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PRESS RELEASE: Sri Lankan Government should Acknowledge Past Truth Commissions before establishing a new body.

Colombo: Sri Lankan victims have lost count of the number of government commissions established to look into gross violations of human rights, as yet another one is about to be established. The Truth, Unity and Reconciliation Commission is the latest in a line of at least 36 commissions established by the Government of Sri Lanka to look for the truth, and yet victims say justice and accountability remains elusive. It's eight years today since the families of the disappeared bravely started street protests to call for action; since then more than 240 elderly relatives have died without finding out what happened to their loved ones.

Thirty-seven civil society organisations and 19 activists have already issued different statements rejecting the latest Truth Commission proposed by the Government. They point to the abject failure of past mechanisms¹, the failure to make documents public², lack of sufficient powers for the new body, the absence of international involvement in the process³, the absence of an appropriate judicial mechanism and the failure to implement the recommendations of a long line of previous commissions⁴.

Below is a list of 36 past commissions set up by the Government of Sri Lanka we have identified. Shockingly the final reports of more than a third of these - 14 - were never made public. Additionally, very few are even displayed on any government website, despite being for the large part digitised. Indeed, we could only find copies available of approximately half - 11 - of the 22 published reports of past commissions.

¹⁶ civil society organisations: https://adayaalam.org/joint-statement-on-the-inadequacy-of-a-truth-and-reconciliation-mechanism-to-achieve-post-war-transitional-justice/

² 19 civil society activists: https://island.lk/post-war-reconciliation-civil-society-group-tells-govt-how-to-proceed/

³ 16 civil society organisations: https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/tamils-across-north-east-reject-proposed-national-unity-and-reconciliation-commission

⁴ 15 civil society organisations: https://www.themorning.lk/articles/Uo7wCnlwGcm6pEXOvXZv

Additionally, there has been a pattern of inquiries being established to investigate only what happened but not to hold anyone criminally responsible, with the result that there is persistent recurrence of mass atrocities by the same individuals.

This raises serious concerns about the Sri Lankan President's latest accountability initiative. The first step towards truth would surely be for the Presidential website to acknowledge and endorse the content of past government investigations by publishing them online. In the spirit of truth this should include reports that name the President, like the Batalanda Commission, which concluded inter alia that it was impossible for the torture and detention at the Batalanda torture site to happen without Ranil Wickremesinghe's knowledge⁵.

We urge the Government of Sri Lanka to release the unpublished reports and to publish all past reports on the President's website - https://www.president.gov.lk .

⁵ Batalanda Commission Report at p. 66 and 68.

ref ⁶	Date of Appointment	Name of Commission ⁷	Mandate	Publication	Comments ⁸
1	1 November 1956	Commission of inquiry into the outbreaks of civil disturbance in the Eastern Province	To inquiry into civil disturbances between 1 January and 30 September 1956, particularly in the Gal Oya Development Project	Interim report of December 1956 published as Sessional Paper No. III, 1957 in January 1957	The commission was chaired by L A Rajapakse. In the interim report, the commission commented that "it will not be in the national interest to pursue the inquiry into these various incidents at this stage". It is not clear whether further investigations were conducted or whether a final report was ever submitted.
2	1958	Commission on Capital Punishment	Commission set up by Mrs Bandaranaike to advice on the use of the death penalty in Sri Lanka. Norval Morris, a New Zealand lawyer was appointed as the commission's Chairperson	Report published in June 1959	The majority of the Commission recommended that capital punishment remain suspended in Sri Lanka. ¹
3	28 June 1963	The Commission to Inquire into the death of Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in September 1959	To determine whether there was a wider political plot to assassinate S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.	Sessional Paper No. III, 1964 ² Not available online. ⁹	Scotland Yard assisted the police investigation. ³ Two of the three commissioners were from outside Sri Lanka. One person hanged for the crime and 2 imprisoned. ⁴
4	1972	The Criminal Justice Commission ⁵	Mandated as a public inquiry and a tribunal to try the suspects involved in the abortive insurrection of April 1971.6	Judgement in Inquiry No. 1 published in 1976. Available online at https://www.jstor.org/stable/saoa.crl.315700 27?seq=1	There were serious concerns about due process under the Criminal Justice Commission Act No 14 of 1972. Many of the surviving leaders of the JVP received prison sentences. The Act was repealed in 1977 and a general amnesty granted to those convicted under it.

