



# THE OHCHR INVESTIGATION ON SRI LANKA: A MEDIA GUIDE

September 2015



A media guide to the OHCHR investigation on Sri Lanka – how it came about, what it means, and why it matters.

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## Author's note

The text of this report contains HTML links to sources and further reading. If you have a printed version of this report you can find an electronic version at [www.srilankacampaign.org](http://www.srilankacampaign.org).

# THE OHCHR INVESTIGATION ON SRI LANKA: A MEDIA GUIDE

## Introduction

In the next few days, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) will publish its long-awaited report, mandated by the UN Human Rights Council in March 2014. The report is the result of the [Office's Investigation on Sri Lanka \(OISL\)](#) - "a comprehensive investigation into alleged serious violations and abuses of human rights and related crimes by both parties in Sri Lanka during the period covered by the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission." (*That* Commission was a post-war initiative led by the previous Sri Lankan regime, which looked at events from 21 February 2002 to 15 November 2011.)

This is a report of huge significance not just for Sri Lanka but for the wider world. Addressing issues such as civilian protection, the use of "human shields", and the conduct of states and non-state actors, it will shape Sri Lanka's future and could play a major part in defining what is lawful in modern warfare.

This briefing seeks to support journalists in covering the release of the report by providing context, background, our own analysis, links to further reading and – in the non-public versions of this briefing – the contact details for interviewees in Sri Lanka and elsewhere who can share their insights.

## THE SRI LANKA CAMPAIGN'S POSITION ON THE REPORT

This report has been made possible by the testimony of survivors of Sri Lanka's civil war living inside and outside of Sri Lanka. They have given this testimony at great personal risk. The country, and the international community as a whole, owes them a debt of gratitude for helping to establish a clearer picture of some of the worst mass atrocities to have taken place in this century. More importantly, we owe it to them to implement this report's recommendations. This is [a call that has been echoed by hundreds of others from around the world](#).

There is now no doubt that war crimes and crimes against humanity were committed by both sides of Sri Lanka's civil war, and that many of the tens of thousands of civilians who died in the early months of 2009 were murdered by their own government. The single most positive step the new Government of Sri Lanka could make is to accept this basic truth. An apology must surely follow.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tamil Tigers) also committed atrocities and have the blood of thousands of innocents on their hands. While very few members of the LTTE's senior leadership survive, those who played a part in supporting their work, or who by their silence allowed them to go unchallenged, should also acknowledge the LTTE's brutal actions and apologise.

With tens of thousands dead or unaccounted for, 2009 saw the worst violence Sri Lanka has ever seen, and most of the victims were Tamil. Sadly, this tragedy is part of a wider pattern of mass violence in Sri Lanka, which has resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people from all ethnicities, but particularly Tamils, over many decades. While some of the worst episodes have prompted domestic inquiries, these government-led investigations have been highly compromised, producing few outcomes and virtually no arrests.

The only way to end this cycle of violence and to build a lasting peace in Sri Lanka is with prosecutions that will break the prevailing culture of impunity. The survivors of Sri Lanka's civil war have made it clear that these prosecutions must be led by the international community.

## The new government: is the situation in Sri Lanka better?

Until recently, the family of former president Mahinda Rajapaksa dominated the Sri Lankan government. Rajapaksa's reign was characterized by the consolidation of executive power, militarisation, and a general crackdown on the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. In the prevailing culture of fear and impunity, serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law went unpunished [and continued](#) long after the end of the brutal civil war in 2009.

On 8 January 2015, Rajapaksa lost the presidential election, in a surprise defeat, to Maithripala Sirisena, a former health minister who brought together a broad anti-incumbent coalition to stand against his erstwhile political ally. Six months later Sirisena dissolved parliament, and Rajapaksa's party lost again in the [general election](#) held on 17 August.

### SOME PROGRESS...

During his first six months in office, President Sirisena has made promising progress in some areas. For example, freedom of expression has improved and the media and civil society in the south of the country now have some room to operate independently. A constitutional amendment passed in April diluted some of the excessive executive powers of the president. And [encouraging steps](#) have been taken to investigate some high profile corruption and murder cases.

