Humanitarian Concerns on the Road to Peace
Workshop Report

Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies and Centre for Policy Alternatives

Culture Club, Dambulla

Saturday 8th and Sunday 9th February 2003

Executive summary

The issue of humanitarian assistance could be seen as one of the 'less contentious' issues in the current peace process. However it became abundantly clear in our discussions that humanitarian assistance is inextricably bound to an underlying political dynamic. Without an appreciation of this dynamic and the difficulties it poses in the long term to both negotiating parties, the process of rehabilitation of the NE is likely to both stall discussions of core issues, and suffer from lack of sustainable progress itself. Whilst our discussions yielded many pertinent observations on issues related to the delivery of humanitarian assistance, those features most likely to impact on the process towards peace include:

- SIHRN emerged as a result of negotiations between the GoSL and LTTE. This effectively means that the sub-committee has both political and humanitarian implications in that it unites political and humanitarian concerns
- This marriage of the political and the humanitarian has led to a wider spectrum of stakeholders with invested interests in the rehabilitation of the NE
- In this light the dynamic between the humanitarian mandate of the SIHRN Secretariat and the competing interests of the negotiating parties alive in the sub-committee could undermine its position of serving an immediate humanitarian need in an open and accountable way
- The process followed by SIHRN faces key challenges in balancing long-term objectives with short-term priorities and delivery mechanisms
- In this respect the donor community hold the potential to intervene on issues of delivery, and good practice in delivery, in such a way as to facilitate the peace process through monitoring mechanisms
- Similarly, collaboration between an independent and well coordinated civil society and SIHRN promises to smooth the risk of resentment at ground level, of inappropriate unsustainable, 'quick-fix' humanitarian programmes

Injecting Soul into SIHRN

Possibly the most enduring comment of the dialogue session held at the Culture Club, Dambulla was that SIHRN was 'a body without a soul'. The Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies and the Centre for Policy Alternatives with the assistance of the Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies worked together to provide a forum for all stakeholders involved in humanitarian work in the NE, to come together in dialogue with the directors of the recently formed Sub-committee for Immediate Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Needs. Over two days key stakeholders explored the many issues, challenges and opportunities presented by the new political climate emerging as a result of the ongoing peace process. This report aims to present the multitude of perspectives that were presented and suggest next steps for collaborative work.

This event forms part of a larger project, the 'Road Map Programme'. The Road Map seeks to proactively chart the terrain leading towards a just and equitable negotiated settlement to the protracted armed conflict. Towards this end the programme looks at key issues on the road to sustainable peace, laying out visions, produced in collaboration with all stakeholders, of multitrack concerns and opportunities, in order to formulate possible future scenarios. The dialogue session, 'Humanitarian Concerns on the Road to Peace' kick started the Road Map on the humanitarian agenda.

We explored the many emerging perspectives on the rehabilitation of the NE in the light of the emerging political structure of SIHRN, concentrating initially on structural issues and then focusing key issues at stake. The report provides a brief overview of each day's proceedings, followed by a round up of the discussions in the working groups. In order to keep this document concise, extra information gathered through presenting and discussing the conclusions of the working groups has been added to the main round ups.

Saturday 8th February

Following a welcome address by Kethesh Loganathan, Jeevan Thiajarajah made an introductory presentation by (see summary attached) outlining the case for a framework of cooperation between SIHRN and all other stakeholders working for the rehabilitation of the NE. Selvin Iraneuss, the director of SIHRN Secretariat, presented an overview of the status and mandate of SIHRN. What followed were three sets of working groups, each grappling with the question of enabling collaboration between sets of stakeholders and SIHRN. The plenary discussion that followed the presentations by Jeevan and Selvin was facilitated by Kethesh Loganathan. He informed the plenary that the purpose of the plenary discussion prior to the working groups was to raise core issues that could inform the working group

discussion – particularly the structural and institutional aspects of SIHRN and its relations with the donor community, government agencies and civil society.

1. Working group on the donor community and SIHRN

Joe William facilitated a lively discussion with participants representing several international and local organizations with Mr Faleel, Additional Director of Finance at the SIHRN Secretariat. Danny Sriskandarajah rapporteured.