⁶ Reference numbers in bold indicate that the report is on file with the ITJP.

⁷ This list comprises investigate bodies set up under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1948, the Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry Act, 1978 and Boards of Inquiry and other entities set up by the President of Sri Lanka. Unless otherwise stated, "commission of inquiry" refers to a commission set up under the 1948 Act. Where possible links to the content of the reports have been provided. It is noteworthy that beyond the fact that many reports remain unpublished, those who were published were not made available on government websites, but rather can be accessed via non-governmental sources.

⁸ Noting that this is only the investigations we have located so far – it likely does not represent the totality.

⁹ Obviously acknowledging many of these reports pre-date the Internet so were not put online at the time but should be now.

5	9 November 1977	The Sansoni	On the anti-Tamil	Final report, Sessional	Available online at
		Commission	violence that took place	Paper No. VII, 2 July,	https://lankafreelibrary.com/2019/10/15/sansoni-
			between 13 August and	1980.	commission-1980/
			15 September, 1977 ^{ix}		
6	March 1978	Special Presidential	Under the Special	Not available online.	Mrs Bandaranaike challenged the establishment of his body
		Commission of Inquiry	Presidential Commission		in the Court of Appeal. The court found that the Special
		into abuse or misuse of	of Inquiry Act, this body		Presidential Commission of Inquiry Act was not
		power by Prime	found Mrs Bandaranaike		retrospective in its function and therefore an inquiry of a
		Minister Sirimavo	guilty on six of the ten		period before its enactment was beyond its jurisdiction.
		Bandaranaike	charges in September		This was circumvented by two amendments with
			1980 and deprived her		retrospective effect, and Parliament declaring that the
			of her civic rights,		verdict of the Court of Appeal was null and void.xi
			resulting in her expulsion		
			from Parliament.x		
7	9 May 1991	Inquiry into incident	To inquire into the	Final report, Sessional	Inquiry conducted partly in France.xiii
		alleged to have	attack by aircraft on	Paper No. 11 of June,	
		occurred on the	personnel and property	1991.	It exonerated the Government.
		Palampiddi-Iranai	of Médecins Sans		
		Illuppaikulam-Vavuniya	Frontieres (MSF) on 3	Not available online.	
		Road on 03.05.1991xii	May, 1991 and to		
			ascertain whether the		
			firing upon of the MSF		
			vehicle by a government		
			helicopter was		
			intentional or accidental.		

8	18 June 1991	The Kokkadicholai	To inquire into ^{xiv} :	Final report, Sessional	The report failed to identify evidence against any individual
		Commission of Inquiry		Paper No. 11 of 9	soldier. xvi Military suspects were neither required to give
			(a) the explosion of a	March 1992.	evidence nor cross-examined.
			device buried on 12th		
			June, 1991 on the	Available at the	The Commission recommended any action to be taken
			Kokkadicholai –	National Archives &	under military law. A military court later acquitted 17
			Manmuni Ferry Road, in	Government	soldiers but found the officer-in-charge, Captain
			Batticaloa District which	Publications Bureau.	Kudaligama, guilty of failing to control his troops and
			killed two soldiers and		improper disposal of bodies.xvii
			injured a third	Not available online.xv	
			(b) the deaths of 67		
			civilians in Mahiladitivu,		
			Mudhaaikuda, and		
			Munaikadu, in the		
			Batticaloa District, and		
			the destruction of		
			property.		
9	January 1991×viii	Commission of Inquiry	President Premadasa	The commission	This commission came to a premature end following the
	January 1551	into Involuntary	appointed B.G. De Silva	submitted 21 interim	President's assassination on 1 May 1993.**
		Removals and/or	as chair of the	reports.	Tresident 3 dasadsination on 1 May 1333.
		Disappearances of	commission. Its mandate	терогіз.	
		Persons.	was extended twice in	Reports never	
		1 0130113.	January 1992 and	published.	
			January 1993.xix	publisheu.	
			Juliual y 1995.		
10	1993	Commission of Inquiry	President Wijetunga	Report never	
		into involuntary	appointed this	published.	
		removal of persons	commission to inquire		
		during 1991-1993 ^{xxi}	into involuntary		
			removals, limited to the		
			period 1991 – 1993 and		
			thus failed to cover the		
			period during which		
			large scale		