### ...BUT NOT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Nevertheless, the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, particularly in the north of the country, remains worrying. The Government has done little to address the major structural problems that continue to threaten minority communities and undermine the rule of law. For many survivors, there has been little meaningful change on the ground. The Government has shown itself to be far less willing (and able) to conduct reforms when it comes to areas where the military has a significant influence, such as demilitarisation, accountability, and matters defined as important to national security. This suggests that while sections of the Government may be open to reform, elements of policy still remain in the hands of the security apparatus, whose attitude – and top personnel – [have not changed](#) since the previous regime.

### BUSINESS AS USUAL IN THE NORTH AND EAST?

While there has been an opening up of the political space in the south, elsewhere surveillance, intimidation and a climate of fear remain. For many Tamils in the north and east of the island, [very little has changed since January](#). The daily experiences of ethnic minorities, in terms of interactions with the military, for example, still differ greatly from those of the Sinhalese majority.

No significant steps have been taken to repeal the draconian anti-terror laws or to end the human rights abuses experienced by detainees. Recent reports (for example, by [Freedom from Torture](#) and the [International Truth and Justice Project](#)) provide fresh evidence that such abuses – including torture, rape and abductions – are still taking place. Until this changes, there can be little hope of genuine reconciliation or lasting peace.



## What is the OISL report? The story the UN process so far

Immediately after the war, some states pushed for allegations of war crimes to be investigated, including at the UN. Other states were willing to accept the Rajapaksa regime's narrative of events. On 27 May 2009, just over a week after the war had ended, a group of states [led by](#) Argentina, Chile, the Czech Republic, Mauritius, Mexico, and Switzerland persuaded the Human Rights Council to hold a [special session](#) on Sri Lanka. However, at that session, Sri Lanka - with the support of Brazil, Cuba, India, and Pakistan - persuaded the Council to pass a resolution which not only exonerated the Sri Lankan authorities but actually praised them for their handling of the war. [Many observers](#) cite this moment as one of the darkest in the history of the Human Rights Council.

The day before the special session, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon visited Sri Lanka and [issued a joint statement](#) with Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa. This statement committed the Sri Lankan Government to meaningful accountability, and set in motion two processes: one domestic, one international.

Domestically, Rajapaksa set up the [“Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission”](#), which delivered its report three years later, in November 2011.<sup>1</sup> Some of the report's recommendations were placed into a [“Human Rights Action Plan”](#), which went largely unimplemented.<sup>2</sup> In July 2014, a [Presidential Commission on Missing Persons](#) was tasked with taking forward the accountability agenda. At no point has this domestic mechanism had any credibility.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime, as a result of international concern about the lack of credible domestic mechanisms and progress, in June 2010 the UN Secretary-General set up a “panel of experts” – respected international lawyers Marzuki Darusman (Indonesia), Yasmin Sooka (South Africa), and Steven Ratner (USA) – to advise him. In March 2011, [they found that](#) there was credible evidence that both sides had committed war crimes and recommended two investigations: an independent international investigation into the war crimes themselves, and an internal investigation into the UN's own conduct. The internal investigation ran from April to November 2012. [It resulted in a report](#), which was highly critical of the UN for its failure to prevent mass atrocities. The report led to the Secretary-General's [“Rights up Front”](#) initiative.<sup>4</sup>

The international investigation took longer to establish. In March 2012, [the USA led efforts at the Human Rights Council](#) to pass a new resolution on Sri Lanka. [This resolution](#) mildly rebuked Sri Lanka on its accountability progress and tasked the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights with reporting back on the issue. [This happened in March 2013](#) and led to a [slightly stronger resolution](#) and plans for a [further report scheduled for](#) March 2014.

It was only in response to this report that a [further resolution was passed](#), mandating the current investigation. Mauritius, Macedonia, Montenegro and the UK supported the USA on this occasion, leading a group of 38 co-sponsors. The UK's efforts followed Prime Minister David Cameron's visit to Sri Lanka when it hosted the Commonwealth Summit.