Themes

Several general themes were raised by participants in the course of discussions. It was felt that though considerable progress had been made to-date to establish and operationalize SIHRN, a lot remains to be done. One participant observed that SIHRN was a "body without a soul" and that the challenge for all stakeholders was to build on what had been done so far. In particular, what needs to be done now is to transform principles into practice, with the aim of ensuring quality and equality in the operations of SIHRN.

Questions

While many questions arose, particularly concerning the interaction of donors and SIHRN, several broad questions structured discussions.

- Is the structure of SIHRN a hindrance to its operation?
- Have the modalities for its operations been worked out adequately?
- Are transparency and accountability being ensured?
- How much control does/will SIHRN have?
- Who has the capacity to implement projects?
- How can local capacity be built, at all levels and across organizations?

Priorities

Several key priorities were also discussed, including the need to:

- Take into account operational needs and funding constraints of multilateral and bilateral donors and how SIHRN may play a role in meeting these needs;
- Resolve local-level obstacles to donor activities, such as taxation;
- Transfer knowledge to SIHRN, especially from organizations that have been working in the NE for many years;

- Build effective communication channels, particularly as mixed messages were being received from SIHRN.

Process

Many participants stressed the importance of getting the process right in the workings of SIHRN. Some of the priorities that were identified include:

- Build accountability and transparency in SIHRN's operations.
- Ensure that self-monitoring takes place.
- Develop benchmarks for SIHRN operations.
- Ensure that the process priority setting is open and clear.
- Make sure that short-term and long-term issues are addressed.
- Overcome any potential pitfalls in pursuing short-term priorities over long-term objectives; two particular challenges were identified 1. humanitarian priorities vs. longer-term development objectives 2. short-term delivery mechanisms vs. developing longer-term local governance capacities.
- Address core human rights issues early in the process.

Recommendations

While many of the themes, questions and issues cited above have implicit recommendations, the working group identified two particular proposals:

- Work with bi-laterals to coordinate extra-SIHRN donor activities, and
- Explore the possibilities of setting up three advisory committees to work with SIHRN on the processes of selecting, implementing and monitoring projects.

2. Working group on civil society and SIHRN

Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu facilitated an animated working group comprised of participants from both INGOs and local organizations with the additional director of SIHRN, D D Amaratunga. Nicola Palmer rapporteured.

Overview

Broadly speaking, the discussion revolved around certain key issues regarding the structure, mandate and workings of SIHRN. Through establishing and clarifying areas of concern, we moved on to explore ways forward for collaboration between civil society actors and the sub-committee.

Issues

It was widely felt that the consultation process leading to the formation of SIHRN and the criteria for selection and submission of projects was closed to civil society voices. Because of this, several members of the working group felt the process was top-down and exclusionary. Much concern was attached to the Needs Assessment processes operating at district levels. As well as what one participant voiced as a feeling of being 'imposed upon' by the requirements of the process, there was general concern about the donor agenda. The overall fear was that stakeholder voices at the district level would not be heard.

Questions

Many questions arose around these broad issues. The following summarise those that structured discussions:

Politicisation of the humanitarian dimension

- If the sub-committee is indeed the nucleus of a new structure of governance for the NE it necessarily politicises the humanitarian needs of the NE. In this light do the agendas followed by the donor community, GoSL and LTTE adequately address the humanitarian need in the NE?
- Considering that the sub-committee is essentially the decision making body rather than the secretariat, do civil society actors have any recourse to appeal against perceived inequity?

Needs Assessment

- Who's need? How is assessment carried out?
- How can we ensure continuous assessment sensitive to the manifold and shifting needs in the NE?
- How can we ensure that capacity is built at local levels to avoid dependency creation?
- What is SIHRN's timeframe for immediate response?

Priorities

- Ensure accountability and transparency throughout SIHRN's work
- Ensure that the voices of ground level people in the NE are heard and listened to in the process of rehabilitation
- Set up mechanisms of collaboration between SIHRN and local stakeholders
- Encourage this collaboration in disseminating information about SIHRN amongst communities
- Ensure that response mechanisms are clearly linked to needs assessment
- Make sure that long term development objectives are addressed alongside short-term priorities

Recommendations

- Independent civil society actors to create, through a consultative, accountable process, a team of divisional level representatives to further collaboration opportunities with SIHRN and provide a continual assessment of ground level needs.
- Encourage pre-existing district NGO councils to strengthen civil society, but ensure it that any created body has diverse minority representation in its ranks.
- The body of independent representatives needs to identify a similar network of independent response cooperation
- This body to engage the donor community along with the secretariat.