11	1992	Commission of inquiry into the killing of Lt. General Denzil Kobbekaduwa in a bomb explosion while traveling in a jeep at	disappearances had occurred (1987 – 1990). xxiii President Premadasa appointed this oneperson Commission headed by retired Supreme Court judge, Justice Ismail.	Report never published.	Justice Ismail reported, but his findings were questioned, and a new commission consisting of 3 international judges was set up.
		Araly, Jaffna.	Justice isiliali.		
12	1992	International Commission of Inquiry into the killing of Lt. General Denzil Kobbekaduwa	Consisting of three foreign judges.	Final report published as Sessional Paper No. VII, 1993. Not available online.	The Commission also heard evidence in London.xxiii
13	1995	Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the assassination of Lt. General Denzil Kobbekaduwa and nine others and causing serious injury to another at Araly, Kayts on 08 August 1992.		The proceedings of this SPCoI were televised. The final report was published as Sessional Paper, No. 9, 1997. Not available online.	The SPCoI was set up despite an earlier one-person commission and one consisting of three foreign judges already having examined the incident (see above).
14	November 1994	The Zonal Commissions on "Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons"	President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga set up the three Zonal Commissions each responsible for: i) the Central, North West, North Central and Uva Provinces; ii) the Northern and the Eastern Provinces; iii) the Western, Southern,	Not available online.	Very few indictments for 27,200 persons deemed disappeared. XXY To our knowledge there was a conviction only in the Embilipitiya case where the relevant Commission did a special report on the Embilipitiya incident which was never published. Though the Interim Reports as such were published in a limited print run, their Annexes were not, keeping the names of alleged perpetrators in individual cases and other sensitive information out of the public domain.

			and Sabaragamuwa Provinces. xxiv		Underlying testimony still under Official Secrets Act order until 2030. Interim Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the
					Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Central, North Western, North Central and Uva Provinces, Sessional Paper No. III, September 1997.
					Interim Reports of Commission of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Northern & Eastern Provinces, Sessional Paper No. IV, September 1997.
					Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa Provinces, Sessional Paper No V, Volume I and Volume II, September 1997
					Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Central, North Western, North Central and Uva Provinces, Sessional Paper No. VI, September 1997
					Final Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Northern & Eastern Provinces, Sessional Paper No. VII, September 1997.xxvi
15	1995	Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry to look into the assassination on 23 April 1993 and the prior physical attacks	The Chairperson was Retd Supreme Court Judge Tissa Dias Bandaranayake. Mat ara High Court Judge G.W. Edirisuriya was the othe member.	Final report submitted on 7 October 1997. It was published.	Independent from the SPCoI, the government invited Scotland Yard to investigate the killing.xxvii The Commission identified 7 people as being responsible for the death of Lalith Athulathmudali. Its findings created a lot of controversy.xxviii

		on Lalith Athulathmudali			
16	1995	Special Presidential Commission is investigating the killing in February 1988 of Vijaya Kumaratunga	The Commission comprised the then- Supreme Court Justices Sarath N Silva and P Ramanathan, and High Court Judge D Jayawickreme	The Commission's report was published as Sessional Paper No. 1, 1996. The report is available at the National Archives*** and Government Publications Bureau. Not available online.	The Commission named then-President Ranasinghe Premadasa and his deputy Minister of Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne as indirectly responsible for the assassination of Vijaya Kumaratunga. Both had been killed by the time the report came out.
17	November 1996	Board of Investigation	President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga appointed a Board of Investigation (BOI) under the Defence Ministry to specifically investigate 2621 cases of disappearances of those arrested by the army in Jaffna in mid-1996.	Report never published though submitted to Government in April 1998.***	
18	December 1998 ^{xxxi}	The 1998 All Island Disappearances Commission	Investigated disappearance cases that the three Zonal Commissions had not addressed.xxxii	Reported in May 2000 and report made public (but not in full) as Sessional Paper No. I, March 2001 in June 2002.xxxiii	The AIC investigated 10,136 complaints not pursued by the Zonal Commissions were transmitted. It established evidence of 4,473 disappearances in addition to the cases documented by the other commissions. When completing its work, it referred 16,305 additional complaints, which it was prohibited from reviewing per its mandate, to the Sri Lankan Human Rights Commission.xxxiv Though the report was published, its Annexes were not – keeping names of alleged perpetrators in individual cases and other sensitive information out of the public domain.

