Human Rights Situation in Sri Lanka

August 17, 2015 - August 17, 2016

INFORM Human Rights Documentation Centre
INFORM was established in 1990 to monitor and document human rights situation in Sri Lanka, especially in the context of the ethnic conflict and war, and to report on the situation through written and oral interventions at the local, national and international level. INFORM also focused on working with other communities whose rights were frequently and systematically violated. Presently, INFORM is focusing on election monitoring, freedom expression and human rights defenders. INFORM is based in Colombo Sri Lanka, and works closely with local activists, groups and networks as well as regional (Asian) and international human rights networks.
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Introduction and acknowledgements

The January 2015 presidential elections didn’t just defeat Mahinda Rajapakse. It was an electoral rejection of Rajapakse politics and way of ruling by Sri Lankan people, ending also a period of “state capture” by one family and their cronies. The results of the parliamentary elections of the August 2015 reinforced this.

18th August 2016 will mark one year since the results of this historic parliamentary elections.

On this occasion, INFORM attempts to assess developments and trends during this period, August 2015 – August 2016, from a rights perspective. This is not intended to be a comprehensive assessment of the human rights situation in Sri Lanka for the period, as such an exercise will require much broader look at different rights of different individuals and communities, based on solid research and analysis.

Instead, we invited activists working in different fields to contribute their assessments of specific trends, specific rights and specific communities, based on their experiences and knowledge. We have published them without editing, even if opinions and expressions may not reflect those of INFORM.

Our report covers some significant trends and developments, but as is often the case with such reports, we have not been able to cover some other important developments.

We gratefully acknowledge the willingness of all the contributors to provide concise articles at short notice. We also acknowledge with appreciation the hard work of INFORM’s staff, Samal and Damith, as well as advice from Sunanda Deshapriya towards this report.
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Executive Summary

The parliamentary elections of August 2015 brought into power a coalition government between the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the United National Party (UNP), the two major political parties that had ruled Sri Lanka since independence from the British in 1948. This elections reaffirmed the leader of the UNP as the Prime Minister, to work with the leader of the SLFP who had been elected as President in January 2015. The alliance also receives the support of major political parties representing ethnic minorities, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) and the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), despite the TNA leader being the Opposition Leader. A faction of the SLFP and some smaller parties, calling themselves “Joint Opposition”, remain loyal to defeated former President Rajapakse and opposed to the ruling alliance. But despite street protests and vocal outbursts over media, their strength in parliament appears to be less than 50 out of 225, way below the required strength to oppose even constitutional changes which requires two thirds majority.

This political configuration, and ruling alliance’s links to progressive intellectuals, artists, clergy, lawyers, journalists, trade unions and activists, as well as international goodwill, has opened up unprecedented possibilities for radical reforms towards ethnic and religious reconciliation, rights, democratization and sustainable development. But after one year, despite significant gains, hopes are going down.

A major boost towards a culture of rights came about when independent appointments were made to the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka (HRCSL) and other independent statutory bodies through the Constitutional Council, based on the 19th amendment to the constitution enacted in April 2015. The newly appointed Commissioners of the HRCSL were quick to assert their independence, taking public positions on issues such as death penalty, those detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), hate speech and freedom of expression etc. The HRCSL also stepped up detention visits and got the President and top Police officers to march on the streets against torture. However, the HRCSL has a long way to go, with complainants still not receiving adequate responses in a timely manner, with a challenges such as huge backlog of cases, delays in appointments to key positions, incompetency and state centric approach of some staff.

A very important initiative during the period was the launch of public consultation process to seek ideas for a new constitution. The Public Representation Committee (PRC) appointed to lead the process went to all the districts and received rich body of oral and written
submissions, dealing with variety of issues. The PRC have made public their report in all three languages, including their own observations and recommendations. However, the process had not penetrated to many rural villages and the reports remains practically inaccessible to most people. While the government doesn’t appear to be doing much public outreach to carry forward the important work done by the PRC, new expert committees are now assisting the Constituent Assembly (the parliament) to take the process forward, but behind closed doors. One of the PRC members have contributed an article about his experiences and observations.

The rights discourse was largely dominated by government’s commitment towards transitional justice, a relatively new word in Sri Lanka. These largely dealt with war related rights abuses and ongoing violations, including militarization of civilian activities, war crimes, crimes against humanity etc. Government’s promises, progress made so far, ongoing violations that are of concern are looked at in more detail in a specific article on transitional justice. Overall, it appears that the transitional justice process is limping forward, amidst opposition of the Rajapaksa loyalists and skepticism of some Tamil politicians and activists, without much political commitment and public outreach from the President and the Prime Minister.

