51,55 and 57 flawed
Dodangaslanda [22]	45	34	09	58,998	43,991 (74.56%)	(25.82%) 11,361	0765 UNP	Centre Nos 06,10,24,29,30,31,34,36 and 37 flawed
Galgamuwa [14]	62	34	02	84,253	64,424 (70.46%)	(4.74%) 3,059	0865 UNP	Centre Nos 09 and 41 flawed
Hiriyala [17]	56	43	31	80,000	55,957 (69.95%)	(74.23%) 41538	5,998 UNP	Centre Nos 01,03,06,08,09,18,21,24, 25,33,36,37,40,42,43,44, 45,46, 48,50,51,52,53 and 54 flawed Centre Nos 07,15,29 annulled. 50,40,58,83 ballots stuffed at #30,# 31,#38,#41 respectively
Katugampola [20]	65	44	07	80,221	63,106 (78.67%)	(11.18%) 7,060	1,253 PA	Centre Nos 01,16,18,21,36,39 and 40 flawed
Kuliyapitiya [32]	68	45	01	82,926	64,419 (77.68%)	(1.47%) 0953	5,635 UNP	Centre No 61 flawed

Kurunegala [23]	46	40	02	71,111	53,863 (75.74%)	(4.48%) 2,416	7,471 UNP	Centre Nos 10 and 42 flawed
Mawathagama [18]	55	30	03	72,027	54,197 (75.25%)	(3.74%) 2,031	6,142 UNP	Centre Nos 12, 27 and 52 flawed
Nikawaratiya [24]	63	43	04	77,522	58,723 (75.75%)	(6.36%) 3,735	4,495 UNP	Centre Nos 35,36,47 and 59 flawed
Panduwasnuwara [16]	49	30	03	62,636	48,605 (77.60%)	(1.84%) 3,800	3,032 UNP	Centre Nos 14,38 and 46 flawed
Polgahawela [04]	53	31	-	66,099	51,098 (77.31%)	-	4,007 UNP	
Wariyapola [20]	50	45	29	63,298	47,658 (75.29%)	(53.22%) 25364	0516 UNP	Centre Nos 02,03,04,05,06,07,08,10,14 ,15,20,21,22,24,25,27,28,2 9,32,38,48,49 and 50 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened. Centre No 12, 39 annulled 31,59,72,62 ballots stuffed
								at #11, #13,#19,#26 respectively
Yapahuwa [11]	67	45	08	92,750	70,461 (75.97%)	(13.33%) 9,398	4,758 UNP	Centre Nos 03,35,39,40,41,42,57 and 61 flawed
Kurunegala District [255]	800	540	109	1,046,102	826,129 (79.01%)	121526 (14.71%)	49,993 UNP	

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Anamaduwa [106]	86	75	29	87,938	60,783 (69.12%)	(49.16%) 29,886	0798 UNP	Centre Nos 04,05,06,07,10,13,14,16, 17,18,19,20,23,24,26,28, 30,32,33,36,37,41,50,68, 69,70,72 and 80 flawed 10 ballots stuffed at #21
Chilaw [37]	78	54	11	93,040	68,128 (73.22%)	(15.63%) 10,654	4,433 UNP	Centre Nos 12,23,34,47,57,60,66,69, 73,74, and 77 flawed
Nattandiya [21]	57	43	16	72,155	51,155 (70.90%)	(27.05%) 13,841	0592 UNP	Centre Nos 06,09,16,18,25,26,27,28, 29,34,35,45,49,50 and 56 flawed # 21 annulled.
Puttlam [50]	69	51	08	84,866	57,471 (67.72%)	(12.57%) 7225	17,190 UNP	Centre Nos 05,31,33,34,42,43 and 46 flawed 53 ballots stuffed at #69
Wennappuwa [33]	71	26	09	88,194	61,667 (69.92%)	(12.91%) 7,962	2,630 UNP	Centre Nos 01,05,07,08,09,13,14,38, and 39 flawed
Puttlam District [247]	361	249	73	426,193	304,847 (71.53%)	69568 (22.82%)	25,892 UNP	

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Badulla [07]	39	39	01	45,540	34,561 (75.89%)	968 (2.80%)	3,722-UNP	Centre No 29 flawed
Bandarawela [08]	57	52	03	65,674	51,340 (78.17%)	1,965 (3.82%)	8,040-UNP	Centre Nos 04,06 and 24 flawed
Wiyaluwa [00]	45	18	05	41,188	31,618 (76.77%)	3,574 (11.30%)	2,843-UNP	Centre Nos 12,29,32,34 and 40 flawed
Hali-ela [00]	48	48	-	54,349	42924 (78.98%)	-	5,617-UNP	
Haputale [07]	54	54	-	51,762	40,235 (77.73%)	-	9,774-UNP	
Mahiyanganaya [06]	69	62	14	70,678	55,275 (78.21%)	8534 (15.43%)	13,092-UNP	Centre Nos 17,36,37,41,42,57,58,59,60 ,61,62,63,67 and 69 flawed
Passara [01]	50	40	03	50,668	39,665 (7828%)	2,763 (6.96%)	8,316-UNP	Centre Nos 12,22 and 37 flawed
Uva Paranagama [00]	48	48	02	51,363	42,462 (82.03%)	2,207 (5.19%)	4,209UNP	Centre Nos 05 and 43 flawed
Welimada [03]	52	49	-	59,666	48367 (81.06%)	-	7,042-UNP	
BADULLA DISTRICT [32]	462	410	28	491,288	400,463 (78.72%)	20011 (5.00%)	62,730-UNP	

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Bibile [28]	70	65	05	62,810	49424 (78.69%)	4261 (8.62%)	835-UNP	Centre Nos 01,05,06,11 and 16 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Monaragala [16]	85	54	05	78,033	60586 (77.64%)	3148 (5.19%)	3278-PA	Centre Nos 19,21,28,30 and 38 flawed
Wellawaya [15]	104	39	06	106,437	86023 (80.82%)	4600 (5.34%)	1198-UNP	Centre Nos 07,09,33,34,72 and 77 flawed
MONARAGALA DISTRICT [59]	259	158	16	247280	196033 (79.27%)	12009 (6.13%)	1256 (PA)	

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Aranayake					25 694	12 270		Centre Nos
[26]	40	38	09	47,648	35,684 (74.89%)	12,270 (34.38%)	5781-UNP	09,13,27,31,33,34,37,38 and 40 flawed
Dedigama [15]	60	44	-	76,475	61,042 (79.82%)	-	6150-UNP	
Deraniyagala [11]	53	53	01	56,143	43,789 (78.00%)	1510 (3.44%)	3855-UNP	Centre No 04 flawed
Galigamuwa [15]	49	44	02	59,001	45,680 (77.42%)	3710 (8.12%)	1950-UNP	Centre Nos 17 and 36 flawed
Kegalle [21]	46	44	04	61,324	46,946 (76.55%)	5740 (12.23%)	212-PA	Centre Nos 35,39,40 and 44 flawed
Mawanella [11]	48	33	03	73,064	55,963 (76.23%)	5112 (9.13%)	13,204-UNP	Centre Nos 02,04 and 30 flawed
Rambukkana [38]	45	33	10	56,580	43,130 (76.23%)	13,220 (30.65%)	2904-UNP	Centre Nos 07,13,14,15,16,17,20,22,29 and 30 flawed
Ruwanwella [05]	52	31	-	61,914	48,995 (79.13%)	-	724-UNP	
Yatiyantota [05]	52	36	-	62,548	49,056 (78.43%)	-	3196-UNP	
KEGALLE DISTRICT [147]	445	356	29	554,698	430,285 (77.57%)	41,562 (9.66%)	37,764 -UNP	