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1 For a history of Sri Lanka's failed domestic accountability mechanisms see: <http://bit.ly/1g9b9KL>; <http://bit.ly/1UJU19>

2 For further detail see: <http://bit.ly/1KDPI5>

3 For our analysis see: <http://bit.ly/1JUK7Bz>. Also see <http://bit.ly/1DSf1cY>

4 For further information see: <http://bit.ly/1K91tMg>

# THE OHCHR INVESTIGATION ON SRI LANKA: A MEDIA GUIDE

## Frequently asked questions

### WHY WAS AN INVESTIGATION NOT LAUNCHED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE WAR?

In early 2009, there was a fair deal of concern among the international community and the United Nations as to how the war was being fought and the number of civilian deaths. However, a lack of credible information coming from the front lines (in part due to the Government's media blackout and restrictions on NGOs) and a sense of ambivalence from key international leaders, many of whom were glad to see the back of the LTTE, ensured that a strong and co-ordinated international response did not materialise. Furthermore, the conflict was overshadowed by the far smaller but higher profile conflict that was occurring in Gaza at the same time, "Operation Cast Lead". All this led to a muted response from the international community.

### WHAT IS THIS REPORT CALLED?

The 'OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka' or 'OISL' for short (pronounced *oy-sul* by some and *O-I-S-L* by others). OHCHR stands for Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

### HAVEN'T WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED?

War crimes and crimes against humanity have been widely established by NGOs, by independent legal opinions, and by Peoples' Tribunals. The UN itself has determined that there is "credible evidence" that war crimes and crimes against humanity took place, and the commission of such crimes was implied by the UN's internal review in 2012. However, this will be the first time that the UN has the mandate to establish these as fact.

### WHAT IS THE REPORT'S MANDATE?

OISL was mandated by the United Nations Human Rights Council Resolution 25/1 in March 2014. The Human Rights Council, in this resolution on "Promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka", requested the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights "to undertake a comprehensive investigation into alleged serious violations and abuses of human rights and related crimes by both parties in Sri Lanka". The period under investigation is 21 February 2002 until 15 November 2011 – as this was the period covered by the Sri Lankan government's own flawed domestic investigation (the LLRC). [Its mandate](#) requires OISL to investigate violations by applying Sri Lanka's obligations under international human rights law, customary international law, international humanitarian law, and international criminal law.

### WHAT METHODS DID IT USE?

With the support of experts such as the UN special rapporteurs and advice from three international experts (Martti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland; Silvia Cartwright, former High Court judge of New Zealand; and Asma Jahangir, former President of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan), OISL has conducted a desk review, documented testimonies of witnesses and alleged perpetrators, and analysed information from other relevant sources, such as satellite images. The previous government of Sri Lanka refused to cooperate with the OISL investigation and it is unclear whether the current Government offered any assistance. The findings will be based on a "[reasonable grounds to believe](#)" standard of proof.

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## Frequently made assertions

### IT DOES NO GOOD TO GO RAKING UP THE PAST. WE SHOULD LET SLEEPING DOGS LIE.

This report is not just about the past but the present. Violations of human rights, including systematic rape, continue to this day. This is because a culture of impunity is deeply embedded in the country – a result of repeated failures to deal effectively with perpetrators of serious violations. Without justice and accountability, there is a real risk that violence will flare up again in Sri Lanka.

### SRI LANKA IS BEING MADE A SCAPEGOAT BECAUSE IT IS A SOFT TARGET IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH. SRI LANKA'S CRITICS ARE HYPOCRITES WHO DID FAR WORSE DURING THE "WAR ON TERROR".

This argument is often used by apologists for the Sri Lankan army - often the same ones who were so keen at the time to associate Sri Lanka's war on the LTTE with the global war on terror. In fact, many of the countries driving the push for accountability are from the global south, with Mauritius, Cameroon, and Nigeria playing key parts.

What took place in Sri Lanka in 2009 is one of the worst mass atrocities of this century (see infographic on page 12). These crimes diminish our common humanity and, if ignored, set a dangerous precedent. The international process under way is about universal standards of international law that should be applied to all states. Failure to uphold them by one party does not mean that failures by other parties should be permitted. Hypocrisy or not, the victims and survivors of atrocities have a right to justice.

