

SRI LANKA FACT-FINDING MISSION (Oct 30 – Nov 3, 2006) REPORT

INTRODUCTION

The island of Sri Lanka is in turmoil for last more than two decades. The escalating conflict and the bloodshed and suffering that accompanies it in last few months underscore the fact that Cease Fire Agreement of 2002 (CFA henceforth) exists only on paper. The recent break down of the peace talks between Sri Lankan government and LTTE in Geneva in October 2006 has dealt a severe blow to the peace process. The 'hope' generated by two main political parties coming together that there will now be serious efforts to work towards a peaceful solution to the Ethnic conflict is fast withering away. The overall atmosphere is that of despair and almost complete lack of trust.

It is in this background Peace Mumbai, a conglomeration of various organizations active in Mumbai on the issues of Peace, decided to send a Peace Mission to Sri Lanka. Mandated by the resolution made at the "Peace and Justice in South Asia conference" organized by Peace Mumbai in Mumbai, India on Feb. 26-28, 2006 to facilitate peace missions to various areas in South Asia, the initiative was taken by leading peace activists and organizations in Sri Lanka like Nimalka Fernando (International Movement Against all Forms of Discrimination and Racism), Mohammed Mahuruf (Cordaid).

The mission visited Sri Lanka between 30th October & 3rd November, 2006.

The mission met up (*Annex 1 – pasted below*) with political leaders of all hues including ministers, civil society groups, media activists, intellectuals and policy analysts as well as the victims of hostilities between Sri Lanka Government and Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The mission traveled within Colombo and to Kantalai, (Dist. Trincomalee) but could not visit many other places in North and East in spite of strong desire. It could not get the requisite permission from the concerned authorities.

Objectives

The objectives of the Mission were:

1. Solidarity with the peace movement, which is campaigning for a peaceful and just solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka
2. To meet refugees of all communities displaced due to the conflict and its impact on people especially women and children
3. To meet with a diverse cross-section of people to be able to inform the Indian public about the causes and repercussions of the breakdown of the peace talks.
4. To understand the nature of the current outbreak of hostilities and the background.
5. To understand more about the possible solutions and peace initiatives that are underway.
6. To take stock of the human rights violations in the country

7. To get an idea of expectations of peace loving people of all communities from the Indian government and people

It was agreed that a four day visit can only provide a broad overview and hence the objectives are meant to provide a general perspective.

Members of the Mission:

- 1) Kuldip Nayar, Senior Journalist and Writer,
- 2) Qamar Agha, Peace Activist
- 3) Adv. Gayatri Singh, Labour Unionist and Lawyer,
- 4) Jatin Desai, Journalist, Peace activist, Peace Mumbai
- 5) Jaya Velankar, Feminist, Peace activist, Peace Mumbai

Brief History of the Present Crisis:

After two decades of continued violence and destruction, a CFA in 2002 signed by both the Sri Lankan Government and LTTE brought a ray of hope, which unfortunately didn't last long. LTTE accepted "internal self rule / self determination and also provided a document on Internal Self Governing Authority (ISGA). However, the Government proposals were not forthcoming. Also no consensus could be reached between Government and LTTE over resource management that continued in Post Tsunami period. 2004 saw violence gradually building up and internal conflict within LTTE with emergence of Karuna faction got intensified.

Assassinations of political activists and leaders in North and South once again resumed. LTTE boycotted presidential elections in 2005. The year marked resumption of hostilities leading to intensification of violence perpetrated by both Government and LTTE. Political assassinations, disappearances and abductions of Tamils in North, East and in Colombo reached high proportions. Internal displacement reached its peak. In Muttur, Muslim community was under siege.

The signing of MOU between the main political parties who have been opponents for a long time was a historical development that was perceived by many as one step forward to solution to the ethnic conflict. Tamils have been cautious about supporting them expressing apprehensions whether their commitment is genuine. On October 23, 2006 the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the United National Party (UNP) signed a memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to cooperate on key issues vital for the nation's well being. This MOU is not one to form a coalition Government but an understanding to collaborate to prepare a political solution to the ethnic conflict.