					Limited circulation print run only.xxxv
19	December 1995	Commission of Inquiry into the establishment and maintenance of Places of Unlawful Detention and Torture chambers at the Batalanda Housing Schemexxxvi	Examining a torture site from the JVP era. XXXVIII	Report of the Commission made public as Sessional Paper No. 1, 2000.	Limited circulation print run only.
20	March 2001	Commission of Inquiry into incidents that took place at the Bindunuwewa Rehabilitation Centre, Bandarawela on 25 October 2000xxxviii	Looking at the Bindunuwewa Rehabilitation Centre where 27 Tamil inmates died and 14 were injured during an attack by Sinhalese civilians and police shooting.	November 2001. Report never published.	The report largely depoliticizes the attack itself.******
21	23 July 2001	Presidential Truth Commission on Ethnic Violence (1981 – 1984) ^{xl}	To look at the ethnic violence that took place between 1981-1984, with "special reference to the period of July 1983".xli	The Commission reported in September 2002.xiii The report was published as Sessional Paper No. 3, 2003 Available online but not on GOSL sitexiiii	Of the several thousand suspected perpetrators identified, fewer than 500 were indicted and even fewer convicted.xliv
22	23 August 2006	Two-member Commission of Inquiry to investigate the	Established by President Mahinda Rajapaksa to inquire into the	Final report submitted to the President but never published.	Court case collapsed in 2021 with the AG's office dropping charges against Pillyan and four other suspects. xlvi

		assassination of	assassination on 25		
		Batticaloa district	December 2005 and		
		Parliamentarian Joseph	examine the manner in		
		Pararajasingham ^{xlv}	which the investigations		
		- Tururujusingilum	were carried out by the		
			Police and other security		
			personnel.		
23	15 September 2006	Presidential	To examine incidents of	Interim reports were	
23	13 September 2000	Commission on the	abductions,	submitted on 12	
		Disappeared (The	disappearances,	December 2006 and 23	
		Mahanama Tilakaratne	unidentified dead bodies	March 2007	
		Commission)xlvii	and unexplained killings	respectively. The final	
		Commission	since 13 September	report was submitted	
			2006. To identify any	to the President in May	
			armed group or groups,	2007. xlviii	
			any other forces or	2007.	
			persons who were	Report never	
			directly or indirectly	published.	
			responsible for or	publisheu.	
			involved in these		
			incidents.		
24	3 November 2006	Commission of Inquiry	Established by President	The final report of the	The post-war Lessons Learnt and Reconciliations
24	3 November 2006		·	Commission was	·
		to Investigate and	Mahinda Rajapaksa to		Commission (LLRC) strongly recommended 'the
		Inquire into Alleged	investigate 16 incidents,	submitted to the	implementation of the recommendations of the report' and
		Serious Violations of	including the killing of five students in	President in June 2009.	its publication.
		Human Rights	Trincomalee and the	It was tabled in Parliament on 20	
		Occurring since 1	massacre of aid workers	October 2015.xlix	
		August 2005 (the		October 2015.	
		Udalagama	of Action Against Hunger		
		Commission)	(ACF) in Muttur. Also		
			included the Joseph		
			Pararajasingham case		
25	F-1	tota on attaca d	(see above).	Final control Applied 2000	La Marach 2000 the intermediated by the short of the
25	February 2007	International	The IIGEP was formed in	Final report April 2008	In March 2008, the international body aborted its mission
1		Independent Group of	February 2007, when the		because of witness protection and other concerns.li
			President of Sri Lanka		

