THIRTY YEARS OF FAILURE: SRI LANKA’S DOMESTIC ACCOUNTABILITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROCESSES

September 2022

A brief overview of Sri Lanka’s history of domestic accountability and human rights processes, from 1989 to the present day.
Introduction

Whenever the possibility of an international investigation of human rights violations is raised, representatives of the Sri Lankan government are quick to shoot it down. The representatives will reject such investigations as 'unconstitutional' or unacceptable to the people of Sri Lanka, and instead refer to their own domestic accountability processes. In reality, victim-survivor communities have consistently demanded an international probe into wartime atrocities and other violations, and many have long rejected the idea of a purely domestic accountability process. For decades, victims and their families have dealt with dozens of Commissions and investigative bodies, ostensibly established to provide justice and accountability for past violations, only to then watch those bodies totally fail to produce any tangible results. Successive Sri Lankan governments have manipulated these domestic bodies for their own ends and failed to heed most of the often-meagre recommendations they have offered, allowing the cycle of violence and abuse to continue. An excellent study by the International Commission of Jurists has shown that these failed mechanisms date back to at least 1977. Even today, there remains a lack of political will to change this pattern.

The government of Sri Lanka has also consistently rejected the idea of any hybrid court in the country, saying that such measures 'are against the Constitution'. However, for decades, Sri Lanka's domestic courts have failed to deliver real accountability for victims. A confidential source has examined 303 incidents of disappearances in Mannar, Jaffna, and Vavuniya in the Northern Province between 1990 and 2000, which represent only a fraction of the complaints registered with various domestic Commissions of Inquiry during this period. Of these cases, at least 67 identified either an individual perpetrator or a military camp where the alleged disappearance took place. In three incidents, the complainants specifically identified the perpetrator as belonging to a state-supported group. Of the 83 criminal cases filed in the courts, only the rape and murder of Krishanthy Kumaraswamy resulted in any convictions.

Our source also investigated 560 further incidents of disappearances in Jaffna, Vavuniya, and Mannar between 2001 and 2009. Of these, 110 incidents identified either a military camp or individual who they alleged was involved in an enforced disappearance; of these, only one reported incident has resulted in both a court case and a conviction. The convict in this case, Sunil Ratnayake, was released via Presidential pardon by Gotabaya Rajapaksa, having served only five years in prison for the murder of eight Tamil civilians, including three children. Sri Lanka's courts have not proved to be reliable routes for accountability for these victims.

---

1 https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/will-not-accept-external-mechanism-on-war-time-accountability-says-sri-lanka/article65853362.ece
2 https://mfa.gov.lk/ohchr-statement-sl-fam/
3 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jul/30/fall-of-sri-lankan-president-gotabaya-rajapaksa-raises-victims-hopes
5 https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/sri-lanka-cant-agree-international-accountability-mechanism-says-foreign-minister
Whilst the international community should encourage all accountability processes in Sri Lanka, they must not accept any domestic process as a substitute for an international mechanism. To do so would ignore the wishes of victim-survivor groups, Sri Lanka’s faltering legal system, the government’s long history of broken promises, and the decades-long failure of the domestic system. These domestic mechanisms – whether police investigations or commissions of inquiry – have time and again served only to delay justice for the victims for so long that both victims and perpetrators pass away before accountability has been achieved.
THIRTY YEARS OF FAILURE

RANASINGHE PREMADASA
3 FAILED COMMISSIONS
1989 - 1993

ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES

A Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal of Persons was formed in January 1991 to identify and locate disappeared persons, to recommend actions against those responsible for those disappearances, and take steps to prevent future disappearances.

The Commission submitted reports into at least 142 cases to President Wijetunga in March 1994. The reports were never made public.

KOKKADICHOLAI

A Commission was established in June 1991 to investigate the Kokkadicholai Massacre, where 67 Tamil civilians were killed by Sri Lankan soldiers near Batticaloa.