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Balangoda [03]	78	38	05	81,992	66,967 (81.68%)	5797 (8.66%)	5133-UNP	Centre Nos 02,13,22,52 and 58 flawed
Eheliyagoda [05]	61	42	04	79,242	63,340 (79.93%)	6725 (10.62%)	861-UNP	Centre Nos 07,08,22 and 60 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Kalawana [06]	47	44	-	48,682	41,229 (84.69%)	-	1737-PA	
Kolonna [03]	84	48	01	105,974	84,419 (79.66%)	1755 (2.08%)	3403-UNP	Centre No 50 flawed
Nivitigala [29]	62	28	06	73,176	62,032 (84.77%)	9037 (14.57%)	2613-PA	Centre Nos 02,04,07,10,20 and 23 flawed
Pelmadulla [05]	52	34	02	61,586	52,240 (84.82%)	2361 (4.52%)	2806-UNP	Centre Nos 42 and 44 flawed
Rakwana [18]	68	43	02	78,583	64,232 (81.74%)	2628 (4.09%)	6321-UNP	Centre Nos 35 and 41 flawed
Ratnapura [19]	76	48	03	94,271	77,354 (82.05%)	3858 (4.99%)	566-UNP	Centre Nos 02,03 and 61 flawed
RATNAPURA DISTRICT [88]	528	325	23	623,506	511,813 (82.08)	32,161 (6.28%)	19,050-UNP	

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Avisswella [13]	52	30	05	93,630	73,889 (78.92%)	8,768 (11.87%)	3608 [UNP]	Centre Nos 05,08,29,35 and 50 flawed
Borella [05]	33	32	26	61,373	42986 (70.04%)	36370 (84.61%)	11639 [UNP]	Centre Nos 01,02,03,04,05,06,07,08, 09,10,11,12,13,14,17,18, 19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26, 28 and 29 flawed
Colombo- Central [05]	92	31	05	159,417	112,670 (70.68%)	6442 (5.72%)	61169 [UNP]	Centre Nos 13,26,60,75 and 76 flawed
Colombo East [18]	35	34	05	66736	47600 (71.33%)	8,184 (17.19%)	14829 [UNP]	Centre Nos 15,27,28,29 and 34 flawed
Colombo North [01]	40	32	06	86842	62,800 (72.32%)	12,829 (20.43%)	29260 [UNP]	Centre Nos 01,05,10,11,16 and 40 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened.
Colombo West [05]	23	16	-	41,908	28,248 (67.40%)	-	13967 [UNP]	

DISTRICT [136]	777	368	80	1440,682	(75.10%)	(11.53%)	[UNP]	
COLOMBO					1081,934	124761	193,016	
Ratmalana [07]	32	24	01	67,911	50,278 (74.04%)	1,359 (2.70%)	17,633 [UNP]	Centre No 30 flawed
Moratuwa [02]	71	-	-	115,430	91438 (79.22%)	-	8523 [UNP]	
Maharagama [14]	61	07	-	114,854	87,108 (75.84%)	-	3132 [UNP]	
Kotte [09]	43	27	04	74,140	55,582 (74.97%)	5,399 (9.71%)	9144 [UNP]	Centre Nos 04,19,23 and 25 flawed
Kolonnawa [03]	58	23	14	102,676	79,175 (77.11%)	21,366 (26.98%)	8791 [UNP]	Centre Nos 01,10,12,15,16,17,19,21, 22,28,39,46,49 and 54 flawed
Kesbewa [14]	73	36	03	131,571	102695 (78.05%)	4,511 (4.39%)	4445 [UNP]	Centre Nos 15,20 and 45 flawed
Kaduwela [20]	66	37	05	135,550	104,930 (77.41%)	9,205 (8.77%)	4092 [UNP]	Centre Nos 03,17,35,36 and 37 flawed
Homagama [16]	65	24	03	127,422	97,531 (76.54%)	5722 (5.87%)	2554 [UNP]	Centre Nos 25,29 and 35 flawed
Dehiwala / Mount Lavinia [04]	33	15	03	61,222	45,004 (73.51%)	4,606 (10.23%)	11,533 [UNP]	Centre Nos 10,18 and 20 flawed

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Attanagalla [28]	65	45	31	106,025	83,306 (78.57%)	37346 [44.82%]	9,913 [PA]	Centre Nos 03,04,05,08,09,10,11, 12,15,23,24,25,26,29,30 ,33,39,40,41,44,48,50,5 2,53,54,55,56,57,63 and 64 flawed. CMEV Monitor threatened. 51 ballots stuffed at #51.
Biyagama [06]	59	35	01	93,735	73,998 (78.98 %)	1556 [2.10%]	4,104 [UNP]	Centre No 17 flawed
Divulapitiya [10]	56	38	02	87,050	70,265 (86.72)	2,741 [3.90%]	1,778 [UNP]	Centre Nos 13 and 18 flawed
Dompe [10]	65	28	-	91,487	72,944 (79.73%)	-	4,492 [PA]	
Gampaha [14]	78	21	-	116,768	91,361 (78.24%)	-	9,040 [PA]	
Je-Ela [16]	70	30	23	109,799	86,394 (78.68)	35,168 (40.71 %)	3,697 [UNP]	Centre Nos 01,02,03,06,09,10,15, 19,20,25,26,29,31,33,34 ,35,38,39,44,47,48,49 and 60 flawed

Katana [31]	69	40	13	106,508	86,232 (8096%)	17,453 (20.24%)	4,423 [PA]	Centre Nos 01,02,03,04,07,09,13, 23,28,30,41,43 and 45 flawed
Kelaniya [11]	56	33	02	79,217	62,063 (78.35%)	2,924 (4.71%)	3,755 [UNP]	Centre Nos 05 and 09 flawed
Mahara [20]	69	34	-	113,172	88,281 (78.01%)	-	2,595 [PA]	
Minuwangoda [39]	69	40	26	103,461	80,810 (78.11)	38,375 (47.49%)	1,622 [PA]	<ul> <li># 58,59 Polling Centres were annulled.</li> <li># 01, Centre 54 Votes were removed before counting.</li> <li>Centre Nos</li> <li>02,03,07,13,18,19,20,</li> <li>21,22,23,24,26,29,31,</li> <li>32,35,40,49,57,65,69,42 and 54 flawed</li> </ul>
Mirigama [15]	72	25	03	100,833	78,976 (78.32%)	4,389 (5.56%)	2,391 [UNP]	Centre Nos 22,37 and 60 flawed
Negombo [30]	60	34	04	85,784	65,417 (76.26%)	4,968 (7.6%)	13,867 [UNP]	Centre Nos 12,43,44 and 45 flawed
Wattala [17]	62	46	-	92,154	72,640 (78.82%)	-	12,941 [UNP]	
GAMPAHA DISTRICT [247]	850	449	105	1285,973	1012,687 (78.74%)	144920 (14.31 %)	8,509 [UNP]	

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS
Kalkudah [18]	79	38	06	80685	55947 (69.34%)	3172 [5.67%]	2078 (TULF)	Centre Nos 06,07,47,48,67 and 68 flawed
Batticaloa [56]	119	85	04	130,846	88,819 (67.88%)	2926 [3.29%]	117,29 (TULF)	Centre Nos 93,96,97 and 101 flawed
Paddrippu [00]	71	29		70,548	43,957 (62.31%)		26,758 (TULF)	
BATTICALOA DISTRICT [74]	269	152	10	282,079	188,723 (66.90%)	6098 [3.23%]	TULF – 40565 [21.49%]	