Under the MOU, a viable resolution of the ethnic issue will be based on the following elements: 1) the eventual solution to the ethnic issue has to be political in character. The cornerstone of the political solution is power sharing within the country on a basis acceptable to the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities. 2) Emphasis will be placed on the principle that power sharing is for the benefit – not of any particular group or party but for the people at large. 3) The basic assumption underlying an equitable

framework for power sharing is that the central government would be invested with all powers, functions, and responsibilities essential for the effective conduct of national policy, while other matters will fall within the purview of regional administrations. 4) Priority will be given to prompt and effective action to rehabilitate all persons who have been displaced or whose lives have been disrupted.

However, the talks between Government and LTTE, held in Geneva on October 28-29, 2006 broke down, one of the main reasons being government's refusal to reopen A 9 highway that has been closed since August 2006. A 9 highway is the only way through which essential items can be sent to the extreme North. Its closure has led to humanitarian crisis of great proportions. Around 600,000 people in Jaffna and Vanni are left without any food, essential commodities or medicines. Till January, unloading of food items through sea will be difficult because of weather aggravating the situation further.

Observations:

The people across the board including political leaders, civil society activists, intellectuals, journalists, women activists and citizens are deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation. Everybody thinks that political solution to the war situation is utmost necessary and needs to be given top priority.

Many were of the opinion that since Presidential elections the polarization of Sri Lankan society is almost complete. The current government is seen as "Singhala Buddhist chauvinist" government that accords primacy to Military supremacy. It is alleged that Mahinda Rajapakse joined hands with racist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) in the election. Now, JVP has penetrated army. They managed to go to army camps and campaign their ideology. This is not possible; it is believed, without Government's complicity. There are growing incidents of JVP and some other chauvinist outfits resorting to physical violence against peace activists for being "traitors." The Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU) has also formed a pressure group inside the regime; both these forces JVP/JHU combined forms the 'force against the federal solution'.

Some think that the Peace Talks were held in haste and for a very short duration of time could be the possible reasons for failure. While Government representatives think issue of A 9 is military strategy issue and hence cannot be opened others opine that it is Government's aim is genocide to humble LTTE. Nonetheless, everyone thinks peace talks should be resumed immediately.

There is a growing consensus that Indian model of federal structure and devolution of power to the local self-government is most suited in Sri Lanka. However, some left parties warn that Panchayats alone cannot solve National Question and stress on new constitution to be more democratic and secular. Some suggest administratively, De-centralization can start even before political devolution.

There is significant section that thinks LTTE cannot sustain "No war No Peace Low Intensity conflict" situation for long as their credibility on ground is challenged so they

need to take decision. Some think LTTE has not given up the goal of Eelam. Some predicted possibility of escalation of violence after failure of Peace talks in Geneva. LTTE Supremo Prabhakaran, in his "heroes' Day" speech, is likely to say enough is enough. (This prediction came true).

While most are critical of both Government and LTTE for having scant regard for human rights of civilians, some think in the name of LTTE, Tamil issue is forgotten.

Tamils have no jobs, no sense of security and no status in the society, which is dominated and dictated by the Sinhalese. Had the latter tried to retrieve them and given them back their pride, which they lost at the hands of chauvinist Sinhalese, the Tamils would have revolted against the ruthless LTTE and its fascist leader V Prabhakaran. The shoddy treatment meted out to the Tamils is the grist to LTTE's propaganda mill. It has only to point out how the Tamils have been edged out from practically every field. Even the language, Tamil, supposed to be at par with the Sinhala, is hardly used in the bureaucracy, the police or any official organ. For example, the police in Jaffna, a Tamil town, records complaints only in Sinhala. They have no Tamilians in the force. This situation prevails almost all over in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese and the Tamils live in the world of their own, with very little contact.

The City of Colombo is full of army personnel and police. Each and every movement is monitored. According to one estimate, amongst South Asian countries Sri Lanka spends maximum of its GDP on defense. The scenario is same in case of other cities. When we traveled to Kantalai, about 250 km from Colombo, our vehicle was stopped at various check points and was searched. The mission members had their hotel rooms searched by a big team of police personnel on the last day of their stay at 4 a.m. just few hours after the press conference addressed by the mission members and local activists.

