

FEBRUARY 2021
SRI LANKA: BRIEFING NOTE 6

SUMMARY INDEX OF EMBLEMATIC CASES

END OF WAR VIOLATIONS¹

The Killing of Col Ramesh

The OHCHR Investigation into Sri Lanka, OISL, reported on the case of Colonel Ramesh, also known as Thambirasa Thurairajasingham. It found there was a reliable body of information to establish reasonable grounds to believe that he was alive and in the custody of security forces, as witnesses saw him on 18 May 2009 in their custody; the UN says he was extrajudicially executed sometime between 18 and 22 May 2009. The Sri Lankan Paranagama Report (§462) also noted that the evidence suggested summary execution and recommended that the Government establish a judicial investigation to investigate the execution. No further investigation was conducted despite the availability for the last decade of video evidence of Colonel Ramesh alive in Army custody and then of his corpse.²

The Killing of 12-year-old Balachandran Prabhakaran

The UN OISL report also found in this case there were reasonable grounds to believe that the LTTE leader's 12-year-old son, Balachandran Prabhakaran, was in the custody of the security forces and summarily executed by them. The domestic Paranagama report agreed that, if proven, this would be a clear breach of the laws of war. No investigation has been conducted, despite the availability of photographs showing the child alive and then later dead in Army custody,³ and also of 5 of his bodyguards, lying on the ground with their hands bound, and with gunshot wounds to their heads.

The Killing of Isaipriya (Shobana Dharmarajah)

The UN OISL report found there were reasonable grounds to believe that the Sri Lankan security forces had the Tamil TV presenter and singer Isaipriya alive in their custody and then later killed her with gunshots to the head, execution-style. Based on the images of her corpse and those of many other women, the UN believed that Isaipriya's dead body was desecrated. The official website of the Sri Lankan Army also reported that Isaipriya was killed by the 53 Division, which was under the command of Kamal Gunaratne – now the country's Secretary of Defence.⁴ In 2019, the ITJP published a dossier on Kamal Gunaratne, which identified a special forces officer visible in the video of Isaipriya's surrender to the Sri Lankan armed forces; this man should be investigated and questioned as to what happened to Isaipriya after he accepted her surrender. No investigation has been conducted despite the video of Isaipriya surrendering to the Army, and the many photographs of her corpse.

The Killing of Balasingham Nadesan, Vineetha Nadesan and Seevaratnam Puleedevan ('White Flag' incident)

The UN OISL report concluded there were reasonable grounds

to believe that LTTE senior political wing leaders, Balasingham Nadesan and Seevaratnam Puleedevan and Nadesan's wife Vineetha Nadesan, who surrendered unarmed into the custody of the Sri Lankan Army, may have been executed by the security forces sometime after 06:00 on 18 May 2009. Unable to refute the overwhelming testimony of so many victims about the disappearances of loved ones who had surrendered to the Sri Lankan security forces and who have not been seen since, the Paranagama Commission was compelled to include in its report to Parliament that "there are credible allegations, which if proved to the required standard, may show that some members of the armed forces committed acts during the final phase of the war that amounted to war crimes giving rise to individual criminal responsibility and included incidents as: The allegations of 'white flag killings' which led to the deaths of Balasingham Nadesan, the head of the political wing of the LTTE, and Seevaratnam Puleedevan, the LTTE's head of the peace secretariat and others who surrendered, having allegedly been given assurances at a high level."⁵ The Commission recommended that these alleged illegal killings, together with other such killings of those who surrendered, those who were hors de combat and who allegedly died in the custody of the Army, must be the subject of an independent judge-led investigation. However, no investigation has been conducted, despite multiple eyewitnesses to the surrender and the publication of photographs of their corpses. Witnesses say current Army Commander, General Shavendra Silva, accepted the surrenders in person near the Wadduvakkal Bridge, something he has never categorically denied.

Enforced Disappearance of the Father Francis Group (see Disappearance Briefing Note)

In the last days of the civil war in Sri Lanka, several hundred Tamils connected to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), its civil administration and family members, including young children, surrendered into the custody of the Sri Lankan Army only to have been disappeared without trace. Among these were individuals who surrendered in batches but were then organised by an elderly Catholic priest, Father Francis Joseph, into a large group for their own protection. The priest collected a list of the names of the surrendeers and accompanied them to ensure their safety as they were loaded onto buses by the military. All of them disappeared, including the priest. OISL (§441) said, "The Government is not known to have conducted any credible, thorough and independent investigation into these cases to clarify the fate and whereabouts of those taken away". The domestic Paranagama report (§47) said the cases of all those who were hors de combat and allegedly perished while in the custody of the Army, including the 18 May 2009 surrendeers, must be the subject of a judge-led investigation. No investigation has taken place since the incidents in 2009, or the findings of the OISL inquiry and the Paranagama Commission in 2015.

Twenty Four Habeus Corpus Petitions

24 habeus corpus petitions were filed by human rights lawyers in the magistrate's courts of Mullaitivu and Mannar and the High Court of Vavuniya in Sri Lanka on behalf of families seeking information about their loved ones who disappeared after

surrendering to the Sri Lankan Army at the end of the war.⁶ As of January 2021, six cases were dismissed and are being appealed. The remaining cases before the courts are pending. This is in addition to three other habeus corpus cases.⁷ Family members who filed habeus corpus applications also faced considerable threats to their lives and intimidation.

In 2016, the court ordered the 58 Division to submit a list of those who surrendered which they did not.⁸ The General Officer Commanding of the 58 Division of the Sri Lanka Army, Major General Kavinda Chanakya Gunawardena (VIR), who had confirmed the existence of the list⁹ then later failed to appear in court on 21 May 2016.

ABDUCTIONS, TORTURE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Note: there have been hundreds of cases of abduction, torture and sexual violence in Sri Lanka during and after the war and this only represents a tiny sample.

Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO) White Van Abductions, 2006

On 29 and 30 January 2006, in total seven humanitarian workers from a legally registered charity close to the LTTE¹⁰ disappeared after being abducted in a white van they had seen following them and which then parked behind them at the Welikanda military checkpoint while travelling through a Government-controlled area of eastern Sri Lanka. The Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation, which was allowed at the time to operate freely by the Government, said that pro-Government Tamil paramilitaries from the Karuna group abducted, tortured and killed the 6 men and 1 woman¹¹ who were accountants and pre-school workers. The 25-year-old woman was also gang raped, allegedly by 14 men, before being hacked to death.¹² A media story later also alleged Pillayan of the Karuna forces ordered the attack that was carried out by Sinthujan alias Pratheepan, though a counter narrative was also circulated to say that the LTTE were responsible.¹³ The bodies were not found¹⁴ but some of those abducted were released after a day and are eyewitnesses to the initial period. They reported masked men with weapons entering their vehicle and blindfolding, gagging and tying up the aid workers who were first taken to a sand-bagged bunker and then to a concrete building where they were photographed. There was a picture of 'Karuna' and his organisation's name was written in chalk on the wall of the room in which the abductees were held.

The attack was the culmination of a series of threats and attacks on aid workers in general and TRO specifically. By the end of January 2006, so many aid workers had been killed in Sri Lanka that UN Under Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, John Holmes, observed that Sri Lanka was among the most dangerous places on earth for humanitarian workers.¹⁵ Although President Mahinda Rajapaksa set up a commission to investigate the ACF killings (see below), there was no such investigation into this incident. Instead, the President ordered the security forces to investigate it.¹⁶ It is not clear what resulted from that military investigation. Amnesty said that TRO filed police reports and some of the relatives of those missing attempted to file police reports. The Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka also interviewed the survivors.¹⁷

Sivasubramaniam Raveendranath, Abducted 2006

Professor Sivasubramaniam Raveendranath (56), an agricultural scientist and the Vice Chancellor of the Eastern University, was abducted¹⁸ in broad daylight on 15 December 2006 inside a

high security zone in an affluent neighbourhood in Colombo. He went missing¹⁹ while he was attending a conference at the Head Office of the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science (SLAAS). "It seems likely that his captors are an armed group operating with the tacit support of the security forces," said Amnesty International²⁰ in a statement on 20 December. Four days after his disappearance, a global appeal was launched signed by 67 academics²¹ while his family appealed to the UN in a letter written to UNSG Ban Ki Moon.²² Two weeks after, the Sri Lankan Sunday Times reported that while declining to comment on the ongoing investigation the Senior Superintendent of Police in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department, Sisira Mendis, had said that several statements had been recorded.²³ Nothing further was heard about the investigation. Professor Raveendranath's disappearance was linked to the abduction of Dr Bala Sugumar, who was snatched away on 20 September 2006 in Batticaloa by an armed group. Dr Bala Sugumar was the Dean of Eastern University's Arts Faculty. The abduction of Dr Sugumar was widely believed to be carried out by the State-backed paramilitary Karuna Group.²⁴ ²⁵ The abductors demanded the immediate resignation of Professor Raveendranath as a pre-condition to release Dr Sugumar.²⁶ Accordingly, Professor Raveendranath left Batticaloa with his family, and tendered his resignation on 2 October 2006.²⁷ Within few days, the abductors of Dr Sugumar set him free. Six months after the abduction, in June 2007, Raveendranath's family expressed their fears that he may have been murdered.²⁸

Roy Samathanam and 10 Anonymous Plaintiffs, Tortured 2007

In September 2007 Roy Samathanam, a Canadian national, was arrested on false charges in the Sri Lankan capital Colombo by Sri Lankan police reporting directly to Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa. Visiting Sri Lanka to marry his wife, Mr Samathanam was detained for three years and repeatedly denied access to a lawyer or a judge. Under Mr Rajapaksa's command, guards tortured Mr Samathanam, threatened to rape and kill his wife and child, and made him watch the electrocution of other prisoners. He was forced to sign a false confession before being released in August 2010 on a plea deal. The International Truth and Justice Project (ITJP), in partnership with the international law firm Hausfeld, filed a civil damages case in California against Gotabaya Rajapaksa on behalf of Roy Samathanam in the US District Court for the Central District of California. The case was brought under the Torture Victim Protection Act, which gives torture victims legal redress in US courts.²⁹ Ten more plaintiffs joined the case in June 2019. Once Mr. Rajapaksa became President the case was tactically withdrawn because he acquired head of state immunity.

Jeyaprakash Tissainayagam, Vettivel Jasikaran and Vadivel Valarmathy, Detained and Tortured 2008 on (See Journalist Section Below).

The 'Trinco 11' Abductions, 2008-9

This case involves the abduction for ransom and the enforced disappearance of 11 men (one was a child) in 2008 and 2009 by naval intelligence, and their detention in high security Navy bases in Colombo and Trincomalee. The lead investigating officer in the case has fled the country, as have several witnesses, fearing for their lives. The Office on Missing Persons list omitted these victims. All those charged in the case were released on bail and some have even been promoted.³⁰ As an example of the blatant disregard for rule of law, at least four summons were issued for the accused, former Navy Commander, Admiral of the Fleet, Wasantha Karannagoda, but he did not respond.³¹ During this

period Karannagoda was photographed at a sports event sitting next to the Secretary of Defence³² and at Independence Day events.³³ His lawyers argued the case was sensitive in terms of security,³⁴ politically motivated, and that their client's right to a fair trial had been violated. They filed a petition to the Court of Appeal to quash all charges; in June 2020 the Court stayed proceedings until the petition could be heard.³⁵ The bench included Justice A H M D Nawaz, who had just been promoted by the President, and one other judge.³⁶ Meanwhile a lawyer for the families of the disappeared received threats.³⁷ For more, see the ITJP's Navy Report.³⁸

Vishwamadu Rape Case, 2010

Despite hundreds of rape cases allegedly perpetrated by soldiers during and after the war, this is the only case in which soldiers were convicted of the rape of a living Tamil victim. In 2015, four Sri Lankan soldiers from the 572 Brigade were convicted of gang raping a Tamil woman from Vishwamadu in 2010 and sentenced to 25 years in prison.³⁹ Judge M Elancheliyan described the crime as "unbearable and unforgivable" since the victim's dignity was damaged by them. Women's groups praised the victim's bravery in withstanding physical harm, intimidation, insults and harassment while seeking justice. In October 2019, the soldiers were acquitted on appeal.