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS
Trincomalee [05]	76	35		81,422	61,746 (75.83%)		21079 [TULF]	
Seruwila [06]	81	56	04	60,690	42,720 (70.39%)	3603 [8.43]	1301 (UNP)	Centre Nos 20,39,47 and 48 flawed
Muthur [08]	73	47	01	70,168	58,645 (83.57%)	1139 [1.94%]	15083 (UNP)	Centre No 01 flawed
TRINCOMALLEE DISTRICT [19]	230	138	05	212,280	169567 (79.87%)	4747 [2.79]	TULF – 21079 [12.43%] UNP – 16384 [9.66%]	

ELECTORAL DIVISION [Number of Incidents of Violence During Campaign]	NO OF POLLING CENTRES	NO OF POLLING CENTRES VISITED	NO OF POLLING CENTRES SERIOUSLY FLAWED	NO OF REGD. VOTERS	NO OF VOTES POLLED (%)	NO OF VOTES POLLED IN FLAWED CENTRES (% polled)	MAJORITY & PARTY VICTORIOUS	COMMENTS
Vavuniya [41]	73	52	07	94,853	53,038 (55.92%)	3210 [6.05%]	16896 (TULF)	Centre Nos 39,42,43,44,45,46 and 69 flawed
Mannar	54	34		70,850	25,463 (35.93%)		12,996 (TULF)	
Mullaitivu	50			53,158	630 (1.19%)		61 (PA)	
VANNI DISTRICT [41]	177	86	07	218,861	102,363 (46.77%)	3210 [3.14]	TULF – 39871 [38.9%]	

# Alleged Perpetrators of Violence

AREA/PARTY	PA	UNP	JVP	MEP	NUA	UCPF	EPRLF	SU	CWC	TULF	EPDP	PLOTE	POLICE	SLMC	Election	A - Z	PNG	TOTAL	Firearms
Western															Officials				(Remarks)
Colombo	51	19											2				49	121	8
Gampaha	103	12															47	162	33
Kalutara	9	4													1		9	23	4
Sub Total(Western)	163	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	105	306	45
Central																			
Kandy	143	19											2	3			84	251	82
Matale	30	7												1			31	69	12
N ' Eliya	1	7							1								6	15	
Sub Total(Central)	174	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	121	335	94
North Western																			
Kurunegala	79	9															78	166	38
Puttlam	54	20												1			10	85	16
Sub Total (Nor-West)	133	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	88	251	54
North Central																			
A 'pura	51	10															30	91	18
Polonnaruwa	8	5															5	18	2
Sub Total (N-Central)	59	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	109	20
Southern																			
Galle	34	16	1										2		1		22	76	9
Hambantota	41	13		1											1		34	89	31
Matara	11	10	1	1													10	32	4
Sub Total (Southern)	86	39	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	66	197	44
Uva																			
Badulla	7	6											1				14	28	
Monaragala	9	7	1														3	20	
Sub Total (Uva)	16	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	17	48	0
Sabaragamuwa																			
Ratnapura	22	3															17	42	4
Kegalle	33	11															3	47	15
Sub Total (Sabara)	55	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	89	19
Northern																			
Jaffna		3									21				1		5	30	4
Wanni							2			6		14					1	23	
Sub Total (Nothern)	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	21	14	0	0	1	0	6	53	4
Eastern																			
Batticaloa	8	1								3	2			2			10	26	1
Trincomalee	5				1			l									6	11	
Digamadulla	11	5			2			1			6			10			14	48	8
Sub Total (Eastern)	24	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	8	0	0	12	0	0	30	85	9
GRAND TOTAL	710	187	3	0	2	0	2	0	1	9	29	14	7	17	4	0	488	1473	289

## Geographic spread of offence

AREA/PARTY	Murder	Att.	Hurt	Griev.	Assault	Threat &	Rob.	Arson	Mischief	Threat	Dam. to	Elec.	Others	TOTAL	# of polling	Firearms
Western		Murder		Hurt		Intimid.					Pro.	Offence			centres	(Remarks)
Colombo					3	9						55		67	61	6
Gampaha		2	5	1	7	20	1	2	3	1		14		56	45	20
Kalutara			2		2	4	1		3			4		16	14	4
Sub Total(Western)	0	2	7	1	12	33	2	2	6	1	0	73	0	139	120	30
Central																
Kandy	17	4			1	35	3	1	3		1	4		69	41	48
Matale	2	5	1		1	3	1	14	2		1			30	16	7
N ' Eliya			1		2							2		5	4	
Sub Total(Central)	19	9	2	0	4	38	4	15	5	0	2	6	0	104	61	55
North Western																
Kurunegala	3	2	1	1	3	25		2	4	1	3	18		63	39	14
Puttlam	2	5	1		8	11	2	5	3	1		1		39	29	14
Sub Total (Nor-West)	5	7	2	1	11	36	2	7	7	2	3	19	0	102	68	28
North Central																
A 'pura		1	3	1	2	15		1	1	1		7		32	22	12
Polonnaruwa						1				1		2	1	5	3	1
Sub Total (N-Central)	0	1	3	1	2	16	0	1	1	2	0	9	1	37	25	13
Southern																
Galle		1	1	1		11			2	3		29	1	49	26	9
Hambantota	1		1			12	1					15		30	22	14
Matara		2	2			4						11		19	15	4
Sub Total (Southern)	1	3	4	1	0	27	1	0	2	3	0	55	1	98	63	27
Uva																
Badulla												7		7	5	
Monaragala												10		10	6	
Sub Total (Uva)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	17	11	0
Sabaragamuwa																
Ratnapura		1	1		1	4	1		2			8		18	11	2
Kegalle		2		1	1	2			1			1		8	7	2
Sub Total (Sabara)	0	3	1	1	2	6	1	0	3	0	0	9	0	26	18	4
Northern																
Jaffna		1										1		2	2	1
Wanni												4		4	4	
Sub Total (Nothern)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	6	1
Eastern																
Batticaloa					1	2						8		11	10	1
Trincomalee	1					2		1				3		5	4	
Digamadulla						9		1	2			2		13	9	5
Sub Total (Eastern)	0	0	0	0	1	13	0	0	2	0	0	13	0	29	23	6
GRAND TOTAL	25	26	19	5	32	169	10	25	26	8	5	206	2	558	395	164