Tamilians are terrified by recent cases of kidnapping, disappearance and killing. The cases of Kidnapping have increased manifold since Mahinda Rajapakse came to power in November 2005. In 95% of such cases Tamils are affected. Young boys are kidnapped and no one knows what happened to them. It is believed and many openly say so that the kidnappings and killings are not possible in the city of Colombo without the knowledge of government. Open allegations are being made about the hand of Karuna faction, splinter group of LTTE, and army. Millions of rupees are being collected from the relatives of kidnapped persons in lieu of releasing them.

No proper investigations are done in cases of killings, kidnappings. On 3rd January 2006, five Tamil students were shot dead by security forces at Trincomalee Beach. When Tamil National Alliance (TNA) MPs met President he told them "I know who shot them". He assured that culprits will be arrested but nothing has been done. Postmortem report categorically said that they were shot dead at point blank range. Tamilians are kidnapped and millions are taken from them as ransom. Many Tamil businessmen have fled to western countries as well as Tamil Nadu.

In 1988, merger of North and East took place as a single province. Various Governments accepted merger. But, now Supreme Court has ordered de-merger. Tamils are now worried Where do they go? Last month, Tamil MPs met India's National Security Advisor

(NSA) M Narayanan before ruling. He told them that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has said "India will keep all options open if Supreme Court orders demerger". But, since order they have not heard anything about India's position.

They say No Tamil family is unaffected. They allege that a quiet genocide is going on in Sri Lanka.

Karuna faction is being used by the Sri Lankan Government to weaken the LTTE. UN Special representative for Children and Armed Conflict in Sri Lanka Allan Rock accused elements in Sri Lanka's security forces of helping to abduct children as soldiers for a group of renegade rebels, who are fighting Tamil tigers. He said his mission had found credible evidence that troops were helping a group led by a former rebel commander called Karuna. Shattered by the allegation, Sri Lankan Government immediately denied it. Political and social activists too feel that this is not possible without the complicity of the government.

The escalation of violence in the North and East has led to an increase in human rights violations and threats to human security, with more civilians and communities being affected either through loss of life and increased suffering, displacement, the loss of livelihoods and restrictions on movement. During April – August 2006, it is estimated that there are over 100,000 new internally displaced persons (IDPs) and over 11,000 who have fled as refugees to India. The escalation of violence also means no or little humanitarian aid reaches the people as well as increase in security threats and attacks faced by humanitarian and medical actors. Delay in issuing work permits and travel restrictions in both Government and LTTE controlled areas further compound the situation. People are left without food, fuel, essential items and medicines.

The Government is seriously considering of forming a commission to look into the cases of Human Rights violations. Retired Chief Justice of India P L Bhagwati has been requested to chair the team of International Observers though no formal announcement has yet been made.

Incidents in places like Muttur, Puttalam and Amparai that have high Muslim population have brought to the fore the "Muslim issue". So far the Sri Lankan National Question was between Sinhala and Tamil nationalism but now there is a third angle to the National Question. Muslims are targeted by both Government and LTTE. Initially, Muslims sympathised with LTTE but some incidences of atrocities on Muslims drove them away from LTTE.

Muslims say LTTE drove away Muslims from Mannar and entire North and killed Muslims at places like Kathankudi & Kalmumai because they wanted to bring down the number of Muslims. Muslims never asked for a separate State but we now insist that we be the third party in the peace process. It should not be only bilateral. We do not want to suffer, as minority under the rule of another minority should LTTE get a separate state.

Tamil politicians have appealed to Muslims to not allow themselves to be used by Sri Lankan Government.

It appears that some religious fundamentalist groups like Wahabi have reached some parts of Sri Lanka and growing influence of such groups on Muslim population is a sign of worry.

The increasing levels of violence have adversely affected women's security and rights. Increasing violence has led to increased militarization of society and thereby created an environment more conducive to violence against women. Women are subjected to violence by both security forces and LTTE. In one instance, one Tamil Mp had asked women NGO workers in East to stop working.