### THE LTTE USED CIVILIANS AS HUMAN SHIELDS, SO SOME COLLATERAL DAMAGE WAS UNAVOIDABLE AND INEVITABLE. WHAT SRI LANKA DID IS THEREFORE PERMISSIBLE UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The Government of Sri Lanka has commissioned a group of "experts" in international law to give advice on this question. As we have [reported](#), the process by which these experts were appointed is [mired in controversy](#). As for the arguments themselves, they have yet to be published. But lawyers who have looked at leaked drafts have been scathing of the arguments within. We are aware of expert legal opinions, which may be published over the next few weeks, and which will argue that the way in which Sri Lanka approached the final stages of the war was illegal.

The question of human shields goes to the heart of contemporary debates about what is lawful in modern warfare. However, given the horror inflicted during Sri Lanka's civil war, we expect and must hope that it remains an argument with limited traction. In any instance, it appears that very many casualties were caused by the deliberate targeting of civilians in circumstances where the human shield argument clearly does not apply.

### SRI LANKA SHOULD SOLVE THIS PROBLEM BY ITSELF, THROUGH A "TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION" (TRC) STYLE PROCESS.

The TRC is a model designed for circumstances where there has been a transfer of power. It is not an appropriate fit for a "victor's peace" such as Sri Lanka. Effective reconciliation models are designed by victims, not perpetrators. Victims are [demanding an international justice process](#).

### Naming names. Who is in the frame for prosecutions?

The OISL report will not name names. Reports of this kind cannot do so. However, by establishing that war crimes took place, and that the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE were the perpetrators, in appropriate jurisdictions a prima facie case can be established against anyone with command responsibility in either of those organisations.

Using the concept of a “criminal conspiracy” a large number of people could potentially become liable for prosecution – anyone (politicians, civil servants, diplomats) who aided or abetted the commission of international crimes could potentially find themselves liable to prosecution.

This raises two questions. First, under what jurisdiction can these individuals best be prosecuted? And secondly, are the interests of reconciliation best served by the prosecution of these individuals?

The wishes of survivors should be paramount. In a report [we commissioned earlier this year](#), we found that a sample of Tamil war survivors were most keen that former President **Mahinda Rajapaksa**, former Defence Secretary **Gotabaya Rajapaksa**, former Commander of the Armed Forces **Sarath Fonseka**, and Eastern Province warlord who fought on both sides **Col. Karuna** (Vinayagamoorthy Muralitharan) stand trial. Gotabaya Rajapaksa is a US citizen and Sarath Fonseka is a US Permanent Resident, making both subject to American jurisdiction.<sup>5</sup>

Other individuals and paramilitary leaders were also named but it is not yet clear how wide-ranging a judicial process would have to be to satisfy the twin goals of meeting survivors’ expectations of justice and ending Sri Lanka’s culture of impunity. Others credibly alleged by international human rights organisations to have been involved in war crimes include Major Generals **Prasanna de Silva** ([by ECCHR](#)), **Jagath Dias** ([by Trial](#)), **Shivendra Silva** ([by the SALC](#)), **Jagath Jayasuriya**, **Kamal Gunaratne**, **Sumedha Perera**, **Amal Karunasekara**, and **Boniface Perera** ([by ITIP](#)).

Of course, it is not just the wishes of the Tamil victims that must be respected, but also those of the war’s Sinhalese and Muslim victims, most of whom want the LTTE to stand trial. Even among Tamil victims there is [strong, albeit not unanimous, support](#) for prosecutions against senior LTTE figures.

However, most former senior members of the LTTE are dead. The majority of those that have survived live in Sri Lanka, where the Sri Lankan Government has thus far made no attempt to prosecute them. These include **Pillayan** (Sivanesathurai Chandrakanthan), **KP** (Selvarasa Pathmanathan), **Iniya Bharathi** (K. Pushpakumar), **Daya Master** (Velayutham Dayanidhi), **Thamilini** (Subramaniam Sivakamy), and **George Master** (Velupillai Kumaru Pancharatnam). Additionally, some former senior members of the LTTE live abroad, including **Nediyawan** (Perinpanayagam Sivaparan) in Norway and **Adele Balasingham** in the UK. They could be prosecuted by their host countries.