## Geographic spread of offence

AREA/PARTY	Ballot	Sys.	Sml. Scl	Seizing	Poll.Agt	Voter	Ballot Box	Elec. Off.	Att <sup>d</sup> Stuffing	Intimid.	Ele.Mtr	Total of	# of polling	Firearms
Western	Stuffing	Imper <sup>n</sup>	Imper <sup>n</sup>	Polling Cards	Related	Related	Related	Related	& Imper <sup>n</sup>	Presense	Related	Incidents	centres	
Colombo	1	6	20		1	5		1	7	10	3	54	30	2
Gampaha	7	18	15	7	7	42	2	1		6	1	106	76	13
Kalutara				1		3			1	2		7	5	
Sub Total(Western)	8	24	35	8	8	50	2	2	8	18	4	167	111	15
Central														
Kandy	34	2	13	10	19	66	18	1	1	14	4	182	124	34
Matale	4		2	1	10	15		2		3	2	39	25	5
N ' Eliya			3			3			3	1		10	10	
Sub Total(Central)	38	2	18	11	29	84	18	3	4	18	6	231	159	39
North Western														
Kurunegala	30	11	6	5	6	31		1	5	6	2	103	67	24
Puttlam		3	8	2	11	17		1	2	2		46	42	2
Sub Total (Nor-West)	30	14	14	7	17	48	0	2	7	8	2	149	109	26
North Central														
A 'pura	2	2	4	5	5	27			2	10	2	59	34	6
Polonnaruwa	1	1		1		2	1	2	2		3	13	8	1
Sub Total (N-Central)	3	3	4	6	5	29	1	2	4	10	5	72	42	7
Southern														
Galle		1	4		2	10	1			5	4	27	11	
Hambantota	5	5	7	13	7	8			7	7		59	39	17
Matara			2		1				8	1	1	13	9	
Sub Total (Southern)	5	6	13	13	10	18	1	0	15	13	5	99	48	17
Uva														
Badulla	2		7	1	1	7				2	1	21	17	
Monaragala			1	1	1	1			2	3	1	10	7	
Sub Total (Uva)	2	0	8	2	2	8	0	0	2	5	2	31	24	0
Sabaragamuwa														
Ratnapura			4	1	3	7			3	5	1	24	20	2
Kegalle			3		2	21	1		6	6		39	24	13
Sub Total (Sabara)	0	0	7	1	5	28	1	0	9	11	1	63	44	15
Northern														
Jaffna		6	12		1	5		1	1		2	28	24	3
Wanni		6	13									19	19	
Sub Total (Nothern)	0	12	25	0	1	5	0	1	1	0	2	47	43	3
Eastern														
Batticaloa	1	4	1		2	6			1			15	12	
Trincomalee		1	1			3			-	1	1	6	4	
Digamadulla	5	9	1		6	12		1			1	35	21	3
Sub Total (Eastern)	6	14	3	0	8	21	0	1	1	1	1	56	25	3
GRAND TOTAL	92	75	127	48	85	291	23	11	51	84	28	915	605	125

Comp.by Party against / Party	PA	UNP	JVP	MEP	NUA	UCPF	EPRLF	SU	CWC	TULF	EPDP	PLOTE	POLICE	SLMC	A - Z	PNG	CMEV Mtr	Elec. Official	TOTAL
Complaints by PA against	2	63							1				2	2		10			80
Complaints by UNP against	194	5									2			3		41			245
Complaints by <b>JVP</b> against	7	2														2			11
Complaints by MEP against																			0
Complaints by NUA against																			0
Complaints by UCPF against																			0
Complaints by EPRLF against																			0
Complaints by SU against																			0
Complaints by CWC against	1																		1
Complaints by TULF against																			0
Complaints by EPDP against																			0
Complaints by PLOTE against																			0
Complaints by POLICE against	17	2														11			30
Complaints by SLMC against	15	1																	16
Complaints by A - Z against	4	1												1					6
Complaints by PNG against	30	8								3						33			74
Complaints by CMEV Mtr against	435	105	3		2		2			6	27	14	5	11		390		4	1004
Complaints by Ele.Officials against	5															1			6
TOTAL	710	187	3	0	2	0	2	0	1	9	29	14	7	17	0	488	0	4	1473

#### **Tabulations of Party Affiliations of Perpetraters and Complainants**

# Alleged Offences by Party

	Murder	Att.	Hurt	Griev.	Assault	Threat &	Rob.	Arson	Mischief	Threat	Dam. to	Elec.	Others	TOTAL	Firearms
Party/ Offence		Murder		Hurt		Intimid.					Pro.	Offence			(Remarks)
PA	17	7	10	2	18	84	8	9	10	3	3	79	2	252	78
UNP	3	8	4	2	9	21	2	3	7	3	1	40		103	24
JVP												3		3	
MEP														0	
NUA														0	
UCPF														0	
EPRLF												2		2	
SU														0	
CWC			1											1	
TULF												3		3	
EPDP		1				2								3	1
PLOTE												2		2	
POLICE						2				1		1		4	3
SLMC					1	2								3	1
Election Official												4		4	
A - Z														0	
PNG	5	10	4	1	4	58		13	9	1	1	72		178	57
Total	25	26	19	5	32	169	10	25	26	8	5	206	2	558	164
### Alleged Offences - Election Related

Party/ Offence	Ballot	Sys.	Sml. Scl	Seizing	Poll.Agt	Voter	Ballot Box	Elec. Off.	Att <sup>d</sup> Stuffing &	Intimid.	Ele.Mtr	Total of	Firearms
	Stuffing	Imper <sup>n</sup>	Imper <sup>n</sup>	Polling Cards	Related	Related	Related	Related	Imper <sup>n</sup>	Presense	Related	Incidents	Involved
PA	53	23	33	29	52	172	17	6	23	35	15	458	61
UNP	4	5	11	2	4	40	1	1	8	7	1	84	6
JVP												0	
MEP												0	
NUA		1									1	2	
UCPF												0	
EPRLF												0	
SU												0	
CWC												0	
TULF		6										6	
EPDP	1	5	10		1	5		1	1		2	26	4
PLOTE			12									12	
POLICE											3	3	
SLMC		3	1		2	8						14	
Election Official												0	
A - Z												0	
PNG	34	32	60	17	26	66	5	3	19	42	6	310	54
Total	92	75	127	48	85	291	23	11	51	84	28	915	125

#### Attempted Murder

At the Centre	Near the Centre	Total
13	13	26

#### Threat and Intimidation

Threater	ning Activity	Unlawful Entry	Bomb/Gran	ade/Shooting	Total
At	Near		At	Near	Total
72	12	10	37	38	169

#### Polling Agent Related Incidents

Assault	Chased out	T & I	Abduction	Hurt	Preventing from reaching	<b>Documents Destroyed</b>	Attempted Murder	Total
30	26	15	4	6	1	2	1	85

#### Voter Related Incidents

Assault	Chased out	T & I	Hurt	Abduction	Preventing from reaching	Total
65	40	119	13	4	50	291

#### **Ballot Box Related Incidents**

Attempted Theft	Destruction	Attempted Destruction	Theft	Total
3	12	1	7	23

#### Election Officials Related Incidents

Τ&Ι	Documents Seized	Assault	Total
6	0	5	11

#### Election Monitor Related Incidents

Assault	Threat	Att.Murder	Chasing away	Documents	Total
7	17	1	2	1	28

# **POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE**

### PART THREE: POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE (DECEMBER 6 – 13, 2001)

One of the most disturbing features of this election is the resurgence of post-election violence, which was significantly reduced in regional and national elections since 1994. CMEV is not equipped to monitor post-election violence on a continuing and systematic basis, due mainly to financial constraints, hence this report does not claim either to be comprehensive or detailed.

Tables VI – X are self-explanatory, and yet the story they tell marks a return to the earlier era of extensive post-election violence and revenge-seeking with impunity that even the more violent recent elections had eschewed. In the short space of one week after the election, a total of 422 incidents have been recorded by CMEV, of which as much as 259 (61.4%) are Major violations, including 08 Murders, 06 Attempted Murders, 20 acts resulting in Hurt, 07 in Grievous Hurt, 40 Assaults, 32 reports of Threat and Intimidation, 24 Robberies and last but certainly not least 122 acts of Arson [See Figures 20 & 21]. The number of shops and houses burnt is most alarming since in the space of less than one week (and in a less than exhaustive coverage) this figure rivals the total for the entire five-week campaign (140) [See Figures 03 & 22].