The Commission released their full report in March 1992, recommending that the army investigate the incident and impose military sanctions, but did not investigate the role of senior officers. The Commission cross-examined civilian witnesses, but did not cross-examine army personnel.

Whilst 1 commanding officer was dismissed for failing to control his troops, the other 19 soldiers under trial were all acquitted by military tribunal and re-deployed.

POLLONARUWA

In April 1992, a 3-member committee was appointed to look into the killings at Pollonaruwa, where conflict between Sri Lankan security forces, LTTE cadres, and Muslim home guards resulted in a massacre of Tamil and Muslim civilians.

Their report was submitted to the Ministry of Defence in May 1992, but was never released to the public.

CHANDRIKA KUMARATUNGA
6 FAILED COMMISSIONS
1994 - 2005

CONTEXT
As President, Kumaratunga negotiated a truce with the LTTE in 1995. This quickly collapsed, and the civil war resumed.

Kumaratunga's Presidency featured several commissions of inquiry into human rights violations which had occurred in Sri Lanka since the 1980s.

ACCOUNTABILITY
During Kumaratunga's lengthy Presidency, several commissions investigated enforced disappearances; 1 investigated ethnic violence in the early 1980s; and 2 investigated specific detention centres associated with abuse.

Whilst several of these published reports, few prosecutions were forthcoming, and most recommendations were not implemented.

ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES
Kumaratunga established several commissions to investigate enforced disappearances, which failed to deliver real accountability.

- The Commissions of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons (1994-97) included three different commissions, which dealt respectively with disappearances in South, Central, and Northeastern Sri Lanka, respectively. 19,079 cases were registered, and whilst proceedings were initiated in some of these cases, most remain unresolved.

- The 'All Island Commission' into Enforced Disappearances (1998-2000) investigated 13,000 cases which were not covered by the previous Commissions. Only 5 military personnel were convicted; Brigadier Parry Liyanage, the highest-ranking amongst the accused, was acquitted on appeal.

In 1996, a Board of Investigation into Disappearances in the North and East (1996-97) received more than 2,500 complaints of disappearances, but no one was ever charged and the findings were not made public.

ETHNIC VIOLENCE
Between 2001-02, a Presidential Truth Commission investigated ethnic violence against Tamils between 1981-84. Aside from paying a small amount in compensation, the government did not implement any of the report’s modest recommendations.

DETECTION CENTRES
A Commission of Inquiry (COI) into incidents of torture and disappearances at Batalanda Housing Scheme during the government’s suppression of the 1987-89 leftist JVP uprising, which eventually led to 5-year sentences for just 5 police officers.

A 2001 Commission investigated the massacre of Tamil youths at Bindunuwewa Rehabilitation Centre in 2000. It found that senior police officers had not prevented the attacks, whilst some junior officers participated in the violence.

Despite this, all accused officers were acquitted on appeal by 2005.

MAHINDA RAJAPAKSA
5 FAILED COMMISSIONS BEFORE 2009
2005 - 2008

CONTEXT
In the first part of Mahinda Rajapaksa's Presidency, the four-year truce between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government ended, and full scale war resumed.

In the Eastern Province, the LTTE, Sri Lankan army, and pro-government paramilitaries committed widespread atrocities.

ACCOUNTABILITY
5 major Commissions were appointed during the first part of Rajapaksa's Presidency. 3 of these investigated abductions and disappearances, one investigated the murder of MP Joseph Pararajasingham, and the remainder examined general human rights violations which had been committed during the 2000s.

COMMISSIONS ON THE DISAPPEARED
Formed in September 2006 and May 2007 under Mahanama Thilakaratne, these Commissions were tasked with investigating disappearances and killings, and identifying those involved.

The first Commission received 282 complaints, and completed inquiries into 94 of these. Its final report was submitted in March 2007, but the findings were never made public.

'UDALAGAMA' COMMISSION
Appointed November 2006, this Commission investigated human rights violations since August 2005, including high profile cases such as the killing of 17 aid workers in Mutur and the murder of five Trincomalee youths.