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<sup>5</sup> For more information see: <https://www.justsecurity.org/10537/sri-lanka-gotabaya-us-citizen-war-crimes-accountability/>



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## What next?

The OISL report is due for discussion at the Human Rights Council on 30 September, having been postponed by six months after the change in government. The report will be presented orally by the High Commissioner followed by an interactive dialogue with states. OISL's work formally ends with the presentation of the report.

The report will include conclusions and action-orientated recommendations aimed at improving the human rights situation in Sri Lanka. Recommendations will be directed to the specific actors expected to implement them. Addressees may, for example, include the Sri Lankan Government, Sri Lankan non-state actors, the Security Council or the General Assembly, the HRC, OHCHR and other UN entities.

After considering the report, the HRC may adopt a resolution endorsing all or parts of its conclusions and recommendations and calling for their implementation.<sup>6</sup> The USA has already booked a room for the discussion of the draft text of such a resolution on 17 September.

The Human Rights Council does not have competence to set up a mechanism for prosecutions. We discuss various options for other bodies to do so [on page 7 of our latest report](#), and reiterate our belief that **a lasting peace in Sri Lanka requires that survivors' demands for an internationally led accountability mechanism be met.**

In a [series of articles published in mid-August](#) we argued that the international community's desire to give Sri Lanka's new Government time means that we are unlikely to get the international justice mechanism Sri Lanka needs, at least in the near future. However, by ensuring that the situation continues to be monitored by the UN – through independent experts, for example – we can build pressure to internationalise the process, or to create an international process that will run in parallel to any domestic one.

In the meantime, the strongest demand of survivors is for help in finding their missing loved ones. The farcical “Paranagama Commission” on missing persons needs to be brought to an end. Its work should be properly recorded and the information safeguarded, and a new mechanism needs to be established. For survivors to have trust in this mechanism it must have significant independent international involvement.

As we spelled out [in our third article](#) in the series, there are also a number of other things, outside the Geneva process, that supportive states could do to support accountability in Sri Lanka. They include:

- Prosecutions under universal jurisdiction, travel bans, asset seizures or targeted sanctions against culpable parts of the Sri Lankan state (the army, TID, CID) or individuals.
- Arrests of former LTTE commanders living in their jurisdiction.
- Reviewing arms exports to Sri Lanka.
- Pushing for the UN to vet Sri Lankan peacekeeping troops.
- Changing guidelines for asylum seekers and recognising the link between asylum and witness protection.

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<sup>6</sup> For information on the follow-up and implementation practices of similar commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions see [http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/CoI\\_Guidance\\_and\\_Practice.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/CoI_Guidance_and_Practice.pdf)

## A perspective from the global south

Sri Lanka is a middle-income country with a largely western facing political elite. Its close allies also include Russia, China, and Australia. Nevertheless, the Government of Sri Lanka often tries to invoke the doctrine of global south solidarity in order to discourage the international community from taking on a greater role in Sri Lanka's accountability process. Having spent several years talking with activists and diplomats from the global south, we offer some thoughts on how this concept has been misused.

First, this argument ignores the fact that much of the push for accountability has come from the global south itself, with Mauritius, Cameroon, and Nigeria playing key roles.

Furthermore, global south solidarity should not just imply solidarity between political elites. It should also include solidarity among journalists, civil society, and above all victims, in different countries of the global south. At great personal risk Sri Lanka's journalists, civil society, and victims [have repeatedly made their wish for a greater role for the international community clear](#). They have received solidarity from journalists, civil society, and victims from around the world: everyone from the [Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo](#) to Archbishop [Desmond Tutu](#).

Successive governments of Sri Lanka have tried to portray events there as a typical example of the sort of post-conflict rough and tumble with which many in the global south will be familiar. This is not the case. The scale of the bloodshed, and the extent of the militarised occupation of the minority north make it a qualitatively different case.

Finally, as [we discussed in a recent article](#), the "Sri Lanka model" represents a real threat to peace, particularly to other countries which have significant minority populations and a history of armed insurgency. Unless the Sri Lanka model is firmly rejected, it could pose a real threat to the peace and stability of many countries in the global south.