The alleged perpetrators of the overwhelming majority of these incidents are supporters of the UNP who stand accused in 271 (64.2%), while the PA is allegedly responsible for 62 (14.7%) and persons of undeclared political affiliation for 82 (19.4%) [Figure 24].

The UNP is allegedly responsible for over 4 times the number of incidents for which the PA stands accused [Figures 02 & 21]. Thus, post-election violence reflects the mirror image of preelection violence, with the party in power (or which just achieved access to power) wreaking the greatest damage. However, it is important to note that the PA is allegedly culpable for 05 of the 08 Murders that have taken place during this period, the PLOTE for 02 and persons of unknown political affiliation for 01.

CMEV reports indicate that, on the whole, the Police switched allegiance overnight, with many victims of post-election violence at the hands of UNP supporters being unable even to have their complaints recorded at police stations which prior to the election had been partisan towards the ruling People's Alliance!

Despite claims made by the authorities that election violators will be prosecuted expeditiously, CMEV has not seen sufficient proof of the good faith of the main parties to this end. Both the PA and UNP take a high moral stand vis-à-vis election violations while in the opposition, but do little to bring the culprits to book once they come in to power. Identified perpetrators still continue to hold high office in these party hierarchies. Unless this situation is remedied, the electorate will lose all faith in the democratic process in Sri Lanka.

# Description of Incidents Reported by Date of Incident [as at 18/12/01]

				N	lajor Inci	idents						Mir	or Incider	nts			Total # of	Rem	narks
Dates of Alleged	Murder	Att.	Hurt	Grie.		Threat &	Mis. of state	Rob.	Arson	Major	Mischief	Threat	Dam. to	Elec.	Others	Minor	Incidents	Firearms	Poll.,
Offences 12/6/01		Murder	6	Hurt 2	13	Intimid. 9	resources	3	25	(Total) 58	25	9	Property 15	Offence 1	1	(Total) 51	109	Involved 14	Related
12/0/01	3	5	7	2	13	9 12		- 3 - 15	51	109	45	9 7	15	1	1	70	179	25	
12/8/01	5	3	8	2	4	12		8	30	70	23	17	15	1	2	57	127	19	
12/9/01	1	1	2	2	8	7		8	35	64	23	9	2	1	3	38	102	13	
12/10/01	1	1	5	1	3	4		2	15	30	15	8	1		5	24	54	5	
12/11/01			5	1	1	1		4	14	20	8	3	1			12	32	1	
12/12/01	1		3			2		1	4	11	7	1	1			9	20	3	
12/13/01	•		0			1		•	4	5	2	•	•			2	7	1	
1412/01		1	1			•			2	4			1			1	5	1	
12/15/01						1		1		2	2		6			8	10	1	
12/16/01						3		2		5			-			0	5	2	
12/17/01			1			-				1						0	1		
12/18/01		1		1						2						0	2	1	
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Total	10	11	33	10	43	50	0	44	180	381	150	54	58	3	7	272	653	85	0

### Alleged Perpetrators of Violence (Cumulative Figures) Date:18/12/01

AREA/PARTY	PA	UNP	JVP	MEP	NUA	UCPF	EPRLF	SU	CWC	TULF	EPDP	PLOTE	POLICE	SLMC	A - Z	PNG	TOTAL
Western																	
Colombo		3														1	4
Gampaha	8	54														22	84
Kalutara	4	10														3	17
Sub Total(Western)	12	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	105
Central																	
Kandy	2	33														10	45
Matale	6	30														3	39
N ' Eliya		8											-			5	13
Sub Total(Central)	8	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	97
North Western																	
Kurunegala	15	115														23	153
Puttlam	12	37														13	62
Sub Total (Nor-West)	27	152	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	215
North Central																	
A 'pura	12	43														13	68
Polonnaruwa	2	45														7	54
Sub Total (N-Central)	14	88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	122
Southern																	
Galle		3														9	12
Hambantota																1	1
Matara	1	6														6	13
Sub Total (Southern)	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	26
Uva																	
Badulla	1	1														1	3
Monaragala	1																1
Sub Total (Uva)	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Sabaragamuwa																	
Ratnapura	1	14														1	16
Kegalle	6	28											1			11	46
Sub Total (Sabara)	7	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	12	62
Northern																	
Jaffna		2															2
Wanni		1										3					4
Sub Total (Nothern)	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	6
Eastern																	
Batticaloa	5	2								1				2		2	12
Trincomalee	1															1	2
Digamadulla	1	1															2
Sub Total (Eastern)	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	16
GRAND TOTAL	78	436	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	2	0	132	653

### **Offences Report (Cumulative Figures)**

### Date:18/12/01

					Major Inc	idents						M	inor inciden	nts			Total # of	Rem	arks
AREA / OFFENCE	Murder	Att.	Hurt	Griev.	Assault	Threat &	Misuse of State	Robbery	Arson	Major	Mischief	Threat	Damage to	Election	Others	Minor	Incidents	Firearms	Poll
Western		Murder		Hurt		Intimid.	Resources	-		(Total)			Property	Offence		(Total)		Involved	Related
Colombo					3				1	4						0	4		
Gampaha		2	5	4	3	7		5	24	50	22	9	1		2	34	84	12	
Kalutara					2	2		1	2	7	7	3				10	17	2	
Sub Total (Western)	0	2	5	4	8	9	0	6	27	61	29	12	1	0	2	44	105	14	0
Central																			
Kandy	1		1			2		4	15	23	14	6	2			22	45	4	
Matale	3		1			5		7	8	24	9	1	5			15	39	8	
N ' Eliya			3	1					4	8	4	1				5	13		
Sub Total (Central)	4	0	5	1	0	7	0	11	27	55	27	8	7	0	0	42	97	12	0
North Western																			
Kurunegala		2	7	1	8	14		9	47	88	36	1	27		1	65	153	20	
Puttlam	1	4	3		4	3		4	19	38	8	8	8			24	62	9	
Sub Total (Nor-West)	1	6	10	1	12	17	0	13	66	126	44	9	35	0	1	89	215	29	0
North Central																			
A 'pura	1	1	4		5	5		6	23	45	13	7	3			23	68	7	
Polonnaruwa		1	4		3	3		3	8	22	20	8	3		1	32	54	4	
Sub Total (Nor-Cen.)	1	2	8	0	8	8	0	9	31	67	33	15	6	0	1	55	122	11	0
Southern																			
Galle								1	11	12						0	12		
Hambantota	1									1						0	1	1	
Matara				2	3	2			2	9	3	1				4	13	4	
Sub Total (Southern)	1	0	0	2	3	2	0	1	13	22	3	1	0	0	0	4	26	5	0
Uva																			
Badulla			1						1	2		1				1	3	1	
Monaragala	1									1						0	1	1	
Sub Total (Uva)	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	2	0
Sabaragamuwa																			
Ratnapura					1			2	3	6	3	4	3			10	16		
Kegalle		1	3	2	2	3		1	10	22	11	3	4	3	3	24	46	4	
Sub Total (Sabara)	0	1	3	2	3	3	0	3	13	28	14	7	7	3	3	34	62	4	0
Northern																			
Jaffna			1		1					2						0	2		
Wanni	2				1				1	4						0	4	3	
Sub Total (Nothern)	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	0
Eastern																			
Batticaloa					6	2			1	9		1	2			3	12	3	
Trincomalee					1	1				2						0	2	1	
Digamadulla						1		1		2						0	2	1	
Sub Total (Eastern)	0	0	0	0	7	4	0	1	1	13	0	1	2	0	0	3	16	5	0
GRAND TOTAL	10	11	33	10	43	50	0	44	180	381	150	54	58	3	7	272	653	85	0

