

Appendices

Appendix 1: Brief Introduction to Informants

A.L.M. Kaleel joined the SLMC in 1984 and is a high command member. His position in the party is the president of the Majlis-e-Shura (since 2000) and he is a religious scholar (Moulavi). He is based in Colombo.

Tuan Nazeer has been a member of the party since the beginning of 2000. He is not a high command member. He was the propaganda minister of the party in 2006 dealing with different media. At present he is the media manager for the chairman of the party, Basheer S. Dawood. My questions to Tuan Nazeer were not the same as those to high command members as my interview with him was based on how the SLMC deals with the media.

Hasen Ali is a member of the high command and was one of the first members of the party. Besides being the General Secretary, Ali is also a member of the parliament and is a well-known face in Sri Lankan politics. He has a master's degree in engineering from Saudi Arabia, but works full time in the organization of the SLMC.

H.M.M. Ilyas is a member of the high command and his role in the SLMC is the representative of the Ulema Congress. He joined the party in 1988 when he ran in the local election. He is based in Deltota, in the Kandy district.

M.G.M. Rizvie is not a member of the high command. He is the secretary of the national organizer Shafeek Rajabdeen and the coordinator of minister of justice and party leader Rauff Hakeem. He is also a member of the central committee and my interview with him concerned the SLMC's organization.

Rauff Hakeem is a member of the high command and the leader of the party. He is at the moment the minister of justice and has had more ministerial portfolios in the government. He joined the party in 1987, and became the General Secretary in 1992 and the leader of the party in 2001 when the late leader Ashraff died. He is originally from Kandy but lives in Colombo.

Shafeek Rajabdeen is a member of the Western Province – Provincial Council and the Colombo Chief Organizer of the SLMC. Rajabdeen has been in the Western Province – Provincial Council from 1999 to the present time. Before he joined politics he and his father had a construction company where he worked for 30 years. He is also the current president of the Moors Sports Club, which is one of the oldest Muslim sports clubs in the country. My interview with Rajabdeen took place there. He is now in his fifties and has a wife and children.

S.H. Athambawa is not a member of the high command or the party. However, he is a religious scholar and was one of the advisers of the late leader M.H.M. Ashraff, and he has written a biography about Ashraff. My interview with him concerned Ashraff's religious aspects and the history of Ashraff's political background.

S.L.M. Hanifa is a member of the high command and a member of the municipal council in Akkaraipattu. He is also a religious scholar (Moulavi) and he joined the SLMC in 2009.

Sithy Rifaya is the leader of the Ladies Congress, which is one of the SLMC's affiliate bodies. Refaya is in her late fifties and married. She has also been involved in politics for a long time. Before she joined the SLMC she was a part of the United National Party (UNP) until 2001. She also used to work at the Ministry of Labour from 1968 to 1981, she worked mostly with questions regarding trade. After that she worked at the Direction of Muslim Affairs and she represented Sri Lanka at the first convention for Muslim women, held in the Philippines. According to Rifaya, she joined the SLMC after being disappointed with the UNP for not letting her be part of the leadership. This made her want to join the SLMC, but she was also affected by how the SLMC was attacked by media and other parties. She is now a managing director of her family's company, Confidence Travels, which helps people from Sri Lanka to work in the Middle East.

HC Member 1 has been a member of the party since the mid 1980s. He is based in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC Member 2 started out in the party in the mid 1990s and has since then contested in different elections. He lives in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 3 is a member of the high command. He joined the SLMC in the 2000s. Since then he has had different positions in the party.

HC member 4 joined the SLMC in the late 1990s and he has contested for them several times. He lives in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 5 joined the party in the mid 1980s and has contested for the party several times in the eastern part of the country.

HC member 6 has been with the party since the 1980s and has contested for the party in the western part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 7 joined the SLMC in the 1980s and has been active in elections since then.

HC member 8 has been in the party since the mid 1980s and has contested for them in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 9 joined the party in the 1980s. He has contested for the party and been a part of the provincial council in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 10 joined the party in the 1990s and has contested for the party in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 11 joined the party in the 2000s and has contested for the party in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 12 has been a member since the 1990s. He lives in the western part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 13 has been a member since the early 1990s and has contested for the party in the western part of the country.

HC member 14 has been in the party since the beginning and has contested on the east coast for the party.

HC member 15 joined the party in the 2000s and has contested for the party in the eastern part of the country.

HC member 16 has worked on different levels in the parties since the 1990s and has contested for them in the western part of the country.

HC member 17 has been a member of the party since the early 1990s and contested several times for the party.

HC member 18 has been with the party since the early 1980s and has contested on different levels since the beginning.

HC member 19 has been with the party since the mid 1980s and has contested for the party since then. He lives on the east coast.