Vithiya Rape Case, 2015

18-year-old schoolgirl Sivaloganathan Vithiya was raped and killed on 13 May 2015 in Punkuduthivu, off Kayts Island in the Jaffna peninsula. The case was investigated by police officer Nishantha de Silva, who has now fled the country. A trial at bar began in June 2017 of 9 suspects. In September 2017, seven of the accused were sentenced to death for Vithiya's abduction, rape and murder.⁴⁰ In December 2019, they lodged an appeal.⁴¹ One of the most startling revelations of the case was that a Swiss mafia outfit had entered into an agreement with one of the accused, Swiss Kumar, to create a sex tape involving an Asian girl. Swiss Kumar, as he is known, tried at one point to escape custody and flee to Switzerland, allegedly with the help of a senior police official and minister.

Mannar Rape Case, 2001

In March 2001 two Tamil women, Sivamani Sinnathamby and Vijikala Nanadakumar, were arrested in Mannar by naval officers and raped and tortured in custody. They brought a case that was initially heard in a court in the Tamil-majority Mannar town, but then transferred to Sinhala-majority Anuradhapura district, ostensibly for the safety of the accused. The victims were reportedly humiliated during court proceedings and faced repeated death threats. In 2006 the Attorney General's department decided to drop the rape charge and reduce it to a torture charge. In 2008 proceedings stopped after one of the women went missing. The other woman was then forced to flee abroad with her family.

JOURNALISTS

Note: at least 44 journalists and media workers were killed in the course of the war, and this represents only a few of them.

Prageeth Eknaligoda, Abducted 2010⁴²

The disappearance of Sinhalese cartoonist Prageeth Eknaligoda remains one of the emblematic cases in Sri Lanka. He disappeared after leaving his office on 24 January 2010, two days before the presidential election in Sri Lanka. Eknaligoda's wife Sandaya said in a statement that she believed her husband "was abducted

on the orders of the government because he criticised the government". She filed a habeas corpus application. In November 2019, Sri Lanka's Attorney General charged nine military intelligence officers with involvement in the disappearance but then released them on bail. The trial began in December 2019 with the nine accused pleading not guilty. Prageeth's wife Sandaya says witnesses in the case have been intimidated by military intelligence officers. A warrant was issued for the arrest of ex LTTE cadre Sumathipala Suresh Kumar, alias Ravindran in the case, who was said to be in custody in Paris. In December 2020, Sandaya Eknaligoda wrote to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights protesting against the appointment of Upali Abeyrathne (former Chairperson of the Presidential Commission on Political Victimisation) to head the Office on Missing Persons, calling it, "a direct insult and an act of violence against families who have endured so much".⁴³

In 2011, the Sri Lanka delegation to the Committee Against Torture was headed by Mohan Peiris (now Sri Lankan Permanent Representative at the UN in New York). Mohan Peiris claimed that "according to reliable information Eknaligoda had taken refuge in a foreign country and the campaign against his disappearance was a hoax."⁴⁴ In its 2013 publication 'Sri Lanka's Assault on Dissent', Amnesty International described how Peiris was called to testify regarding his statement in the magistrate's court in 2012 but appealed the summons in vain. When he did appear, he reportedly told the court: "I don't know if he is alive or dead, only god would know if the information that I received about him is true. I don't think even the government knows where he lives," and said he did not remember where he heard that Prageeth had gone into exile".⁴⁵

Isaipriya (Shobana Dharmarajah), Killed 2009

See above.

Lasantha Wickrematunge, Killed 2009

Sinhalese newspaper editor, Lasantha Wickrematunge, was assassinated in Colombo on 8 January 2009. The initial police investigation into the killing made little headway. In court documents, the journalist's family alleged evidence was tampered with, a falsified autopsy was submitted, and the investigators changed. A suspect was deployed abroad as a diplomat, with other suspects released from custody before a line up could be conducted, and suspects promoted by the military and investigations stalled. The investigation picked up after the Government changed in 2015, but then stalled again as the investigating police officer was transferred and, after the change of Government, fled the country fearing for his life while his superior officer has been jailed, denied bail and reportedly contracted COVID in detention.⁴⁶ The case has now been postponed till 4 June 2021.⁴⁷ Lasantha was widely believed to have been targeted for his role in investigating alleged corruption in an arms deal – a parallel case into that deal has stalled and a Presidential Commission deemed the suspect, the President's cousin, was only named because of a desire politically to victimise him.⁴⁸

Jeyaprakash Tissainayagam, Vettivel Jasikaran and Vadivel Valarmathy, Detained and Tortured 2008 on

On 6 March 2008, officers from the Terrorism Investigation Division (TID) arrested Vettivel Jasikaran, the owner and manager of the E-Kwality Graphics and Outreach Multimedia Private Ltd, and his partner Vadivel Valarmathy in Colombo.⁴⁹ Before launching his own website named outreachsl.com and publishing English language journal 'North Eastern Monthly',

Jasekaran worked as a journalist attached to Tamil newspaper 'Thinakathir' and the Tamilnet website.⁵⁰

On the following day, after hearing the news of Jasikaran and his partner Vadivel Valarmathy's arrest, the editor of the magazine and website J S Tissainayagam visited the TID office with fellow Sinhala journalist Kithsiri Wijesinghe. Both were taken into TID custody.⁵¹ Within the next two days more media workers attached to Jasikaran's media company were arrested by the TID. On 7 March TID officers who had come looking for senior Tamil journalist S Sivakumar, a former employee at Jasikaran's media company, arrested his cousin and told Sivakumar to surrender himself in return for releasing his cousin.⁵²

On the same day Mr. Udayanan, a video editor who worked at Outreach Multimedia, was also arrested. On 8 March, journalist Sivakumar presented himself to the TID to secure safe release of his cousin. The company's videographer A G Gayan Lasantha Ranga was also taken into TID custody that day.⁵³

Within the next two weeks, the TID released S Sivakumar,⁵⁴ Kithsiri Wijesinghe, Udayanan and A G Gayan Lasantha Ranga⁵⁵ while obtaining a detention order for 90 days from Secretary of Defence Gotabaya Rajapaksa to prolong the period of detention of the editor Tissainayagam, the owner Jasikaran and his partner Vadivel Valarmathy.⁵⁶ All three were held under Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and their lawyers were denied permission to visit them.⁵⁷

However, two weeks later Tissainayagam's lawyers filed a fundamental rights petition⁵⁸ at the Supreme Court on his behalf, and in June 2008 similar petitions were filed by lawyers representing Jasikaran and his partner Vadivel Valarmathy's interest.⁵⁹ The official website of the Ministry of Defence alleged that Jasikaran had been running a terrorist spy ring and carrying out propaganda for the LTTE in Colombo.⁶⁰ Vadivel Valarmathy was accused of being his 'finance handler'.⁶¹ But it took 100 days for the authorities to bring formal charges against them; meanwhile both were subjected to severe torture at the hands of TID,⁶² during which time they were forced to confess⁶³ that they were working for the LTTE.