					Major I	ncidents						Mir	or Incide	nts				Rema	irks
Perpetrators	Murder	Att. Murder	Hurt	Grie. Hurt	Assault	Threat & Intimid.	Misuse Of state resources	Robbery	Arson	Major (Total)	Mischief	Threat	Damage to Property	Election Offence	Others	Minor (Total)	Grand Total	Firearms Involved	Poll., Related
PA	6	4	12	2	12	14		2	6	58	11	8	1			20	78	25	
UNP	1	3	20	6	28	26		36	104	224	112	42	51	2	5	212	436	36	
JVP										0						0	0		
MEP										0						0	0		
NUA										0						0	0		
UCPF										0						0	0		
EPRLF										0						0	0		
SU										0						0	0		
CWC										0						0	0		
TULF					1					1						0	1		
EPDP										0						0	0		
PLOTE	2								1	3						0	3	3	
POLICE										0				1		1	1		
SLMC					1				1	2						0	2	1	
A - Z										0						0	0		
PNG	1	4	1	2	1	10		6	68	93	27	4	6		2	39	132	20	
TOTAL	10	11	33	10	43	50	0	44	180	381	150	54	58	3	7	272	653	85	0

### Category of Offences Carried Out by Each Party (Cumulative Figures) Date:18/12/01

PA: People's Alliance UNP: United National Party UCPF: Upcountry People's Front NLF: New Left Front

JVP: Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna MEP: Mahajana Eksath Peramuna SU: Sihala Urumaya CWC: Ceylon Workers' Congress

LP: Liberal Party

TULF : Tamil United Liberation Front SLMC : Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

**EPDP:** Eelam People's Democratic Party PLOTE : People's Liberation of Organization Tamil Eelam

A - Z : Other Listed Parties PNG: Parties Not Given

#### Tabulations of Party Affiliations of Perpetraters and Complainants (Cumulative Figures ) Date:18/12/01

Comp.by Party against / Party	PA	UNP	JVP	MEP	NUA	UCPF	EPRLF	SU	CWC	TULF	EPDP	PLOTE	POLICE	SLMC	A - Z	PNG	TOTAL
Complaints by PA against	3	411												1		105	520
Complaints by UNP against	71	5												1		19	96
Complaints by JVP against		7														1	8
Complaints by MEP against																	0
Complaints by NUA against																	0
Complaints by UCPF against																	0
Complaints by EPRLF against																	0
Complaints by SU against																	0
Complaints by CWC against																	0
Complaints by TULF against										1		3					4
Complaints by EPDP against		2															2
Complaints by PLOTEagainst																	0
Complaints by POLICE against													1				1
Complaints by SLMC against	2																2
Complaints by A - Z against																	0
Complaints by PNG against	2	11														7	20
TOTAL	78	436	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	2	0	132	653

PA: People's Alliance UCPF: Upcountry People's Front TULF : Tamil United Liberation Front A - Z : Other Listed Parties

UNP: United National Party NLF: New Left Front EPDP: Eelam People's Democratic Party PLOTE : People's Liberation of Organization Tamil Eelam PNG: Parties Not Given

JVP: Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna SU: Sihala Urumaya

MEP: Mahajana Eksath Peramuna LP: Liberal Party CWC: Ceylon Workers' Congress SLMC : Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

# ALL INCIDENTS BY TYPE (653)



# ALL INCIDENTS BY PARTY OF ALLEGED PERPETRATOR (653)



# **MAJOR INCIDENTS BY TYPE (381)**



# **MAJOR INCIDENTS BY PARTY OF ALLEGED PERPETRATOR (381)**



# **COMPLAINTS MADE BY PA**

# **COMPLAINTS MADE BY UNP**



# **OFFENCES REPORT BY PROVINCE**



2001 General Election Campaign

Source: Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV)

# **OFFENCES REPORT BY DISTRICT**



# **PART FOUR**

### **PART FOUR:**

### **Gender and Election Violations:**

250 female candidates sought election from a total of 4368, amounting to only 5.72%. Of these candidates, only a mere 10 or 5.1% were elected to Parliament, indicating that both the percentage of nominations and those successful at the election are extremely low even for the South Asian region.

In terms of individual districts, female candidates were successful only in Ratnapura (01), Matara (01), Kandy (01), Gampaha (01), Anuradhapura (01), Moneragala (01), Digamadulla (01), Puttalam (01) and Kurunegala (02). Where candidates were elected, this was on a higher percentage basis than males, which leads to the hypothesis that nomination is, in fact, the bottleneck for women. In fact, all the parties made their bias in favour of men clear in that none of the 29 national list MPs were women.

Regarding violence by and against women during the campaign, a continuing trend has been observed over the past few elections which relates to the gross sexualisation of violations, including forcible stripping, verbal sexual abuse, even rape of women. This trend has very serious consequences for democracy and gender equality in this country, but, unfortunately, the male chauvinist domination of the legal system, as evidenced by both the police and the judiciary, has thus far prevented any significant redress.

In summary, 125 acts of violence were committed against women during the campaign, the highest number taking place in the districts of Anuradhapura (22), Puttalam (14), Matara (13), Ratnapura (12) and Polonnaruwa (11). This means that of the 2735 incidents recorded islandwide, 4.6% were violations directed against women, and considering that only 5.7% of the candidates for election were females, this is alarmingly high. Women were allegedly involved as perpetrators in a total of 20 incidents, the highest recorded from Kandy (06) and Nuwara Eliya (06) districts, which together accounted for 60% of all such violations. Since this is the first election in which CMEV has maintained detailed records of violence directed against and by women, it is difficult to make nuanced comparisons. However, the trend towards demeaning women and subjecting them to sexually-oriented humiliation and worse appears to be on the increase. This tendency needs to be checked immediately and the perpetrators brought before the law without delay.

Methodology:

### **1) Pre-Election Violence**

CMEV has monitored elections held in Sri Lanka since 1997, including the Local Government Elections of 1997, the Local Government Election in the Jaffna Peninsula in 1998, the North-West Provincial Council election in January 1999, the Western, Central, North Central, Uva, and Sabaragamuwa Provincial Council Elections in April 1999, the Southern Provincial Council election in June 1999, the 1999 Presidential Election, and the 2000 General Election. In each of these, CMEV's methodology has remained virtually the same: utilizing field monitors at electoral division level, coordinators at district level, observers on election day at individual polling centres, with a secretariat in Colombo with access to police complaints, political party offices, organisations and individuals, CMEV accepts written and verbal complaints (which must be subsequently writtenup), which are verified at the field level before inclusion in the cumulative totals. In addition, CMEV monitors obtain first-hand information and receive complaints which they follow-up and report to the Colombo office for processing.

The vast majority of CMEV's pre-election violence reports are substantiated by parallel police complaints. All of them, without exception, are corroborated by site visits and interviews with complainants. In every case of a major complaint the alleged perpetrator is contacted for his/her comment, though in some cases such inquiries from CMEV representatives have not been entertained by the alleged perpetrators.