		Eminent Persons (IIGEP)	invited 11 persons from a number of countries to observe the work of the Udalagama Commission (see above).		
26	May 2010	Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC)	The LLRC was formed with a mandate to inquire into the failure of the ceasefire agreement of 2002, and the "sequence of events" thereafter leading to the end of the war in May 2009.	The Commission presented its 388-page final report to the President on 15 November 2011. It was tabled in Parliament and made public on 16 December 2011. Iii	
27	2013	Army Board on Implementation of the Recommendations of the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission	To investigate allegations of excessive civilian casualties that were said to have been caused due to heavy shelling.	Report available online on official website. liii	Members of the board were effectively senior officers investigating their own conduct Iv. They exonerated themselves. The board comprised: Major General Kamal Gunaratne, Brigadier Senaka Wickramarathne, Brigadier Aruna Wanniarachchi, Brigadier G.V. Ravipriya, Brigadier Suraj Bansajaya and Lieutenant Colonel Piyal Wijesiriwardhane. Veregarding the C4 executions videos this recommended *§47) that "The Government should initiate an independent investigation into this matter to establish the truth or otherwise of the allegations arising from the video footage." Vi In 2011 Sri Lanka had earlier said before that it was not possible because video too blurred. Viii There is no indication this was done.
28	2013	Military Court of Inquiry ^{viii}	Appointed by Jagath Jayasuriya.	Report never published.	There were reports saying this exonerated the Army. lix It also promised to investigate the C4 execution videos: "The C of I will now proceed to investigate the 2nd part of their mandate, to wit Channel 4 allegation on summary

					executions of captured LTTE terrorists. Ix" – this never happened. Members were: Major General A.W.J.C. de Silva President Major General A.K.S. Perera Member Brigadier J.R. Kulatunga Member Brigadier W.R.P. de Silva Member Brigadier A.S. Wijewickrama Member Lieutenant Colonel H.M.L.D. Herath
29	26 June 2013	Commission of Inquiry to probe the circumstances surrounding the mass graves discovered at Matale	To look into a mass grave thought to date to the JVP era. lxii	The Commission submitted its final report to President Sirisena in 2015. Report never published.	The Commission was ordered to conduct its inquiry in parallel with investigations conducted by the Magistrate and the Police. xiiii The Sri Lanka Sunday Times claimed to have had access to the report and reported on its findings in May 2015. xiv
30	15 August 2013	Commission of inquiry appointed to investigate cases of persons who went missing from the Northern and Eastern Provinces during the war	To investigate cases of persons from the Northern and Eastern Provinces who were abducted or disappeared from their places of residence between 10 June 1990 and 19 May 2009. The Commission was known as the Paranagama commission, after its Chairperson.	The report was tabled in Parliament on 20 October 2015. lxv It is available on a nongovernmental website. lxvi	The Commission is reported to have received more than 21,000 complaints of missing persons by June 2015. xvii
31	January 2016	Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanisms (CTF)	Chaired by Manouri Muttetuwegama, who had also been chair of two commissions of	The final report was made public by the CTF in January 2022. Neither the Prime	

			in accion cinta	Minister on Durant-Lauri	
			inquiry into	Minister or President	
			disappearances	attended the event. xviii	
			appointed by Chandrika	The English version	
			Kumaratunga in the mid-	only can be accessed	
			90s (see above). The CTF	on the OMP site. lxix	
			was set up by then Prime		
			Minister Ranil		
			Wickremesinghe as per		
			the October 2015 UN		
			Human Rights Council		
			resolution on Sri Lanka,		
			co-sponsored by the		
			Government of Sri		
			Lanka.		
32	September 2019	Commission of Inquiry	Chaired by Supreme	Two interim reports	The Final Report has 472 pages, 215 annexes and 6
		into Easter Bombing	Court judge, Janak de	were submitted to	volumes ^{lxxiii} .
			Silva	President Gotabaya	
				Rajapakse in December	
				2019 and March 2020.	
				The final report was	
				presented in February	
				2021. lxx It was tabled in	
				Parliament in April	
				2021 xxi and is available	
				on the Presidential	
				Secretariat's	
				website. lxxii	
33	8 January 2020	Commission of Inquiry	The Commission was	The final report was	The Commission received 1971 complaints. Its report
	,	to Investigate	also instructed to	handed over to	consists of 3 volumes and 2043 pages. lxxvi
		Allegations of Political	conduct an in-depth	President Gotabaya	In February 2023, the Attorney General informed the Court
		Victimization	investigation into serious	Rajapakse in December	of Appeal that the Cabinet of Ministers had decided not to
			fraud, corruption, abuse	2020. lxxiv	implement the commissions' recommendations in a case
			of state resources,		filed by President Ranil Wickremesinghe, among others,
			privileges, power and	A Sinhala version was	seeking the quashing of the commission's
			authority. The	leaked by a national	recommendations.lxxvii
			Chairperson was Justice		