Tissainayagam was also accused of obtaining money from the LTTE to run the outreachsl.com website, despite the fact that grants for the website were provided by a foundation backing local initiatives in conflict transformation, which in turn was funded by German development agency, GTZ.⁶⁴

In August 2008, Tissainayagam was charged⁶⁵ under the PTA with writing material intended to incite disharmony among ethnic communities and bring discredit on the Government, with printing and publishing such material and obtaining money to do this from NGOs. The court legitimised torture by ruling that Tissainayagam's confession was "voluntary, admissible as evidence in his trial."⁶⁶ After one year, in August 2009, Colombo High Court ruled that Tissainayagam was guilty of "causing communal disharmony"⁶⁷ by writing two articles; he was sentenced to 20 years of rigorous imprisonment.

However, two months later in October 2009, both Jasikaran and Valarmathy, who had been the first to get arrested by the TID, were released⁶⁸ having been held in detention for 19⁶⁹ months. This ruling was made after the then Attorney General Mohan Peiris (currently serving as Sri Lanka's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York) informed

Colombo High Court that the charges against both of them "will be withdrawn provided the accused withdraw their Fundamental Rights (FR) petitions filed in the Supreme Court against police Terrorist Investigation Division (TID)."⁷⁰

In January 2010, after spending over 600 days in prison, the Government of Sri Lanka informed the court that it had no objection if bail was given to Tissainayagam. Accordingly, on 11 January, Tissainayagam was granted bail pending appeal by the Appeal Courts.⁷¹ Four months later, and solely due to rising international pressure, the Government announced that Tissainayagam would be granted a presidential pardon.⁷²

Following their release, J S Tissainayagam,⁷³ V Jasikaran, V Valarmathy and Kithsiri Wijesinghe, all of whom experienced cruel and profoundly traumatising treatment at the hands of TID,⁷⁴ decided to flee the country, fearing reprisals. All four are currently living in exile.

Subramaniam Sugirtharajan, Killed 2006

Sugirtharajan worked as a provincial reporter for Tamil daily 'Sudar Oli'. When 5 unarmed Tamil youth were shot in Trincomalee (See below, Trinco 5), the authorities said they were all armed members of the LTTE and they died when the grenades they were carrying accidentally exploded. Sugirtharajan visited the hospital on 3 January and took photographs of the dead bodies in the mortuary. The photos, which showed clear evidence of gunshot injuries, were published on the following day by 'Sudar Oli'. Two weeks later, on 24 January, while waiting at a bus stop, Sugirtharajan was shot by 'unidentified assassins.' No investigation was carried out and no perpetrator was held accountable for the crime.

Dharmaratnam Sivaram aka Taraki, Killed 2005

Tamil journalist D Sivaram was founding editor of the Tamilnet website and a columnist. On the night of 28 April 2005, Sivaram was abducted on a busy street in Colombo. A day later, his body with gunshot wounds was found dumped in a high security area near Sri Lanka's Parliament. The initial investigation into his murder was carried out by the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and Colombo Crime Division (CCD), and the latter functioned under Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP) Sarath Lugoda.⁷⁵ On 13 June 2005, Arumugam Sriskandarajah, alias Peter, a former military wing leader of the Peoples' Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) was taken into police custody along with another suspect.⁷⁶ The media reports revealed that arrests were made after locating Sivaram's mobile phone SIM card in the possession of the first suspect and a vehicle belonging to the PLOTE leader D. Siddarthan had also been taken into police custody.⁷⁷ However, in the immediate aftermath of the so called breakthrough, the media revealed that investigators had received orders from a senior police officer to halt investigations after the evidence had led them towards the leader of a "paramilitary group and a political party affiliated to the government."⁷⁸ A year later the media rights group Reporters Without Borders (RSF) complained that "the investigators have done virtually nothing".⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ However, one year later, in May 2007, the Colombo High Court issued arrest warrants for three witnesses for failing to appear in court; they were listed by the Attorney General's department as State witnesses.⁸¹ In May 2008, when the case was taken up, the Senior State Counsel again pleaded to put off the trial, because one of the key witnesses, out of the 31 listed by the prosecution, had gone abroad.⁸² In December 2008, when the case was taken up before Colombo High Court, the judge decided to postpone

the case again for 6 months, fixing the inquiry for June 2009 before a Sinhala speaking Jury, following a request made by the main suspect.⁸³ However, no significant progress was reported during the next two years, as the legal proceedings seemed to have reached an impasse for unexplained reasons. In March 2011, the media reported that the Sivaram murder investigation had been restarted and that the case would be heard before a Sinhala jury⁸⁴ while reporting that the main suspect, Arumugam Sriskandarajah, alias Peter, had been released on bail.⁸⁵ However, when the case was taken up one year later, in January 2012, the High Court decided to postpone it again, because the State Counsel said that the hearing could not proceed as six witnesses, including two policemen, had failed to appear in court. Moreover, the earlier decision to have a Sinhala jury was revoked by the judge, who ordered the jury be disbanded.⁸⁶ Since 2012, there have been no reports on the legal proceedings.

Nimalarajan Mylvaganam, Killed 2000

Nimalarajan Mylvaganam, the BBC Sinhala service's reporter in Jaffna, was assassinated on 19 October 2000. He was killed at home, listening to BBC radio, in a house situated between three military checkpoints, during curfew. His family members were also injured in the attack and then had no choice but to leave the country, never to return. The assailants were not stopped as they shot and exploded hand grenades in a residential area, while by contrast it took the family an hour to move the body and the injured to the nearby hospital under tight security, waving a lantern to cross multiple military checkpoints that had failed to impede the assailants.⁸⁷ The paramilitary group, the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP), is alleged to have carried out the killing. EPDP's name frequently comes up in connection with bribes paid to security forces for the release of Tamils who are abducted and tortured – most recently in 2020. The group is also named by the UN Investigation for its role in extrajudicial killings,⁸⁸ abduction,⁸⁹ child recruitment⁹⁰ and taking bribes from Tamils for release from detention.⁹¹ In 2006, Reporters Without Borders (RSF) said "the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) never managed to interview one of the suspects, Sebastianpillai Ramesh, better known as 'Napoleon'. Police never seriously made use of the physical evidence, including cartridge cases and fingerprints".⁹² By 2016, however, the media said the Jaffna High Court had issued an international warrant for the arrest of 'Napoleon' in connection with a December 2016 conviction for another political murder.⁹³

ASSASSINATED POLITICIANS

Note: a much larger number of politicians were assassinated in Sri Lanka in the course of the war and this is only a sample that includes cases considered emblematic by the UN and other very similar cases.