The Committee's report was submitted in June 2009. The report was not tabled in Parliament until 2015. The report made key recommendations regarding witness protection, which were only partially implemented.

'IIGEP'
The International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP), established February 2007, consisted of international experts with a limited mandate to observe investigations carried out by the 'Udalagama' Commission.

The IIGEP found that the 'Udalagama' Commission lacked independence, transparency, and effective witness/victim protection. In April 2008, the IIGEP decided to terminate its mission due to the government's uncooperative atmosphere.

MP JOSEPH PARARAJASINGHAM
In August 2006, a 2-member Commission was established to investigate the assassination of MP Joseph Pararajasingham. The findings of the Commission have not been made public, and in 2021, the Attorney-General withdrew charges against 5 men accused of the killing.

The Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) was formed in May 2010 to investigate the failure of the 2002 ceasefire and the measures that ought to be taken to promote reconciliation. Despite this restrictive mandate, the LLRC also investigated alleged abuses committed by the military and LTTE.

The LLRC was heavily criticised for its lack of independence, limited mandate, and failure to protect witnesses. The LLRC’s 2011 report minimised the military’s responsibility for civilian causalities. It did call on the authorities to ensure allegations of enforced disappearances were promptly addressed and perpetrators brought to justice, which has not happened.

In November 2012, a mass grave was found in Matale District, allegedly containing remains of those killed during the 1987-89 JVP uprising. In June 2013, a Commission was established to investigate the gravesite.

The Presidential Commission sent remains to a US laboratory, and concluded they dated from the 1950s; however, forensic medical officer Dr. Ajith Jayasena questioned the Commission’s chain of custody, and the skeletal evidence they sent to the laboratory. In 2015, the judicial inquiry was suspended.

In August 2013, a Commission under Justice Maxwell Paranagama was established to investigate complaints of missing persons. The Commission received 24,000 complaints, but was mired in allegations of witness intimidation and evidence tampering, as war survivors began to boycott sittings.

In August 2014, the Commission was granted a second mandate to investigate alleged war crimes. A report was released in September 2015, which attempted to shift responsibility for any violations away from the government and on to a few ‘bad apples’. The report’s findings was flatly rejected by international experts.
MAITHRIPALA SIRISENA
3 FAILED COMMISSIONS AND OFFICES
2015 - 2019

OFFICE OF MISSING PERSONS

The Office of Missing Persons (OMP) was established in 2017 to trace those disappeared in Sri Lanka. As of September 2022, it had received **14,988 complaints**, according to the Minister of Judicial Prison Affairs.

The OMP's **mandate is limited** to finding the whereabouts of the disappeared, and includes **no accountability mechanism**. Even within this context, the OMP has **done very little** for families of the disappeared. During Sirisena’s presidency, it **never began tracing** missing persons, and the OMP has **not helped a single family** learn the fate of their loved ones.

The OMP continues to operate, but **has not produced** any truth or justice for victims.

OFFICE FOR REPARATIONS

In October 2018, the Office for Reparations (OFR) was established to provide individual and collective reparations to the aggrieved.

The OFR was given **no decision-making power**, with all OFR policies requiring both ministerial and parliamentary approval. The OFR, OMP, and Sri Lankan government have attempted to offer **meagre reparations** in lieu of truth or justice, which has been **repeatedly rejected** by most families of the disappeared.

After Sirisena left office, President Gotabaya Rajapaksa appointed his **political ally** Major-General Palitha Fernando to the OFR, further undermining its independence and credibility.

EASTER BOMBINGS

In September 2019, shortly before he left office, President Sirisena formed a Commission to investigate the **Easter Sunday terrorist attacks** of April 2019. Whilst the Commission’s final report was handed over to President Gotabaya Rajapaksa in February 2021, it **still not been released** to the public and **only a single volume** has been submitted to Parliament.

Sources: International Committee of the Red Cross; Daily News Lanka; The Morning; Amnesty; CPA; I TJP; Al Jazeera; Sri Lanka Campaign.