3. Working Group on the relationship between the GoSL and SIHRN

Mr Somasundaram facilitated the working group on the relationship between the Government of Sri Lanka and SIHRN. The participants comprised members of the Government and Civil Society alongside Selvin Iraneuss, Director of SIHRN Secretariat. Ruwan Hulugalle rapporteured.

Information

It was noted that SIHRN will have a budget of Rs. 7 billion which would make SIHRN the largest agency of the state following the ministry of defense, the ministry of education, the ministry of health, and the department of police. SIHRN will have no new mandate and therefore it was recognized that "turf issues" will arise between government agencies. 35 people make up SIHRN of which the vital staff for the operation of SIHRN is significantly less. SIHRN was created to address immediate needs and therefore is considered to be a short-term mechanism. It was speculated that SIHRN could possibly evolve into the framework around which an interim unit of governance could develop. The needs assessment was recognized to take place through the district council through which issues of income generation, resettlement, demining and vulnerable groups will be assessed at a local level.

Concerns and Recommendations

The focus of the working group varied and did not necessarily remain on the topic of SIHRN's relationship with the Government of Sri Lanka.

- It was recognized that SIHRN was a very new institution. While some consider it at the moment to be "a body without a soul", the working group considered it to be akin to "a baby in swaddling clothes." The group recognized that the role of SIHRN at the moment was not well known. Worries were expressed about a "communication gap" among SIHRN, GoSL and the wider public, due to limited "access" to SIHRN. It was recommended that a widespread marketing effort should be undertaken to popularlize SIHRN.

- The central responsibility of SIHRN was recognized to be a coordinating and not an implementing agency. Special attention for SIHRN therefore should focus on capacity building, monitoring, financial management, auditing, and project appraisal.

- Worries were expressed about North–South development imbalance and the potential consequences of such an imbalance

- It was recommended that SIHRN focuses on "holistic development". The idea of the "development continuum" was raised as a concern. Sector specificity was raised as an issue and was perceived by different members of the group both in a beneficial and detrimental light.

- It was urged that SIHRN focuses on participatory capacity building at the local level. The importance of maintaining the district as the focal point was stressed.

- The small workforce of SIHRN was recognized to be a detriment to effective functioning of such a well-funded institution. It was recommended that the workforce be augmented with more skilled managers as SIHRN further develops.

Concluding remarks

In concluding the first day's session, Kethesh Loganathan posited that in the final analysis the "soul" of SIHRN constituted the people and the primary responsibility of the SIHRN Secretariat was to respond to and address the humanitarian needs of the people.

Sunday 9th February

Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu opened the morning's dialogue session, followed by Joe William with a presentation on the critical issues dominating humanitarian work in the NE (summary attached). Participants immediately moved into working groups to discuss key subject areas in relation to SIHRN's mandate and objectives.

1. Working group on gender and children

Selvi Sachithanandam of UN World Food Programme facilitated a far-reaching discussion on issues surrounding these two subject areas. The working group consisted of a diverse selection of civil society, donor community and government agency stakeholders with Mr D D Amaratunga, Additional Director of SIHRN. Nicola Palmer rapporteured.

Overview

It was immediately felt that putting gender and children into one category was meaningless, as was assuming that the term gender referred solely to 'women's issues'. However it was also agreed that, thanks to their historical exclusion from rehabilitation processes, the needs of both women and children as well as other vulnerable groups required urgent consideration.

Issues - gender

The group chose to define key issues affecting both marginalized men and women, but to look specifically at defining the needs of women, in relation to the work of SIHRN. What follows is a round up of key issues:

- Food security: 60% of women in the NE suffer from anemia
- Multiple displacement
- Psycho-social impact of armed conflict
- Poverty
- Primary health care needs
- Building capacity for reconciliation and empowerment
- Human rights – violence against women
- Sex workers and HIV/AIDS
- Reintegration of female ex-combatants

Issues - children

- Human rights
- Primary health care needs
- Psycho-social welfare
- De-mobilisation and re-integration of child soldiers
- Resettlement
- Education
- Services for child protection

Themes

Listed below are the main themes that informed and structured the discussion:

Psycho social work

- A clearer idea is needed of what constitutes psycho-social interventions before firm progress can be made in this area
- Provision for integrated psycho-social support at community levels – in schools and within family structures: for children, women and men

- Psycho social sensitivity to be woven into better overall teaching practice
- Underlying issues of stability and security have to be addressed.