Chandra Nehru Ariyanayagam, Killed 2005

The vehicle of former merchant seaman and Tamil National Alliance Member of Parliament was attacked in a Government-controlled area of eastern Sri Lanka - Pilayaradi in Welikanda in Batticaloa District - on 7 February 2005. Captain Nehru's vehicle was stopped and his bodyguards didn't resist because those who stopped them were in Army uniforms. The driver was shot dead and one of Nehru's bodyguards injured. Nehru had in his car E Kousalyan, the LTTE's political head for Batticaloa-Ampara District, and three other LTTE members, who were also shot dead.⁹⁴ Nehru initially survived the attack and was in hospital in Welikanda where he provided the police with a statement about the identity of the attackers he recognised.

However, orders came from an unknown source in Colombo that the MP must be transferred to the capital. Given the poor state of the road at the time, this was an unusual order especially considering that the MP had just had major surgery. Nehru bled to death during the long journey to Colombo, dying on 8 February.

One of the two attackers was alleged to be Iniyabharathi, a former LTTE cadre turned pro-Government paramilitary in the east, and at the time working under Karuna. The family says Iniyabharathi had previously threatened to kill the MP and after the incident threatened to kill his son in the same way he had killed the father.⁹⁵

There was no official report into the cause of death and no police investigation, even though he had identified the shooters in a statement to the police in hospital. Chandra Nehru's son returned to Sri Lanka for the funeral and suffered a fractured spine in a serious car accident while leaving the event believed to be caused by alleged tampering with the wheel nuts of the vehicle. Even when Chandra Nehru's son went on to become an MP himself he never managed to obtain a copy of the statement his father had made to police identifying the assailants; the police said they had lost the record.

The Tamil National Force (TMVP) reportedly claimed responsibility for the attack. Military spokesman Brigadier Daya Ratnayake who was based at Welikanda and is alleged to have worked closely with Tamil paramilitaries from the Karuna faction [now Chairman of Sri Lanka Ports Authority] but denied any involvement.⁹⁶

Nadarajah Raviraj, Killed 2006

Tamil National Alliance Member of Parliament and human rights lawyer Nadarajah Raviraj was shot dead on 10 November 2006, along with his security officer, while travelling along a main road in Colombo; the gunman escaped on a motorcycle. The Inter Parliamentary Union said, "the complainants refer to information that shows that the circumstances of the murder point to State responsibility and that the immediate purpose of Mr. Raviraj's killing was to silence the Civil Monitoring Committee, which he had set up, and whose reports on abductions, killings and extortions had created significant commotion".⁹⁷ On 24 December 2016, an all-Sinhala jury unanimously acquitted all five defendants. An appeal was filed and was due to be heard in April 2019.⁹⁸ Three sailors had been arrested in March 2015.⁹⁹ Reports alleged the murder weapon, a pistol, was given by a military intelligence colonel, Shammi Karunaratne,¹⁰⁰ the Commander of Giritale Army Camp,¹⁰¹ to Tamil paramilitary leader Pillayan, who allegedly gave it to his cadres, Charan and Senevei. A former Sri Lankan policeman¹⁰³ Fabian Royston Toussaint¹⁰⁴ was named as a suspect although he had fled to Australia. Shivakanthan Vivekanandan – alias Charan – was said to be in Switzerland.¹⁰⁵

Joseph Pararajasingham, Killed 2005

Joseph Pararajasingham, a member of the Tamil National Alliance, was shot dead on 24 December 2005 during the Christmas Eve mass at St Mary's Cathedral in Batticaloa, which was located in a high-security zone between two military checkpoints; the murder took place at a time when additional security forces were on duty. Sivanesathurai Chandrakanthan alias 'Pillayan' was accused of the murder of Joseph Pararajasingham.¹⁰⁶ OHCHR had said there were "reasonable grounds to believe that the Karuna Group (of which Chandrakanthan was a member) killed Joseph

Pararajasingham, and that it was aided and abetted by security and Army personnel." Pillayan was allowed to stand for election in 2020 and became a Batticaloa district MP. He was allowed to attend parliament after the elections in August 2020. He and four other suspects were then granted bail on 24 November 2020¹⁰⁷ and in 2021 they were acquitted.¹⁰⁸

Thiyagarajah Maheswaran, Killed 2008

Maheswaran,¹⁰⁹ a Tamil opposition Member of Parliament (MP) of the United National Party, was shot dead on 1 January 2008 while attending a religious ceremony with his family at a Hindu temple in Colombo. Before being killed, he stated that he would reveal, in Parliament, EPDP and Government collusion in relation to killings in Jaffna. His security measures and the number of bodyguards assigned to him had been reduced considerably shortly before his death. His widow, Vijayakala Maheshwaran, became an MP and minister in the Coalition Government. On 27 August 2012, a former LTTE cadre Collin Valentino, who was working undercover in EPDP, was sentenced to death for the murder of Mr Maheswaran by the High Court of Colombo. Valentino is appealing against his conviction and sentence on the basis that he was convicted on a false confession extracted under torture and intended to protect the real assassin. An eyewitness in the case known to the ITJP says he and his family were repeatedly threatened.¹¹⁰

Kiddinan Sivanesan, Killed 2008

K. Sivanesan (51), a Tamil parliamentarian of the Tamil National Alliance who represented Jaffna district, was killed on 6 March 2008 while he was returning from a parliamentary session.¹¹¹ A roadside bomb went off, killing Sivanesan and his driver Maheswararajah about 30 minutes after they crossed into the LTTE controlled areas through the last military check point at Omanthai¹¹² Media reports said that the attackers had detonated four Claymore mines in a row.¹¹³ His party, TNA, blamed Government security forces for carrying out the attack,¹¹⁴ while the LTTE said the bomb was planted by the Deep Penetration Unit of Sri Lanka's army special forces.¹¹⁵ The Army denied allegations saying, "there are no deep penetration units operating in that area."¹¹⁶ The perpetrators of the crime remain at large as no investigation was carried out into the assassination.