There remain, however, a significant body of complaints which have not reached the police for a variety of reasons, such as 1) the police in some areas do not record complaints against some perpetrators, notably leading members of the PA, 2) some complainants claim, often with just cause, that they are afraid to make police complaints because of police partisanship and fear of repercussions from the alleged perpetrators, 3) some police complaints made at local stations do not reach the police election secretariat due to a number of reasons, which include, negligence, deliberate mis-identification of election-related complaints), delays and other errors of omission and commission. Even these complaints reported only to CMEV are followed up with the police and other relevant authorities, and here too every effort is made to cross-check all Major Incidents with the accused individuals to obtain their side of the story.

In response to constructive criticism on CMEV's previous reports, which suggest that a simple numerical tally of violations may be misleading since there is no discrimination between trivial incidents and serious ones, this Report too follows the 1999 Presidential Election Report in classifying all complaints into Major and Minor Incidents in conjunction with Police nomenclature. Thus, Major Incidents comprise Murder, Attempted Murder, Grievous Hurt, Hurt, Assault, Threat & Intimidation, Robbery, and Arson. The Minor Incidents are categorised as Mischief, Threat, Damage to Property, Election Offences, and Others. In this way, the analysis of violations can focus on both quantum and degree of violence. Whilst CMEV has categorized the incidents into Major and Minor offences, we wish to emphasize that the cumulative impact of Minor offences in a particular area would certainly have a bearing on the exercise of the franchise in that area. Although these incidents fall into identifiable acts of election related offences, their direct consequences with regard to the exercise of the franchise can only be determined from the impact they have on the public in general and the victims of violence in particular. Thus, CMEV does not attempt to predict election outcomes, but merely records that the final results of an election would be fundamentally affected by the level and degree of violence and violations that take place during the campaign period and on polling day.

### 2) Violence on Election Day:

CMEV has five categories of observers in place on election day. These are

- 1) The Monitors responsible for each electoral (or polling) division, who are provided with a vehicle and are expected to visit around 15 polling centres each,
- 2) 30 election-day Observers per polling division who are picked by these monitors and who remain within one polling centre for the duration of polling,
- 3) District Coordinators who tour the problem areas within their districts, and provide an overview of the area as well as liaise with the police and election officials,
- 4) Experienced International Monitors who were located in selected areas countrywide and were provided both transport and translation facilities as well as local support.
- 5) Mobile monitoring teams which were deployed to preidentified trouble spots and areas with weak local coverage.

Workshops and training sessions were held regionally and at the polling division level in order to prepare monitors and election-day observers, and constant supervision and monitoring of their performance was maintained both by the Colombo coordination staff and specially-trained field coordinators.

In addition, CMEV had the benefit of reports and complaints from representatives of political parties and candidates, other independent observers, the general public, police records etc. All these were crosschecked, and the final accounting reflects this complex yet complementary relationship between CMEV and all of its trained officers as well as the ordinary citizen.

### 3) Post-Election Violence:

Though CMEV is not able to provide exhaustive post-election coverage islandwide, mainly due to financial constraints, the extent and seriousness of post-election violence necessitated a more representative coverage than on previous occasions. To this end, CMEV deployed five field teams which travelled to the worst-affected areas and provided first-hand information as well as documentary and photographic evidence of the carnage. As usual, local and election secretariat police records were obtained to corroborate CMEV's own information, and the persons concerned were interviewed wherever possible.

#### 4) General:

Different methodologies and monitoring strategies are used by the various organisations involved in election- monitoring the world over. In Sri Lanka MFFE/ PAFFREL (Movement for Free and Fair Elections & People's Action for Free and Fair Elections) is the oldest election-

monitoring organisation in the country. CMEV and MFFE/ PAFFREL have worked in a spirit of close cooperation in the past, and there is mutual acknowledgement that the methodologies and techniques adopted by the two organisations differ fundamentally, though the ultimate goals remain the same. However, in order to clear any misunderstandings that may arise as a result of the comparison of the findings of CMEV with MFFE/ PAFFREL, the differences between the work of the two organisations need to be spelt out here.

It is our understanding that MFFE/ PAFFREL has broader objectives than CMEV, that it provides a platform for public participation in its monitoring, and that it works with local level organisations with whom it has built up a relationship over the years. Its ethos is, therefore, voluntarism and the creation of active public consciousness on the issues surrounding the electoral process. CMEV, is involved in the concrete task of monitoring specific election violations, and to this end has trained a team of professionals as well as a cadre of regional representatives. These and other differences in perspective and approach could naturally lead to a difference in the final analysis of a particular election.

#### **Other Election Reports:**

At the time of finalizing this report, CMEV was able to obtain copies of the PAFFREL/MFFE Interim Report, the Final Report on Monitoring Misuse of State Resource issued by the Institute of Human Rights, the Administration Report of the Commissioner of Elections for the Year 2001, and the Final Report of the European Union's Observation Mission to Sri Lanka's December 5, 2001 Parliamentary Election.

The Election Commissioner's report is unequivocal: "From the date of nomination to the declaration of results there were a total of 2330 incidents of violence with some 46 murders and **it was the worst election campaign** and the whole process of democratic election might

be destroyed especially if the major parties did [sic] not take urgent corrective action to curb violence and malpractice during the election" [104, CMEV emphasis].

However, the EU report claims that the "violence, abuses and attempted malpractice" did not prevent the people of Sri Lanka from exercising their democratic rights, and, moreover, that the "overall outcome which in our view did reflect the view of the electorate" [3 -4]. In a context where every single preferential vote counts in the election of individuals to parliament, and in a situation where 40 polling centres were annulled and many thousands of votes removed in others by the Elections Commissioner himself, such a statement is patently untenable. Not only would even small differences in vote counts affect who is elected, differences in the total numbers would determine bonus seats and national lists as well.

The "almost 80%" voter turn out is repeatedly cited by the EU as evidence of the election's legitimacy. Yet, as CMEV has pointed out since the 1997 local government elections, a high "voter turn out" is achieved in the polling centres with the highest number of impersonations and/or the greatest stuffing!

### **Attacks on CMEV Monitors/Observers:**

Notable was the number and seriousness of threats received by CMEV Monitors during the election campaign as well as on election day. In fact, for the first time in CMEV's history, four International Monitors were threatened and intimidated, two of their drivers assaulted or threatened and, in one case in Attanagalla, their vehicle damaged by PA supporters. Police complaints were lodged in each of these cases. On election day 3 monitors were attacked and subjected to injury by unidentified supporters of the PA. in Gampola, Patha Dumbara and Nawalapitiya in the Central Province, one monitor was assaulted in Polonnaruwa and another two threatened in Anuradhapura and Mihintale in the North Central Province, one threatened in Bibile in the Uva Province.

In the Southern Province one election day observer was threatened, in Sabaragamuwa Province in Eheliyagoda another was attacked, and in Colombo North in the Western Province another was threatened. In the North Western Province in Puttalam a foreign monitor was threatened while in the residence of PA candidate DM Dasanayake and on election day one monitor from Anamaduwa was threatened, while in the Kurunegala District in Wariyapola and Yapahuwa a CMEV monitor and election day observer were threatened respectively. In the North-East Province in Jaffna two monitors were attacked, and in the East another two were assaulted, bringing the total to 18, all but two allegedly by PA supporters, and the rest by the EPDP in Jaffna.