Education

- Appropriate teaching materials need to be formulated accounting for special needs and conditions in the NE. For example mine-awareness fostered through teaching materials.

Poverty reduction

- School feeding to continue but alongside parallel processes intended to encourage self-reliance
- Compensation for female headed households to combat the impact of the missing.

Capacity gap in health and education

- Combating the capacity gap through recognition of the expertise that already exists at district level alongside a push to create regional training programmes
- Utilizing Diaspora expertise
- Introducing quotas for women
- Emphasis on short term contracts in rural areas
- Exploring the possibility of a creative incentive package utilizing donor underspend.

Ways forward

For collaboration with SIHRN

- Significant potential was seen for collaboration by civil society actors and SIHRN, with civil society actors taking the lead in lobbying SIHRN for long term changes to accompany immediate needs
- SIHRN was seen to be a potential 'middle man' capable of lobbying other government agencies with recommendations for gender sensitive and children sensitive health and education policy
- It was widely felt that a successful emphasis on women and children in rehabilitation of the NE could pave the way for a country wide shift to notions of positive peace and challenge enduring historical imbalances.

For collaboration with the newly formed Gender Advisory Committee

- Civil society actors working in the NE should use the potential of the as yet undefined Gender Committee to further awareness and lobby on gender and children's issues in humanitarian work

- It was felt that the Gender Committee must address both women and men in its work.

For general good practice in humanitarian work in the NE

- Recognise that needs and problems experienced by women, men and children are regionally specific
- That even though women in the NE are singled out as being the worst affected section of the population (arguably) the 'vulnerable woman' stereotype is wrong
- Overall child focused programming
- Overall gender sensitive programming

In needs assessment

- Creative methodology is called for in accurately analyzing the needs of women, children and marginalized men
- A women's frame of reference for women's needs is necessary
- A children's frame of reference for children's needs is necessary
- Separate space for women and children in needs assessment.

2. Working Group on Human Rights and Humanitarian issues

Markus Aksland from Save the Children facilitated a working group consisting largely of local practitioners and activists. Danny Sriskandarajah rapporteured.

Substantive issues

Two important human rights (HR) and humanitarian issues addressed by the group were High Security Zones (HSZs) and the vacation of houses occupied by security force personnel. It was felt that this was going to be a critical period in which the people of the Northeast will want action on reducing the extent of the HSZs. Resettlement into HSZs should also be thought of as a broader issue, which impacted other aspects of peace and reconstruction. Participants identified the pressing need to build alternative approaches to solving the HSZ issue, perhaps by encouraging public participation and the bypassing of Track 1 negotiations.

Other substantive issues also discussed included child rights, education, conscription, economic rehabilitation, health, land rights, conditionality in the resettlement packages, and the repeal of draconian legislation such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). The inability of IDP's to reclaim their land and houses outside of the HSZs was acknowledged to be a constant source of frustration.

Operationalizing human rights

Participants identified ten broad challenges in incorporating HR concerns into the peace process and operationalizing HR priorities. The first three dealt with conceptual aspects of HR, a further three on the process being used to operationalize HR, and four aspects of ensuring the various parties stick to their word.

1. Rights-based and needs-based approaches

It was suggested that perhaps SIHRN and the negotiating parties are pushing needs over rights. While there were reservations that this may be a false dichotomy, it was pointed out that rights-based approach may be more sustainable and effective over the long-term.

2. Human and humanitarian rights

Arising out of the above distinction, it seems that there is a discrepancy in the definition of rights between some of the major parties. The LTTE, for example, seems to be pushing humanitarian (social and economic) rights while the donor community and some local NGOs are pushing HRs. This lack of consensus on a definition and appropriate starting point for action may also explain why the LTTE seems wary of human rights.