			Abeyrathne. He later became chairperson of the Office of Missing Persons.	newspaper in January 2021. lxxv Report never published.	
34	January 2021	Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry to implement recommendations of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Political Victimization (the SPCoI)	This SPCoI was appointed by Gazette (Extraordinary) No. 2212/53 on 29 January 2021. bxxviii Its mandate was amended by Gazette (Extraordinary) No. 2221/54 of 1st April 2021, adding, among others, a mandate to "inquire into and report whether all or any of the findings, decisions and recommendations contained in the aforesaid report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry, made in respect of all the persons identified therein, are justified." lxxix	It is not known whether this Commission has concluded its work, and/or whether it has reported on its findings. Report never published.	Though this commission was not mandated to investigate human rights violations, it is included in this list on the basis that its records may contain critical information regarding serious violations and the alleged perpetrators.
35	January 2021	Presidential Commission of Inquiry to investigate the findings of preceding Commissions and Committees.	Chaired by Justice Nawaz. The Commission mandate was extended on 28 July 2023 until 31 August 2023. lxxx	A synopsis was submitted to the President in February 2023. lxxxi It is not known whether the final report has been submitted, as of early 2024. Report never	The synopsis is reported to contain 27 recommendations. It has not been made public. xxxii

				published.	
36	6 June 2022	Commission of Inquiry	Three-member	It is not known	
		to investigate claims of	commission appointed	whether this	
		individuals,	by President Gotabaya	commission has	
		institutions,	Rajapakse. Chairperson	concluded its work,	
		organizations and	was Justice Buwaneka	and/or whether it has	
		associations whose	Pandukabaya Aluwihare,	reported on its	
		properties and	Judge of the Supreme	findings.	
		personal effects	Court.		
		were lost or subjected		Report never	
		to vandalism of all		published.	
		forms including arson,			
		and looting and theft			
		that took place			
		during March 31st			
		2022 and May 15th			
		2022 in several parts of			
		the country.			

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² https://www.dailymirror.lk/opinion/Aftermath-Of-Bandaranaikes-Assassination-INVESTIGATION-TO-INDICTMENT/172-175319

³ https://www.dailymirror.lk/opinion/Aftermath-Of-Bandaranaikes-Assassination-INVESTIGATION-TO-INDICTMENT/172-175319

⁴ https://www.dailymirror.lk/opinion/Aftermath-Of-Bandaranaikes-Assassination-INVESTIGATION-TO-INDICTMENT/172-175319

⁵ Cevlon Daily News, 13 June 1972

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<sup>6</sup> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1971_JVP_Insurrection
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of/?searchterm=B.G.%20De%20Silva%20commission%20appointed%20by%20President%20Premadasa

⁷ https://repository.nls.ac.in/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1301&context=nlsj , p60

⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1971 JVP Insurrection

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xii ICJ, Post-war Justice in Sri Lanka, Rule of Law, the Criminal Justice System, and Commissions of Inquiry, Kishali Pinto-Jayawardena, January 2010, p67

xiii https://www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/s/srilanka/srilanka925.pdf

xiv The Law and Society Trust: A LEGACY TO REMEMBER, p15

^{**} http://www.archives.gov.lk/web/index.php?option=com archivesholding&lang=en&limitstart=1035

xvi ICJ, Post-war Justice in Sri Lanka, 2010, p68-71 and 97-98

xvii ICJ, 2010, p97

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xix The Law and Society Trust: A LEGACY TO REMEMBER, p. 20 ICJ, 2010, p. 71-72. The Commissions were appointed through Gazette Notification No. 644/27; No. 697/5 and No. 751/1 respectively

^{**} http://www.ruleoflawsrilanka.org/resources/writings-of-m-c-m-iqbal/disappearances-in-sri-lanka-and-the-findings-

xxid The Law and Society Trust: A LEGACY TO REMEMBER, p21. The commission was appointed through Gazette Notification No. 784/1 of 13 September 1993

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