WAR TIME MASSACRES

Note: these cases are chosen because the UN considered them to be emblematic.

Mirusuvil, 2000

In June 2015, the Colombo High Court sentenced Sergeant Sunil Rathnayake to death for the murder of eight Tamils in December 2000 after a 13-year trial (HC/1092/2002¹¹⁷). The victims included three children.¹¹⁸ Fourteen were initially taken into custody, but only three soldiers were tried and all the others were acquitted. The State-run newspaper said the soldiers identified by eyewitnesses were from the special operations of the 6th Gajaba Regiment.¹¹⁹ Sergeant Rathnayake appealed against the conviction but in May 2019 the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka unanimously affirmed the conviction.¹²⁰ In March 2020, however, Gotabaya Rajapaksa (himself Gajaba regiment) pardoned Rathnayake. OHCHR said it was troubled by the decision.¹²¹ Rathnayake was in the 6th Gajaba Regiment under Shantha Dissanayake (now Head of the Consumer Affairs Authority¹²²), who was under the Air Mobile Brigade commanded by Jagath Alwis (recently appointed as the Secretary to the Ministry of Public Security in charge of the police¹²³).¹²⁴

Kiliveddy/Kumarapuram Massacre, 1996

This is the 11 February 1996 killing of 26¹²⁵ Tamil civilians, among them 14 children, in the village of Kumarapuram in Muttur in Trincomalee in Eastern Sri Lanka by soldiers.¹²⁶ The killings appeared to be a reprisal for the killings by the LTTE of two soldiers nearby about half an hour earlier.¹²⁷ The killings wiped out a quarter of the population of the tiny village. For twenty years the remaining villagers sought justice, but the case was marked by extraordinary delays. Finally, in June-July 2016 the case was heard with 40 witnesses testifying, but by this time all the physical evidence was said to have been destroyed in a fire in 2005 in the Colombo Government Analyst's Office. The results of an earlier identification parade were also said to have been destroyed in the tsunami. On 27 July 2016, eight surviving soldiers (two had died) were acquitted and exonerated of all charges, by an all-Sinhala jury at the Anuradhapura High Court.¹²⁸ The families appealed to the President to appeal against the judgement and try the accused before a Trial at Bar.¹²⁹ Lawyers say the case is now pending with the Court of Appeal, and postponed because of COVID-19.

The 'Trinco 5', 2006

In July 2019 a court acquitted all 13 defendants in the execution of five Tamil students¹³⁰ on 2 January 2006, known as the 'Trinco 5' case. OISL had said there were reasonable grounds to believe that security force personnel, including STF personnel, killed the five students. A Wikileaks telex quoted Basil Rajapaksa saying he knew the Special Task Force of the police were responsible for the killings.¹³¹ A witness in the UK said he saw police at the mortuary the following day telling relatives they could only have the bodies if they signed a form saying their loved ones were LTTE members.

ACF Killings, 2006

This is the largest number of humanitarian workers to be killed in Sri Lanka – the murder of 17 Action Contre le Faim (ACF) workers in Muttur in August 2006. The bodies were lined up and most were face down, executed with bullet wounds to the head. There was no damage to the building to indicate that an exchange of fire or shelling had taken place. On 29 August 2006, the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission ruled that, "there cannot be any other armed groups than the security forces who could have been behind the act", establishing that the security forces by 4 August had gained full control over Muttur, which both the LTTE and the Sri Lankan security forces had controlled for periods of time during the first week of August. OISL said the case "was not effectively investigated, illustrating the entrenched impunity enjoyed by perpetrators and the challenges met in furthering accountability at the domestic level in Sri Lanka. Evidence was either not collected, was tampered with or disappeared from the police investigation". When the security forces discovered his relative had worked for the ACF, a witness in the UK was abducted and tortured after being released from rehabilitation, in order to try and compel him to say that his brother had been in the LTTE, which was not the case.

PROTESTORS

Note: these cases are chosen because the UN considered them to be emblematic though they are not directly conflict related.

Weliweriya / Rathupaswala Water Protest, 2013

This is the killing by the Sri Lankan Army of three people and the injuring of forty five¹³² in a Sinhalese village in August 2013 during a protest demanding clean drinking water. The Weliweriya

incident implicated the former deputy to Shavendra Silva, war time 581 Brigade Commander, S A D Anura Deshapriya Gunawardena, who is alleged to have ordered his troops to shoot at protestors.¹³³ After the 2013 shooting, Gotabaya Rajapaksa in his role as Secretary of Defence, approved the posting of Gunawardena as defence attaché to Turkey in 2013-14.¹³⁴ Then another of Gotabaya's loyal allies, who had served together in the same regiment, Major General Jagath Dias, was put in charge of the military inquiry into the Weliveriya incident. In 2013, the Bar Association of Sri Lanka said police officers were intimidating witnesses at the magisterial inquiry.¹³⁵ Media rights groups complained journalists were also being intimidated.¹³⁶ In March 2017, Brigadier Deshapriya Gunawardena and a Sergeant Lalith Gray were reportedly arrested, but five months later released on bail.¹³⁷ In September 2019, just before the Presidential elections, Deshapriya and three others were charged in court on 96 counts.¹³⁸ There has been no progress reported in the case since. Media reports said that (now imprisoned) former Criminal Investigation Department Police Deputy Inspector General, Shani Abeysekera, had been investigating the case.¹³⁹ In 2020, Deshapriya was promoted to Major General¹⁴⁰ despite being charged in the murder case. He retired¹⁴¹ in June 2020 as Director General of Infantry and was honoured by his former commander in the final war, Army Commander Shavendra Silva, whom the Army website said "reminisced memories" with him.¹⁴²

The military Court of Inquiry into the 2013 shooting is emblematic of the pattern of appointing inquiry bodies suffused with conflicts of interest. The Inquiry was set up by former rehabilitation commissioner Lt Gen Daya Ratnayake,¹⁴³ who is now Chairperson of the Sri Lanka Port Authority, which is of pivotal importance as Sri Lanka develops its maritime advantage amid competing Chinese and US regional interests.¹⁴⁴ The Inquiry was headed¹⁴⁵ by then Adjutant General Major General Jagath Dias, who himself faced allegations of war crimes and, as 57 Division Commander in 2009, had fought closely with Deshapriya, the officer being inquired into.¹⁴⁶