#### Validity of the outcome of a flawed election

The question invariably posed to CMEV is whether the extent of physical violence, intimidation, rigging and ballot-stuffing during the 2000 General Election was sufficient to influence its final outcome. CMEV does not wish to become embroiled in speculation on hypothetical alternate outcomes of this election, but we are able to make an objective assessment on the extent of possible voter influence on the basis of the following methodology and assumptions:

1) The determination that a particular polling station (centre) was irredeemably flawed is based on a composite assessment of the nature and extent of violations as observed by CMEV monitors and coordinators in the field, supplemented by verified complaints from individuals, political parties and the police. These violations range from shooting and bomb-throwing, stuffing of ballot boxes, systematic impersonation on a large scale, intimidation and violence on an extensive and organised scale throughout the day, the chasing out of rival polling agents and so on.

- 2) It is, therefore, clear that the free exercise of the franchise did not take place in the flawed Polling Centres, and that the outcome of the count in these centres is fundamentally flawed.
- 3) In the context of the General Election particularly (but in other elections as well) where not merely party votes but also individual preferential votes are of the utmost significance, it is clear that every single ballot is crucial. It is, therefore, irrelevant to speak of the election taken as a whole generally reflecting the will of the voters, since there are equally important issues as to who gets elected to Parliament and so on.
- 4) Despite repeated attempts to obtain the data on actual numbers polled in these stations, CMEV was unable to lay its hands on this information. CMEV decided, therefore, to measure the effect of the flawed Polling Centres in terms of total registered voters per electorate and then to reduce the number in keeping with the actual voter turn out for the electorate in question
- 5) This hypothetical figure would then stand in for the total number of votes polled in each flawed poling station, and the simple addition of these individual counts would produce the total votes (as a maximum) produced by flawed polling stations in the electorate.
- 6) This maximum would clearly not be the actual number of votes affected by irregularities, but there is no way of determining the exact quotient.

7) In addition, where stuffing and intimidation took place, it is not clear whether the majority polled reflects a significant proportion of non-affiliated voters (or those who are abroad etc), or whether the votes cast represent votes belonging to members of rival parties, in which case the difference should be halved. In other words, if voter Perera is a PA supporter who was unable to cast his vote as a result of intimidation and violence at a particular Polling Centre, and if Perera's vote had been illegally cast by an impersonator in favour of, say, the UNP candidate, then, in effect, the PA has lost one vote and the UNP has gained two (the vote illegally cast and the one that was prevented from going to the PA). If, for instance, 100 such votes illegally cast were "rectified", and the original voters permitted to vote, these 100 votes will change from being

100 UNP	+	00 PA	= 100 votes		
	to				
00 UNP	and	100 PA	= 100 votes		

which, from the PA point of view will be a shift from -100 to +100 which is a difference to 200.

This is why intimidation and violence against one's rivals is so effective on election day. The mere fact of preventing one supporter of your opponent from voting is already one vote in your favour. If you are able to illegally use this ballot, then you have, in effect, tallied two votes. If, on the other hand, you have voted illegally on behalf of an absent non-partisan voter, the net gain is only one vote.

8) Using the maximum figure of votes polled from all flawed polling stations in a particular electorate as a rough gauge, and comparing this total with the majority recorded in the relevant electorate, and taking into account the scale and magnitude of violations that took

place, CMEV has made a tentative assessment of the consequences of these flawed Polling centres on the final outcome in each electorate

9) It must be noted, however, that this is merely a tentative conclusion bases on the reasoning outlined above. It is not offered as a definitive statement on the election. Such a statement would be unnecessary since CMEV has already gone on record that the extent and magnitude violations necessitates a re-poll in the affected polling divisions.

### Recommendations

CMEV wishes to reiterate its recommendations made at the end of the Presidential Election in 1999, since many of the key issues still remain unresolved. While there is little doubt that the Elections Commission needs to bring about far-reaching changes in the entire electoral process, at a more immediate level the following issues can and should be addressed as an urgent priority:

- Changes in the procedure of applying and obtaining postal votes, to (a) increase confidentiality and security, (b) to ensure that persons so applying are not denied their right to vote without due process, (c) to ensure uniform procedures and safeguards, and (d) to prevent mistakes in deleting the names of postal voters from local voter registers.
- 2) Updating and streamlining of voter registers, particularly in areas such as the Jaffna District. In this process public and NGO participation is crucial. The availability of an accurate and up- todate voter register (which take account of deaths, migration/ displacement, foreign residence etc.) is invaluable in preventing certain types of systematic impersonation on polling day.

- 3) Training and Monitoring of election officials to ensure that they carry out their work professionally and without fear and favour. It has been repeatedly alleged, both at this election and on other occasions, that officials including Senior Presiding Officers do not record malpractices/ fraud that occur in their respective Polling Centres, thereby shutting out any possibility of remedying the situation. At the same time, these election officials should be protected from possible repercussions by affected politicians who may wish to take the law into their hands. A number of instances have been recorded where election officials have been allegedly threatened into submission even by prominent politicians. If there is no legal or other recourse to counteract this blatant violence, the future of the democratic electoral process is in jeopardy.
- 4) Paying more attention to the presence or absence of polling agents within Polling Centres. Training of polling agents in their duties and responsibilities which are crucial to ensuring a free and fair election. Providing greater protection at and around Polling Centres for polling agents and other officials. Redressing complaints by polling agents, counting agents and election officials to ensure that confidence and belief in the system prevails.
- 5) The mechanism and procedure of delivering polling cards to voters should be reformed. The current practice where postmen deliver all polling cards for a particular address to the chief occupant can and does lead to misuse. There is no verification whether all the polling cards delivered to an address bear names of actual current residents.
- 6) Greater transparency and accountability should be ensured at polling and particularly counting centres. CMEV holds the view that the total number of votes polled at each Polling Centre, as determined at both the polling and counting stages, should be part

of the public record, freely accessible to all. This would prevent discrepancies between totals for the same centre at the polling and counting stages, as was evidenced at this Presidential election. This information would also indicate whether violence at a particular Polling Centre has affected voter turn- out, and whether the centre has any further credibility after such violence. CMEV is not suggesting that any information that would compromise the confidentiality of the ballot be released, merely the total number of votes cast.

- 7) Special training and guidance should be provided to polling and counting agents of all parties to ensure that impersonation and other irregularities are minimised on election day.
- 8) A more careful monitoring of the media during an election campaign is necessary to ensure that election laws are not violated. The misuse of state media by the party in power needs to be protected against, as well as the misuse of state resources.
- 9) The entire electoral process ;- voter registration, information on the relevant year of the list, appointment of officials, the poll, procedure at counting centres etc needs to be more transparent and open. This will foster confidence in the process.

### Acknowledgements

CMEV wishes to record its appreciation of all those who assisted in the monitoring process, notably the Election Secretariat of the Police Headquarters as well as regional and local police officers, the Commissioner of Elections and his staff, polling station staff throughout the country who extended CMEV all courtesy and support as well as the media for their invaluable cooperation in the public interest campaign against election violence. As always CMEV is grateful to the public who assisted in innumerable ways in this election monitoring exercise. But for the generosity of CMEV's funders none of this would have been possible, and we gratefully acknowledge their continued support and belief in our work.

CMEV wishes to thank the international observers who complemented the efforts of our local monitors at the end of the campaign and on election day. Without the dedication and commitment of the CMEV Colombo staff, the provincial and polling division monitors, field coordinators and others, too numerous to mention individually, this exercise would not have been successful.

The Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV), which has monitored every national and regional election in Sri Lanka since 1997, was formed in that year by the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), the Free Media Movement (FMM) and the Coalition Against Political Violence as an independent and non-partisan organization to monitor the incidence of election-related violence.

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