In its most recent iteration, the Sri Lanka model consists of an attempt to bend the parameters of international law in such a way as to allow for greater numbers of civilian casualties, and greater amounts of collateral damage, in the course of an asymmetric war. This is not something that would be in the best interests of either the people or the governments of the global south. It would also encourage great powers to act with greater impunity, while increasing the human cost of war.

Sri Lanka has endured cyclical mass atrocities. Many of the peoples of the global south know all too well that the only way to break out of a cycle of violence is through a meaningful process of reconciliation and accountability.

### Quotes from war survivors<sup>7</sup>

“First off, even before clearing the military from the villages, the new government has to tell us what happened to our children”

**“The LTTE - the leaders all ran away. In the end it was innocent people like us who suffered. They took all our money and went.”**

“There should necessarily be punishment for the responsible persons who committed war crimes in the last days of the war. Only if this happens will there be pressure on the future generation not to follow the same tracks. Be it the president, minister or army commanders - they need to be punished.”

**“We will not trust anything that involves the Sri Lankan government. Because of this we want the UN involved”**

“If they do not take the military from the lands of the Tamil people similar things will happen again.”

**“All these army camps should be shifted. Only then can we live without fear.”**

“This is not that big boss’s land - this is my ancestor’s land. I was born and bred there. I married there and I brought up my children there. This land should be evacuated by the Navy.”

**“We did not get enough support from the international community. If there was support this many people would have not died.”**

“There has been a mistake done. That needs to be acknowledged by the international community. If the people would have not been brought into the ‘safe zones’ many people would have been saved.”

**“We are unable to light a single candle to the children we lost. But the military who killed all these people are being praised and their victory is celebrated.”**

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<sup>7</sup> Quotes from our March 2015 report, “How Can We Have Peace? ”, available at <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/How-Can-We-Have-Peace-Sri-Lanka-Campaign-March-2015-3-1.pdf>

# THE OHCHR INVESTIGATION ON SRI LANKA: A MEDIA GUIDE

## Infographics

### *Infographic I:*

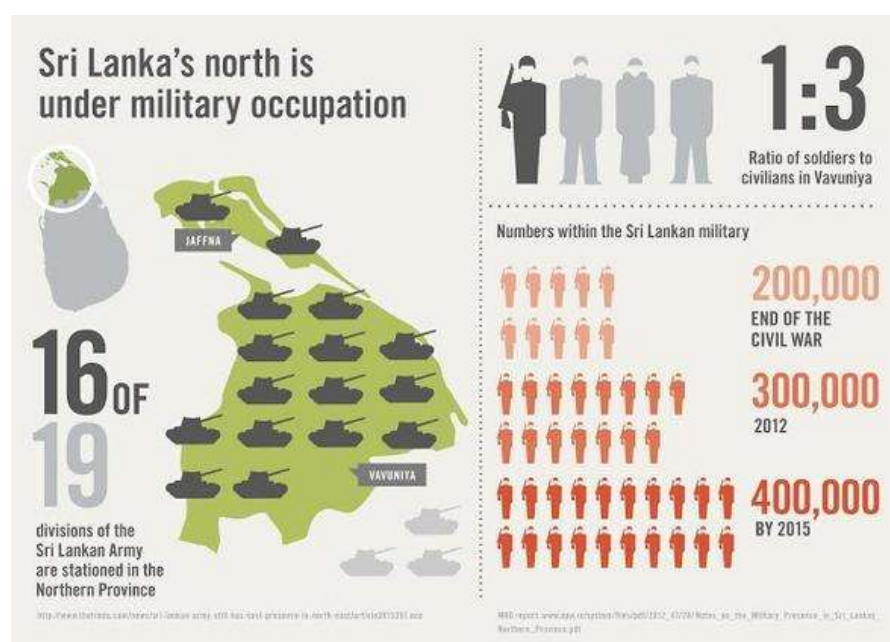
*Infographic I* demonstrates how Sri Lanka saw some of the most intense fighting of the 21st century.<sup>8</sup> We point this out not to make any kind of moral equivalence but to demonstrate the severity of the issues discussed in this report.