3. Human rights and human dignity

One of the most important aspects of HR, especially for the Tamil people, is the need to ensure and protect human dignity. This will involve addressing freedom from fear – vis a vis the state, the LTTE and other paramilitary groups. Here, it was stressed that this will require promoting reconciliation between and within ethnic groups, as many people fear groups within their own community.

4. The Human Rights Action Plan

There was discussion on the role of Ian Martin in the direct negotiations and the Action Plan that he will be responsible for. There was concern expressed that the preparation of this Plan may not be an open, consultative process. It was suggested that such a plan should not only be the product of wide consultation but also have the "teeth" to be implemented effectively.

5. Transitional and post-conflict human rights

Some participants expressed their satisfaction that the LTTE in particular had so far shown willingness to address HR issues, even before the conflict had been resolved permanently. It was felt that this opportunity to institutionalize HR priorities at this transitional stage should be harnessed.

6. Human rights as an all-island issue

Some participants felt it was important to recognize that HR concerns should be applied universally to the entire island and not just to the NE.

7. Transforming statements into action

It was felt that there was a critical need to hold major players to their word and to transform the commitments made at the negotiating table into action.

8. Commitment to human rights

There was some concern that many of the players involved, including local and international NGOs, did not have a deep commitment to HRs. Instead, it was suggested that some may be simply paying lip service to HR concerns. Again, it was felt that actors should be held accountable for their statement.

9. Human rights as a constructive or disruptive tool

It was felt that HR concerns were being used in both constructive and disruptive ways in the peace process. Some participants felt that it was important to promote the former and negate the latter.

10. Commitment of LTTE leadership versus cadres

It was suggested that while the LTTE leadership may be happy to incorporate HR concerns into their actions, low-level cadres may not yet share this view. This discrepancy may explain the continued violence on the ground, especially in the East.

11. Promoting media freedom

The freedom of the media and freedom of expression more generally was felt to go hand in hand with the process of democratisation in that it can address the root causes of conflict and promote trust between and within communities

Human rights as the basis for reconciliation

It was felt by almost all of the participants that HR could and should be used to promote reconciliation in Sri Lanka. This should be done through the institutionalization of key political rights and the promotion of pluralism. Only through achieving freedom from fear and effective political participation could peace be made sustainable. Participants also suggested that donors had a critical role in promoting this.

Action

Several recommendations were raised during the course of discussions.

- There is a critical need to build trust among and between people, especially at the grassroots level.
- Another pressing need was to promote and consolidate avenues for constructive dialogue, again at the grassroots level. It was suggested that these sorts of direct initiatives may be more effective in resolving complex issues such as the HSZs.

- One means of operationalizing HR concerns would be to institute more HR training programmes to help people adjust to the new situation. Donors could support these initiatives.
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, HR organizations, and any body arising out of the HR Action Plan should be given the capacity to implement and enforce HR concerns. There was a question whether an ombudsman-type position could be created.
- It was suggested that the dissemination of statements and outcomes from Track 1 talks may be one way of making actors accountable.
- There is a need to build truly democratic institutions that can effectively voice and address underlying grievances.
- Perhaps the best way to proceed is to start small – with something like changing nameboards around the country to reflect linguistic protection.
- Other measures raised to protect HR included the development of inclusive language policies and the repeal of the PTA.

3. Working Group on IDP Resettlement and Humanitarian Issues

Patrick Brochard facilitated this working group. The group included participants representing the government, INGOs, the donor community and NGOs. Rapporteured by Ruwan Hulugalle.

Information

The working group determined that "information was needed" before issues related to IDPs could be addressed. It was recommended by a member of the group that the authorities should assess the ground situation, and prioritize immediate and long-term needs based on the former assessment. In addition it was considered important to recognize the difference in needs between different groups and localities. It was pointed out that there is a distinction between IDPs that have already returned, those that are willing to go but remain displaced, and those that would rather remain in their present environment. Further to this approximately it was observed that 1/3 of IDPs have already returned, but have not necessarily been "resettled", and that 25% of the IDPs that had been surveyed by UNHCR did not want to return to their former areas of habitation.

Needs and Priorities

Many suggestions about the needs and priorities related to IDP resettlement issues were made. Suggestions focused on four primary areas:

- Landmines: this issue dominated the discussion. It was felt that the landmines posed a threat to the security of those IDPs that would like to return and those that have already returned.