The Killing of 27 inmates at Welikada Prison, 2012

This has been described as the biggest killing since the war ended in Sri Lanka, with the exception of the Easter Sunday bombings.¹⁴⁷ A Commission was appointed, but its report never made public. A 2015 Committee of Inquiry was also not made public in full (only its recommendations). The Centre for Policy Analysis (CPA) cited testimony from the Special Task Force commandant Deputy Inspector General (DIG) of police, Chandrasiri Ranawana, alleging that Gotabaya Rajapaksa directed the assault "with the coordination of DIG Nimal Wakishta Director of State Intelligence Service (SIS) and DIG Terrorist Investigation Division (TID)..."¹⁴⁸ Wakishta is now a member of the Bribery Commission.

On 28 March 2018, a Narcotics Bureau inspector and a former Prisons Commissioner were arrested in connection with the deaths. The three suspects who were charged were:

1. Prison Intelligence Officer Indika Sampath Imaduwege, who in July 2020 was released from the investigation for insufficient evidence on the order of the Court of Appeal.¹⁴⁹ He had filed a complaint to the Presidential Commission of Inquiry (PCoI) on political victimisation in 2020. In July 2019 he had been absent from the court and the CPA report said at the time he was absconding in the UK.¹⁵⁰
2. Inspector of Police Moses Neomal Rangajeewa. Rangajeewa was released on bail on 25 September 2018, and was reinstated in his former post¹⁵¹ in the police on 22 November 2018 during the 'constitutional coup'. He posted social media links suggesting he was close to the new President and the Secretary of Defence. Media watchdogs in July 2020 strongly protested Rangajeewa's manhandling of a journalist during a court appearance.¹⁵² When he went to the Presidential Commission of Inquiry on Political Victimization he testified that he had been told falsely to implicate Gotabaya Rajapaksa.¹⁵³
3. Former Prisons Commission Emil Ranjan Lamahewa also on bail¹⁵⁴- also complained to the PCoI on Victimization where he said in 2020 that NGOs had used the Welikada case to try and prevent Gotabaya becoming President.¹⁵⁵ His brother is Assistant Superintendent of Police Merrill Ranjan Lamahewa who is assigned to the Criminal Investigation Department (CID).¹⁵⁶ This represents a clear conflict of interest and threat to witnesses.¹⁵⁷

ENDNOTES

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30 January 2006 Abductions: Ms. Premini Thanushkodi: Age 25 (Chief Accountant Batticaloa Office; Student at the Eastern University)
Mr. Shanmuganathan Sujendran: Age 24 (Children's Home Accountant)
Mr. Arulhesarasa Satheskarana: Age 23 (Children's Home Accountant)
Mr. Kailayapillai Ravindran: Age 26 (Children's Home Accountant)
Mr. Thamiraja Vasantharajan: Age 24 (Children's Home Accountant)
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Maheswaran who enjoyed close rapport with President Rajapaksa pulled strings at a high level and got his niece released.

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112 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7282205.stm

113 <https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=24875>

114 <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/99181-tamil-mp-killed-sl-under-five-over-rights-%E2%80%98nightmare%E2%80%99>

115 <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-srilanka-attack/tamil-tigers-say-sri-lanka-army-kills-mp-with-bomb-idUKCOL11286720080306>

116 <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-srilanka-attack/tamil-tigers-say-sri-lanka-army-kills-mp-with-bomb-idUKCOL11286720080306>

117 <https://srilankachrd.org/la-mirusuvil.php>

118 The eight civilians were Gnanapalan Raviveeran, Sellamuttu Theivakulasingham, Vilvarajah Pratheepan, Sinniah Vilvarajah, Nadesu Jeyachandran, Kathiran Gnanachandran, Gnanachandran Santhan and Vilvarajah Prasath. Prasath was five years old.

119 <http://www.idslanka.org/index.php/news-features/politics-a-current-affairs/938-killer-sri-lanka-army-officer-convicted-for-massacre-of-tamils-walks-free>
<https://www.dailynews.lk/2020/04/09/features/216126/pardoning-former-corporal-sunil-rathnayake-correcting-paradox-justice>
http://www.dailymirror.lk/print/front_page/Mirusuvil-massacre-Former-Human-Rights-Commissioner-challenges/238-186994

120 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/03/justice-reversed-for-victims-of-the-mirusuvil-massacre-from-sri-lanka/>
<https://www.dailynews.lk/2020/04/09/features/216126/pardoning-former-corporal-sunil-rathnayake-correcting-paradox-justice>
6GR CO DM Shantha Dissanayaka WWV RWP RSP 22 Apr 1999 – 20 Oct 2001.
<https://alt.army.lk/gajabaregiment/content/felicitation-ceremony-newly-promoted-major-general-dms-dissanayake-www-rwp-rsp-usp-ndu>
Now Chairman of the Consumer Affairs Authority.

121 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/03/28/un-high-commissioner-for-human-rights-displeased-over-presidential-pardon-granted-to-sunil-rathnayake/>

122 <https://alt.army.lk/gajabaregiment/content/felicitation-ceremony-newly-promoted-major-general-dms-dissanayake-www-rwp-rsp-usp-ndu> http://www.caa.gov.lk/web/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=100&Itemid=570&lang=en
His full name is cited in a 2013 gazette (on file) as Colonel (Temporary Brigadier) Dissanayake Mudiyansele Shantha Dissanayake, WWV RWP RSP USP;

123 <https://colombogazette.com/2020/12/10/military-officer-appointed-public-security-ministry-secretary/>

124 (Reproduction of article by defence columnist Tissa Ravindra Perera in Rivira 6 July 2015)
<https://lrrp.wordpress.com/2015/07/18/%e0%b6%af%e0%b6%82-%e0%b6%9c%e0%b7%99%e0%b6%a9%e0%b7%92%e0%b6%ba%e0%b6%a7-%e0%b6%9c%e0%b7%99%e0%b6%b1%e0%b7%92%e0%b6%ba%e0%b6%b1-%e0%b7%80%e0%b7%92%e0%b7%81%e0%b7%9a%e0%b7%82-%e0%b6%b6%e0%b7%85/>

125 Reports say 24 and 26 killed, Pearl report names 25 <http://www.iceelamtamils.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Impunity-Reigns-in-Sri-Lanka.pdf>
There is also discrepancy regarding whether one or two Tamil girls were raped and the ages.