This infographic was created in 2013. Since then the numbers killed in Syria have gone up but the intensity of the conflict has not increased.



### *Infographic II:*

*Infographic II* shows the extent of military occupation of Sri Lanka's Northern Province. It was also commissioned in 2013 and so the figures may have changed since. However, there is no evidence that they have. We have yet to receive any credible information that substantive demilitarisation has occurred in Sri Lanka's Northern Province.



<sup>8</sup> The figures for Sri Lanka are taken from: [http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri\\_Lanka/The\\_Internal\\_Review\\_Panel\\_report\\_on\\_Sri\\_Lanka.pdf](http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/The_Internal_Review_Panel_report_on_Sri_Lanka.pdf)



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### *Infographic III:*

Infographic III traces those who went missing – many as a result of enforced disappearance - during and after the final stages of the civil war. It does not cover the many thousands who went missing earlier in the conflict.





## THE OHCHR INVESTIGATION ON SRI LANKA: A MEDIA GUIDE

### Photographs



For more photographs like this please contact the photographer Sebastian Brixey-Williams at:

- [seb\\_bw@me.com](mailto:seb_bw@me.com)

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## Further reading

### SHORT ARTICLES

**Why Sri Lanka matters to the wider world:** <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/the-death-and-rebirth-of-the-sri-lanka-model/>

**Sri Lanka Campaign blog series on options and strategies for accountability in Sri Lanka:**

Part 1 - managing expectations? <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/what-next-part-1-pragmatism-or-principle-a-false-choice/>

Part 2 - splitting transitional justice into its parts <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/what-next-part-2-deconstructing-transitional-justice/>

Part 3 - outside of Geneva <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/what-next-part-3-outside-of-geneva/>

### RECENT REPORTS

**ICG** on change and continuity in Sri Lanka in 2015 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/272-sri-lanka-between-elections>

**ITJP** on ongoing sexual violence <http://www.itjpsl.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Stop-Torture-Report.pdf>

**Freedom from Torture** on ongoing torture [http://www.freedomfromtorture.org/sites/default/files/documents/sl\\_report\\_a4\\_-\\_final-f-b-web.pdf](http://www.freedomfromtorture.org/sites/default/files/documents/sl_report_a4_-_final-f-b-web.pdf)

**Sri Lanka Campaign** on what survivors want <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/How-Can-We-Have-Peace-Sri-Lanka-Campaign-March-2015-3-1.pdf>

**Sri Lanka Campaign** on crimes against humanity <https://www.srilankacampaign.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Crimes-Against-Humanity-Report-Sri-Lanka-Campaign-2014.pdf>

### UN REPORTS

**2011 Panel of Experts Report:** [http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri\\_Lanka/POE\\_Report\\_Full.pdf](http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/POE_Report_Full.pdf)

**2012 Secretary-General's Internal Review Panel on United Nations Action in Sri Lanka (the "Petrie report"):**

[http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri\\_Lanka/The\\_Internal\\_Review\\_Panel\\_report\\_on\\_Sri\\_Lanka.pdf](http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/The_Internal_Review_Panel_report_on_Sri_Lanka.pdf)

**2014 Report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on 'Promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka':**

[http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage\\_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/RES/25/1](http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/RES/25/1)

## Who to follow on Twitter

@akeenan23 (International Crisis Group's Sri Lanka expert)

**@Apelankawe (journalist)**

@Callum\_Macrae (filmmaker)

**@ctconline (activist group)**

@francesharris0n (author, former BBC Sri Lanka Correspondent)

**@groundviews (citizen journalism website)**

@jan\_jananayagam (activist)

**@kcroninfurman (lawyer/academic)**

@MASumanthiran (TNA co-leader and human rights activist)

**@nirananketell (lawyer)**

@Nirmanusan (activist)

**@SLCampaign (The Sri Lanka Campaign)**

@soc\_arch (anonymous Tamil civil society collective)

**@tingilye (journalist)**

@TNAmidiaoffice (largest Tamil political party)

**@UstpacAdvocacy (activist group)**

@welikalaa (constitutional law expert)