HC member 20 has been a member of the party since the 1980s and lives on the east coast of the country.

HC member 21 has been associated with the party since the early 1980s and contested under the tree banner several times. He lives in the eastern part of Sri Lanka.

HC member 22 has been in the party since the mid 1990s and has contested for the party on the west coast.

HC member 23 joined the SLMC in the mid 1980s and has contested for the party since the 1990s. He lives on the west coast.

Appendix 2: Letter of Appointment

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 Sri Lanka Muslim Congress



12th December 2011

Mr. Mohamed Riaz Cafoor
 151/B6/1, Maligawatte Place
 Colombo 10

Dear Brother,

Assalaamu Alaikum.

LETTER OF APPOINTMENT AS AREA/BRANCH ORGANISER – 2012.

I am pleased to inform that, you are appointed as the Area/Branch Organiser for NHS Flats, Maligawatta Place / Apple Watta / Jayantha Weerasekera Mawatha of Colombo North Electorate in Colombo District with effect from today.

You are hereby requested to abide by and act in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, Code of conduct and the decisions of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress in the discharge of your duties.

Please note that your appointment to the above post is valid for one year from 01st January 2012.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Shafeek Rajabdeen J.P.
 National Organizer
 Colombo District Organizer

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 Tamil Muslim Congress
 Sri Lanka Muslim Congress



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 National Organizer
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 Mobile : +94 77 7760625
 E-mail : shafeekrajabdeen@hotmail.com

Appendix 3: Memorandum of Understanding Between the SLMC and the LTTE

Joint Communiqué of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

The discussion between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress that took place today (13.04.2002) were friendly and constructive.

The venue was the Political Headquarters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Kilinochchi and the discussions lasted for three hours. National Leader Mr Velupillai Prabhakaran, Political Advisor Anton Balasingham, Political Wing Leader S.P. Tamilchelvan, Batticaloa-Ampara District Commander Colonel Karuna, Trincomalee District Commander Colonel Paduman, Mrs Adele Balasingham represented the LTTE. National Leader Rauff Hakeem, Chairman Athuallah, Senior Deputy Leader Dr Uthuma Lebbe, Deputy Leader Mohideen Abdul Cader, Secretary for Policy Dissemination Bazeer Seghu Dawood, Deputy Chairman Masoor Noordeen and Additional Secretary for Policy Dissemination Mazoor Moulana represented the SLMC.

In this meeting solutions were found for significant practical problems faced by the Muslims of the North and the East. Leader Prabhakaran made a public request asking the Muslims displaced from Jaffna and Vanni to resettle in their areas. It was decided to establish a joint committee with representatives from the LTTE and the SLMC to create the environment conducive to such resettlement. It was also decided that proper conditions must be created for the resettlement of Muslims in several small villages in the Eastern Province.

It was agreed that the uncultivated agricultural lands belonging to the Muslims of the North and the East must again be utilized by them for cultivation purposes.

The LTTE agreed to discontinue with immediate effect the practice of collecting money from the Muslims to support the struggle. It was decided that the LTTE and the SLMC must appoint a representative each with a view to discussing the problems faced by the Muslims in the various districts in the North and East with Senior Commanders of the LTTE and to consolidate Tamil-Muslim relations.

It was decided to continue these high-level meetings.

It was agreed that when negotiations start between the government and the LTTE, the representatives of the Muslim Congress would contribute to the negotiations as a separate party on behalf of the Muslims.

It was also agreed that the basic political issues of the Muslims of the North and the East must be approached on a principled basis and to have continuous negotiations in order to preserve their distinct political and cultural identity.

It was also decided that since the Muslim Congress enjoys the support of the majority of the Muslims, all negotiations concerning the issues of the Muslims of the North and East must be conducted with the Muslim Congress.

Sgd. V Prabhakaran
National Leader
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

Sgd. Rauff Hakeem
National Leader
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

Appendix 4: Ba‘ya

AFFIDAVIT

I,.....of.....
....., being a Muslim do hereby sincerely, solemnly and truly declare and affirm as follows:-

I am the affirmant above named;

I state that I am a member of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC);

I state that I have been elected as a Member of the on behalf of the SLMC.

I state that I have signed a pledge *inter alia* declaring allegiance to the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and its Leadership.

I also state that I have also entered into an agreement with the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress:

I state that upon taking oaths as a Member of I become a member of the People’s Representatives’ Committee of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress in terms of the provisions of the Constitution of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress;

I also state that I am liable to be expelled from the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress in the event of violation of the pledge and/or the undertaking given in the Agreement dated

I state that I signed the pledge and entered into the agreement referred to above voluntarily and further state that this was done with the earnest hope and belief of safeguarding the interest of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and its members.