People of Sri Lanka have many expectations from Indian government and Indian civil society though all are unanimous in not supporting any measure like IPKF. Ours was the first peace mission sent by Indian civil society group, the fact welcomed and appreciated by every one. Everybody was more than eager to put forward their ideas and suggestions about what India & Indian civil society should do.

Indian peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was forced to withdraw in 1989 by Sri Lankan Government. In the 1989 election, SLFP and UNP wanted the IPKF to withdraw and got more than 95% vote. Indian Government appears to be reluctant to play more proactive role following the IPKF experience. At present, India is also not happy with the Sri Lankan Supreme Court ruling on de-merging North-East Province. Now, the popular belief is that main Peace negotiators Norway consult India at every point. Sri Lankan Government too consults India before taking any major decisions regarding peace process. The Sri Lankan government representative expressed that India will have to come in as an underwriter if settlement comes through.

There is a growing pressure on the Indian Government especially from Tamilnadu politicians. MDMK Chief M Vaiko is spearheading a movement in support of LTTE. He justifies the Eelam demand of Tamil Nationalism. Thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils have taken shelter as refugees in Rameshwaram.

There was a move by current Indian (UPA) government to sell weapons to Sri Lanka. But, it was stopped because of pressure of various groups supporting the Government. The weapons would have been used against people who are fighting against the Sri Lankan State.

It is alleged that Pakistan is not only supplying weapons but it is also providing training and also mining Sri Lankan Air Force. Israel too, it is believed, provides training and strategic inputs to Sri Lankan army.

Recommendations:

- The Peace Mission is happy to note that all concerned parties showed a willingness to find a long lasting and immediate solution to the problem. We strongly appeal to all the concerned parties to immediately resume the peace talks without any further delay.
- There is an urgent need to involve the Muslim community as well as women in all the negotiations.
- We strongly believe that there can only be a Political solution to the problem. Military solution is no solution.
- Federal structure with more autonomy to the States can be acceptable to both the parties as well as to the Sri Lankan citizens. Devolution of Sharing of power in the real sense where autonomy reaches such a level that independent state ceases to be an option can satisfy all concerned parties. It must be recognized that Panchayats alone cannot be solution to National Question. The Peace Mission urges all concerned parties to hasten up the process towards political solution.
- CFA should be followed in letter and spirit.
- Mission observes that Sri Lankans – Sinhalese, Tamil & Muslim alike expect Indians – Government and Civil Society – to play more pro-active role. Many feel that India can influence LTTE & Sri Lankan Government to come to the negotiating table and help in moving forward towards political solution.
- There is an urgent need to initiate People-to-people dialogue between Indians and Sri Lankans as citizens of India except Tamilnadu are not much familiar with the issue. Mobilizing public opinion in India as well as in Sri Lanka will be extremely crucial for any long-term solution.
- No South Asian Countries including India should sell weapons to the Sri Lanka.
- A 9 highway should be opened immediately as people in Jaffna peninsula are facing acute shortage of food and other essentials leading to a humanitarian crisis.
- All human rights violation cases should be investigated in a specified time frame.
- The mission appeals to both Sri Lanka Government and LTTE to not use civilians as shields and to not attack civilians under any circumstances.
- We support democratic and political rights of people to work for peace and condemn physical attacks on peace activists and organizations by chauvinist forces.