126 Photos at <https://sangam.org/justice-denied-survivors-kumarapuram-massacre/>

127 Amnesty, <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/172000/asa370081996en.pdf>

128 <http://www.adaderana.lk/news/36259/six-army-officers-acquitted-over-kumarapuram-massacre>

129 <http://dbsjeyaraj.com/dbsj/archives/49852>

130 Manoharan Ragihar (22.09.1985);Yogarajah Hemachchandra (04.03.1985); Logitharajah Rohan (07.04.1985); Thangathurai Sivanantha (06.04.1985); Shanmugarajah Gajendran (16.09.1985)

131 https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06COLOMBO1622_a.html

132 Casualties from state media <https://www.dailynews.lk/2019/07/11/law-order/190854/army-brigadier-3-other-personnel-be-charged?page=1>

133 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wYHq9eEMWV0> <http://www.asianmirror.lk/news/item/23113-delayed-justice-to-victims-cid-finally-arrests-two-soldiers-over-rathupaswala-shooting> and US STATE DEPT (accessed at <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2014/sca/236650.htm>): "Also in May the media reported that the military's investigation into the incident continued and that the government had posted the army commander on the scene of the killings, Brigadier Deshapriya Gunawardena, as the country's defence attaché in Turkey. The government never publicly released the HRCSL report, and authorities had not released the results of any government investigations as of year's end".

134 Posted as defence attaché to Turkey in 2014. Ankara Scene, accessed at <http://www.ankarascene.com/haber/brig-deshapriya-amp-buddhi-gunawardena-6290.html> <http://www.ft.lk/article/298036/Diplomatic-post-for-Brigadier-in-charge-of-Welweriya>

135 <http://srilankabrief.org/2013/09/sri-lanka-police-intimidate-rathupaswala-witnesses/>

136 <http://srilankabrief.org/2013/08/sri-lanka-army-intimidates-media-over-shooting-says-rights-group/> <http://srilankabrief.org/2013/08/journalist-victimised-for-criticising-rajaksha-clan-by-derana-tv/>

137 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2017/05/25/brigadier-deshapriya-arrested-rathupaswala-shooting-incident/167638/?mode=list>
Bail - <https://www.hirunews.lk/english/169821/brigadier-accused-ordering-rathupaswala-shooting-given-bail>

138 <https://www.dailynews.lk/2019/09/12/law-order/196785/brigadier-three-soldiers-indicted-96-counts>
<https://www.dailynews.lk/2019/07/11/law-order/190854/army-brigadier-3-other-personnel-be-charged?page=1>
"The Attorney General further observed that evidence given by eye witnesses confirmed that Brigadier Gunawardena had ordered the troops to open fire on the protesters and to destroy the evidence of the firing. However, police were able to recover 16 used bullets from the vicinity and those items had been sent to the Government Analyst for an analytical report. The Government Analyst had confirmed the eleven bullets had been released from three firearms belonging to three army personnel who were deployed to disperse the protesters.

139 http://www.colombopage.com/archive_20B/Nov28_1606541049CH.php

140 <https://www.army.lk/news/major-general-deshapriya-gunawardena-welcomed-his-mother-regiment>

141 <https://alt.army.lk/highlanders/content/farewell-ceremony-major-general-sadad-gunawardana-rwp-rsp>

142 <https://www.army.lk/news/retiring-major-general-deshapriya-gunawardenas-services-hailed>

143 <https://www.army.lk/news/army-appoints-board-inquiry-welweriya-incidents>

144 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2019/12/12/general-daya-ratnayake-appointed-as-the-chairperson-of-the-sri-lanka-port-authority/>

145 <https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/us-switzerland-reject-jagath-dias-as-probable-war-criminal-govt-appoints-dias-to-head-welweriya-military-probe/>

146 https://itjpsl.com/assets/ITJP_Jagath_Dias_dossier-final.pdf

147 <https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/HRC/43/NGO/112> 10 Feb 2020. Joint written statement* submitted by Franciscans International, a non-governmental organization in general consultative status, Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development, a non-Governmental organization in special consultative status

148 Page 47 Revisiting Ten Emblematic Case in Sri Lanka. Also HRW report, Feb. 2021 citing Joint written statement to the UN Human Rights Council, submitted by Franciscans International and Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development A/HRC/43/NGO/112, February 10, 2020, <https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/HRC/43/NGO/112> (accessed August 24, 2020)..

149 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/07/15/03rd-accused-in-welikada-prison-massacre-case-acquitted-and-released/>

150 Page 49 Revisiting Ten Emblematic Case in Sri Lanka, CPA. Also <https://menafn.com/1100487975/Third-accused-in-Welikada-Prison-massacre-acquitted>

151 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2018/11/22/ip-neomal-rangaieewa-reinstated/And-CPA-report-2021>.

152 <https://rsf.org/en/news/sri-lanka-journalist-manhandled-notorious-police-inspector-currently-trial>

<https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/07/10/video-ex-oic-of-the-pnb-obstructs-the-duties-of-a-photo-journalist/>
http://www.colombopage.com/archive_20B/Ju112_1594524452CH.php

153 <https://www.dailynews.lk/2020/07/07/local/222563/i-was-asked-implicate-gotabaya-rajapaksa-ip-rangajeewa>

154 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/07/15/03rd-accused-in-welikada-prison-massacre-case-acquitted-and-released/>
<https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/06/26/court-issues-warning-on-welikada-prison-riot-case-suspects/>

155 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/07/01/rear-admiral-d-k-p-dassanayake-summoned-to-the-presidential-commission-of-inquiry-appointed-to-probe-incidents-of-political-victimization-today/>

156 <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/09/17/podi-lassie-named-as-suspect-in-death-threat-case-remanded-until-sept-25th/>
Investigating journalist Dharisha Bastians and the Swiss Embassy employee, as well as Shani Abeysekera of CID <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2020/07/21/garnier-banister-false-complaint-case-postponed-to-september/>
<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/the-bent-cops-entrusted-with-fabricating-a-case-to-arrest-shani-abeysekera/>

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