The foregoing was read over and explained to the affirmant above named and after having understood the same signed in my presence in Colombo on this2011
Before me

Justice of the Peace

AGREEMENT

Agreement between Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, a political Party recognized under the provisions of Parliamentary Elections Act No.1 of 1981 and having its registered office at “Daarussalaam” No. 51, Vauxhall Lane, Colombo 2.

And

.....a member of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress.

Witnesses as follows:

Mr is a Member of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress.

It is specifically agreed between the parties that the appointment of as a Member of the is subject to the decision of the High Command of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress dated

The Parties specifically agree that the pledge of loyalty and the Affidavit affirmed to byshall form part and parcel of the agreement.

.....specifically agrees to abide by and respect the Constitution, Code of Conduct and all decisions of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress; and,

..... specifically agrees that any refusal and/or failure to honour all or any of the pledges or undertakings in the agreement with the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress is a serious violation of the Party Discipline and in such an eventuality it is expressly agreed that is liable to be expelled from the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress summarily.

Signed on this in

.....

(name of the Nominee)
Secretary General
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

PLEDGE

I,as Member of Sri Lanka Muslim Congress do hereby agree and undertake to:

Abide by and defend the Constitution and the Code of Conduct of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and respect all decisions of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress; and

Abide by and respect all decisions and directives issued by the Leader of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress; and

Resign from membership of if nominated, as and when directed to do so by the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress; and

Identify myself as a member of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress at all times and defend and propagate the policies and decisions of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress.

In the event of being elected, I state, that I will at all times conform to the decisions of the Party conveyed through the Leader of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, will stand with the Party and at no time and under no circumstances will defy the Party and its decisions conveyed through the said leader of the Party.

Submit myself to disciplinary control of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress.

I also specifically state that I am aware of the decision of the High Command of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress dated and state that I agree to abide by the said decision of the High Command and enter into an Agreement with the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress stipulating the terms and conditions of my candidature to be nominated to the Membership of the under the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress.

I also specifically agree and state that I am liable to be expelled from the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress in the event of violation of all or any one of pledge referred to above.

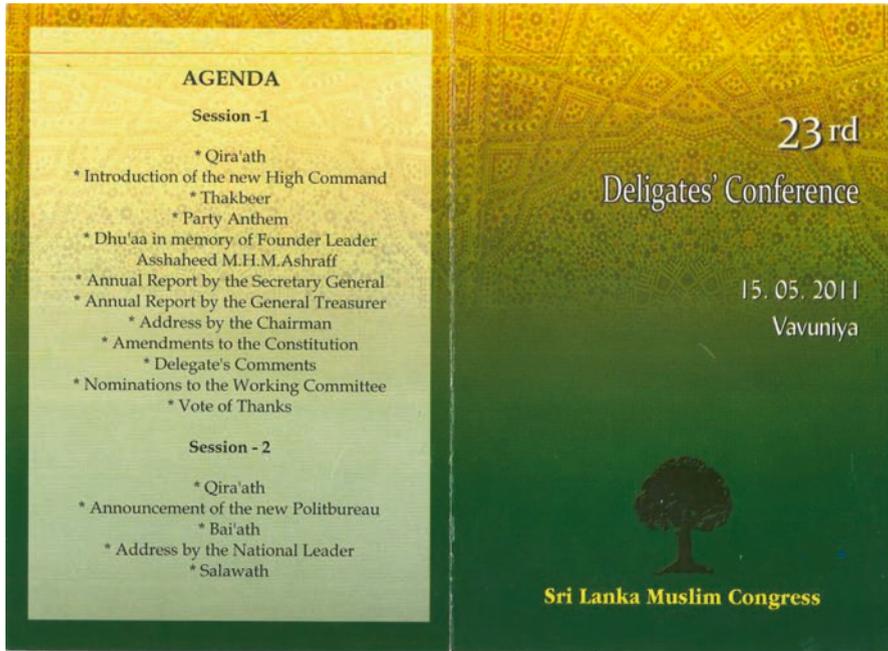
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Witnesses

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Date:.....

Appendix 5: Invitation to the 23 Delegates' Conference



The High Command
of the
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress
invites

to participate
at the

23rd Delegates' Conference

to be held on
Sunday the 15th May 2011
at 2.00 p.m at the

New Town Hall
Vavuniya

Shameek Rajabdeen JP
Fmr Member of Parliament
National Organizer

Sri Lanka Muslim Congress

"Dharussalam"
51, Vauxhall Lane,
Colombo-02.

Tel/Fax: 011-2436752

Please bring this invitation with you