Time Line

- 1815 British control over the entire island of Ceylon
- 1948 Ceylon gains full independence from Britain
- 1949 Government disenfranchises Indian Tamil plantation workers
- 1956 Solomon Wes Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister; brings in the Official Language act, also known as the Sinhala Only Act.
- 1959 S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike assassinated by a Buddhist monk
- 1960 His wife, Sirimavo, becomes the world's first woman prime minister after winning the elections that year on a sympathy wave
- 1970 After losing an election in between to the United National Party (UNP), Sirimavo returns to power
- 1971 Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a radical leftist party of Sinhalese students, launches an armed uprising; India and Pakistan help Ceylon crush the revolt
- 1972 Sirimavo brings in a new constitution; Ceylon becomes Sri Lanka; Buddhism becomes the country's foremost religion; Tamil resentment grows.
- 1976 Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) formed in Jaffna, northern Sri Lanka
- 1977 UNP trounces Sirimavo in the elections; J R Jayewardene becomes prime minister; replaces Sirimavo's socialist policies with free market capitalism; TULF became main opposition party in parliament.
- 1978 J R Jayewardene becomes president; replaces the prime minister as head of government; introduces a new constitution that affirmed the Unitary nature of country; all MPs required to take oath for 'non separation' of Sri Lanka, TULF MPs leave parliament; opportunities for democratic dialogue close; Prevention of Terrorism act introduced.
- 1982 J R Jayewardene extends term of parliament, giving his government another six years
- 1983 Anti Tamil riots sweep through Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, following the killings of thirteen soldiers in an LTTE ambush in Jaffna; India begins covert training of Tamil militants.
- 1986 LTTE crushes rival militant groups in internecine wars
- 1987 Sri Lanka intensifies war against Tamil militancy; India steps in to sign the Indo Sri Lanka Accord to stop militancy and give Tamils limited political autonomy; India sends its army to disarm militants; LTTE refuses to disarm; begins fighting the Indian soldiers, known as the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).
- 1988 JVP, protesting against the presence of Indian soldiers in the north east, launches an armed insurrection in Southern Sri Lanka; UNP wins the parliamentary elections and another term in government; J R Jayewardene steps down as president after completing two terms in office; his prime minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, defeats Sirimavo in the presidential elections; government responds to JVP insurrection with military action; tens of thousands of Sinhalese go missing.
- 1989 LTTE makes overtures to the Sri Lankan government; peace talks commence between LTTE and the government; Sri Lanka asks IPKF to leave
- 1990 India withdraws soldiers; peace talks between the Sri Lankan government and LTTE collapse; war breaks out once again between LTTE and Sri Lanka.
- 1991 LTTE assassinates former Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, one of the architects of Indo Sri Lanka Accord.
- 1993 LTTE suicide bomber kills President Premadasa at May Day rally; Vice President

- Dingri Banda Wijetunga takes over as president.
- 1994 Chandrika Kumaratunga, leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and of the People's Alliance (PA) coalition, wins the parliamentary elections, becomes prime minister; begins peace process with LTTE; LTTE kills Gamini Dissanayake, the UNP candidate in the presidential elections, two days before the election; Kumaratunga wins the presidential elections; appoints her mother Sirimavo as prime minister.
- 1995 LTTE bombs two Sri Lankan navy ships in Trincomalee harbour to announce withdrawal from the ceasefire and peace talks; war breaks out once again; LTTE begins terror strikes in Colombo; Kumaratunga calls it 'war for peace' and announces proposals for a new constitution with a federal style arrangement for power sharing with Tamils; Sri Lankan military launches operation to wrest Jaffna peninsula from LTTE; LTTE withdraws from the peninsula and engineers an exodus of civilians from Jaffna, triggering a massive humanitarian crisis.
- 1996 LTTE bombs Sri Lanka Central Bank; Sri Lankan military establishes control over Jaffna peninsula; more than 600 Tamil civilians in the north disappear as the military tries to prevent LTTE infiltration into the peninsula.
- 1997 Government consolidates hold over Jaffna; LTTE hits back with terror in the capital; government responds by imposing restrictions on movement of Tamils.
- 1998 Sri Lanka celebrates fifty years of independence in the shadow of the LTTE bomb attack on the Temple of Tooth, a venerated Buddhist shrine in Kandy, central Sri Lanka; military launches operation Jaya Sekurui to secure highway to Jaffna peninsula through LTTE controlled northern Sri Lanka; LTTE launches counter attacks.
- 1999 Military calls off Operation Jaya Sekurui; LTTE suicide bomber attempts to kill President Kumaratunga at a public meeting days before the presidential elections, which she is contesting for the second term; blinded in one eye by the attack, Kumaratunga wins the elections but the results show a considerable erosion in support since 1994; discloses after victory that she has invited Norway to help facilitate peace talks with LTTE.
- 2000 Kumaratunga intensifies efforts to build consensus with all parties, especially the Opposition UNP, on her constitutional proposals; LTTE attacks and takes over Elephant Pass, the biggest army camp in the north and gateway to Jaffna peninsula; military manages to stave off the LTTE from the peninsula; Kumaratunga introduces a new constitution in parliament for mandatory approval by two- third majority despite opposition from Sinhalese nationalists; withdraws it to avoid defeat when Opposition UNP refuses to support it; in the parliamentary elections, the PA wins; LTTE leader Prabhakaran emerges to meet Norwegian special envoy Erik Solheim, signalling the start of the peace process.
- 2001 Government refuses to lift the ban on LTTE, a precondition set by the group for negotiations; government's position in parliament shaky after Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) pulls out from PA coalition; LTTE attacks Sri Lanka's only international airport; Sri Lankan economy nosedives; minority PA government enters into a survival pact with the JVP; Kumaratunga decides to call a fresh election; PA loses; Ranil Wickremesinghe becomes prime minister following UNP victory; begins a government of cohabitation with Kumaratunga; LTTE announces ceasefire; new government responds with its own.