Until action was taken to enhance effective mine action, resettlement work could not be carried out effectively.

- Security: it was suggested that some of those that would like to return are deterred from doing so by a fear of the security situation in the locality vis-à-vis the LTTE and the SLA. It was highlighted that Muslims have in the past been mistreated in areas under the administration of the LTTE, massacred in some instances, chased away under threat of violence in others, and generally harassed and intimidated, and are hesitant to return until the government can institute some mechanism to ensure the security of the returnees. Some displaced Tamils feel threatened by the LTTE and/or the SLA as a result of being mistreated by either/both side(s) in the past. Until security can be restored, some IDPs are hesitant to return. It was also pointed out that those that have already returned continue to face human rights abuses at the hands of the LTTE. Some IDPs are also concerned that the peace process may fail and a return to armed hostilities still remains a possibility.
- Compensation: the issue of compensation was raised. It was pointed out that there is a lack of transparency with regard to payment of compensation stemming from the fact that resources are insufficient.
- Land and property: this issue hinders IDP return because some houses have been seized by the army, some have been taken into HSZ's, some have been illegally sold by unscrupulous businessmen, some owners have no deeds as the deeds have been destroyed, and personal and communal property has been looted or destroyed. In addition the multiplication of families complicates matters as well as the reality that land may not be available for everyone.
- Business and economic rights: some IDPs face the problem of LTTE "taxation" and regulation that alter their ability to conduct business. In addition, historically, the embargo on the LTTE-held areas has led to a low level of economic infrastructure and development that hinder the return of some IDPs as a sub-minimal amount of infrastructure exists in the locality. The presence of HSZs in some areas also affects the ability of IDPs to return to their places of origin and to engage in farming or fishing to effectively maintain their existence.

Recommendations

It was determined that general principles should be applied to the administration of assistance. The principles that were discussed were the following:

1. Guiding Principles on IDPs needs to form the basis for IDP assistance in the post-conflict scenario
2. "Do No Harm": a principle that suggests that when delivering assistance, an organization must consider the consequences and unintended consequences of any such delivery because the long-term stability of an overall peace will depend on amity between all communities in Sri Lanka.
3. "Consultation with the Beneficiaries": a principle that suggests that any delivery of assistance should be founded on the needs of the locality based upon consultations with the beneficiaries to

which the assistance will be delivered because local needs should be addressed in order to maximize the long-term effectiveness of assistance.

4. "Human Rights": a principle that suggests that all assistance should prioritize and mainstream civil, political, social, cultural, and economic rights.

A variety of recommendations for action were offered by the participants to address the issues related to IDP resettlement:

- Develop a dual response to deal with immediate needs and structural needs
- Develop a "mine map" so that "site reconstruction" can begin in areas without mines and so that IDPs that desire to return will know the whereabouts of mines. Also those that have already returned will be able to know which areas are free of mines.
- Create conducive physical and legal conditions for returnees: clear mines, restitute or compensate for property, provide basic needs, develop infrastructure, and ensure freedom from harassment
- Develop a collaborative, multi-lateral decision program to address needs at a local level
- Conduct a "poverty assessment strategy" in order to "de-ethnicize and de-politicize" the delivery of assistance
- Develop mechanisms and institutions for communal reconciliation such as "peace education" and "peace committees"
- Take a "step-by-step" approach and not an "all-at-once" approach in a pragmatic and doable manner.

Next steps

The Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies and the Centre for Policy Alternatives are not attempting, through the Road Map endeavor, to advocate any one approach to apply to the humanitarian situation in Sri Lanka. Neither is either organisation best placed to understand the ideal way to deliver humanitarian assistance. What we aim to achieve is the furthering and enriching of dialogue on key issues between all stakeholders in the light of the emerging political climate. To this end we propose the best steps forward are as follows:

1. Joe William will author a paper bringing together the variety of issues and questions at stake in this new climate for humanitarian work with the objective of suggesting possible future scenarios for consideration. All feedback from this report will be taken into consideration in the formulation of this paper.
2. This paper will form the basis of both closed door and wider discussions with all stakeholders.

We would be more than happy to hear your comments on this process, this report and the previous event. Any suggestions, improvements and enrichments will be gratefully received.

Nicola Palmer 25.02.03
With input from Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah and Ruwan Hulugalle