- 2002 UNP government enters into a formal ceasefire agreement with the LTTE; Prabhakaran meets journalists at a press conference for the first time in a decade; peace talks begin between government and LTTE.
- 2003 Five rounds of Peace talks held, LTTE accepting 'internal self-rule / self-determination' in Oslo; LTTE providing document on Internal Self Governing Authority (ISGA); Government proposals not forthcoming; no consensus on resource management between government and LTTE.
- 2004 UNP defeated, Emergence of Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU) and JVP leading anti devolution campaigns; Internal conflict within LTTE; Emergence of Karuna faction; violence gradually building up, assassinations of political leaders in north and south, Tsunami in December, Post Tsunami Management Structure signed with LTTE (P-TOMS); supreme court case intervention to make it ineffective.
- 2005 LTTE boycotts presidential elections; Mahinda Rajapakse wins it, resumption of hostilities; bombings resumed by government and LTTE; disappearances and abductions of Tamils in north, east and Colombo increased; Muslim community under siege in Muttur; peace activists under attack by Sinhala chauvinist leaders; internal displacement of people; refugees to India.

(References: Subramanian Nirupama. Sri Lanka: Voices from a War Zone. Viking Penguin India 2005 & documents by International Movement Against all Forms of Discrimination and Racism)

Annex 1.

1. Hon. Ranil Wikramasinghe; Former Prime Minister, Opposition Leader and the Leader of United National Party
2. Hon. Mahinda Samarasinghe - Minister of Disaster Management and Human Rights
3. Hon. D. E. W. Gunasekera - Minister of Constitutional Affairs & National Integration
4. Hon. Muttu Sivalingam, Deputy Minister of Estate Infrastructure, Ceylon Workers Congress
5. Hon. Douglas Devananda - Minister of Social Services and Social Welfare
6. Hon Mano Ganesan, Member of Parliament and Member of the Civil Monitoring Committee
7. Mr J Sritunghe, Presidential Candidate and United Socialist Party
8. Hon N Raviraj, Hon R Sampanthan, Hon. G. G. Ponnambalam & Hon. Ms Pathmini Sithamparanathan, all Members of Parliament representing Tamil National Alliance
9. Dr Kumar Rupesinghe and the Board members of National Anti-War Front
10. Moulavi Karim, President, Majlis Al Shura, Muttur
11. Residence of Muttur
12. Com. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Trade Unionist, Former Member of Parliament & Left Leader
13. Mr M Hilmi Sulaiman & Mr S. A. Asker Khan; the Muslim Council of Sri Lanka
14. Dr Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu, Executive Director, Centre for Policy Alternatives
15. Dr Jehan Perera and the Members of National Peace Council of Sri Lanka
16. Dr. Vickramabahu Karunarathne, Leader of New Left Front
17. Com. Raja Collure, and the members of the Socialist Peoples' Front
18. Dr Jayadeva Uyangoda and Dr Sunil Bastian, Social Scientist Association
19. Mr Sarath Fernando, MONLAR
20. Ms Kumidhini Samuel and Members of Women Coalition
21. Ms Sunila Abeysekera
22. Ms Nimalka Fernando, President IMADR
23. Mr Mohammed Mahuruf, Coordinator, Sri Lanka Cordaid PROGRAMS