Disappearances is one of the issues on which there had been significant developments, such as the ratification of the International Convention against Enforced Disappearances, the visit of the UN Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances and most importantly, the passing of an Act of Parliament to set up an Office of Missing Persons (OMP). However, secrecy in which the OMP bill was drafted and rushed through, the weaknesses and ambiguities of the draft Bill, extremely slow phase disappearances cases are dealt with in Sri Lankan courts and reports of ongoing abductions and disappearances have dampened the promises of truth and justice for families of disappeared.

The government had committed to repeal and reform the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), but persons continued to be arrested under the PTA. Human rights defenders who were PTA detainees under the previous government, continued to be subjected to be investigations, restrictions and harassments under this law. There are concerns that new laws introduced may also be repressive towards minorities and government critiques. PTA detainees and their families and activists launched several protests seeking an end to their long years of detention, but despite promises, and release of some, the issue of PTA detainees remains unresolved.
Similarly, there has been limited and slow progress on government’s commitments to release lands occupied by the military to their rightful owners. Whole villages in the Northern Province remain occupied by the military, despite some lands being released within the last 12 months and earlier part of 2015. Serious concerns have also been expressed by fisherfolk and farmers about their traditional livelihoods being disrupted due to tourism and other development projects by military and large hotel chains.

Long standing rights issues still remain largely unaddressed. Rights of persons with disability, migrant workers, workers in the free trade zone and informal sector, Tamils of Indian origin working in tea estates, violence, discrimination and social stigma based on caste, sexuality and gender, violence against women, women’s political participation etc. have not received the same attention that transitional justice related issues had received.

This report looks at abusive contracts which restrict workers’ rights, lack of minimum wages, health issues in relation to workers in the free trade zones, and also rights of Tamils of Indian origin, through the contributions of two activists who have been engaged with these issues for long time.

Homosexuality remains criminalized in Sri Lanka and social stigma also remains. Both social media and mainstream state media had space for both positive and negative comments on rights of persons with different sexual orientations and gender identities. The article on the subject notes that space for discourse on these issues was not available in state media before, and also lauds the initiative of the HRCSL in promoting rights of persons with different gender identities and sexual orientations.

The article on education appreciates the increased scholarship scheme for university students and budgetary allocation for education, while pointing out that it still falls below the expected 6% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). There are concerns about continuing politicization and commercialization of education. The government has been accused of dragging it’s feet on ragging of fresher’s by senior university students but it appeared to have ensured that inter-ethnic tensions in some universities were not allowed to flare out of proportion.

The article on economic policies argues that despite four decades of neo-liberal economic policies that had increased inequalities and marginalization, and failing to achieve sustainable and equitable development, the new government is moving in the same direction. The article points out that market liberalization with reducing government support,
puts rural agriculture based livelihoods of more than 40% of the country’s population in danger and has a negative impact on food security of the poor. It also notes that loans for large scale infrastructure development projects are increasing the debt to about 100% of the GDP.

The article on environment and agriculture highlights that development projects are being implemented without consideration to the environment, although the negative impact last year is less than during the Rajapaksa rule. It also points out development induced displacement due to the commercialization of land as a commodity and the need for clear policy on agriculture which goes beyond temporary solutions for problems that emerge on and off.

The article looking at religious freedom indicates that attacks, restrictions and intimidation of religious minorities, particularly Muslims and Evangelical Christians, have continued, although on a scale that’s less intense. The article highlights that unlike the Rajapaksa era, there is no explicit government support towards extremist Buddhist groups attacking religious minorities.

Another significant positive development was the belated, but important passing of the Right to Information Act. This is dealt with in detail in one of the chapters.

Despite continuing threats, restrictions and attacks on activists and journalists, the article dealing with freedom of expression, assembly and association indicates an opening up of democratic spaces for dissent and resistance. The situation in the North appears to be more repressive than the rest of the country, particularly through heavy military presence, surveillance by intelligence agencies and reports of continuing abductions, disappearances and arrests under the PTA.

If the benchmark is human rights practice and policy under Rajapaksa rule, it becomes evident that the 12 months since the parliamentary elections has seen significant improvements in the human rights situation, along with important legal and institutional developments towards rights protection. However, the phase of reforms appear to be slow, particularly in addressing impunity for past violations. Continuing violations of human rights, militarization and neo-liberal economic policies are dampening hopes and prospects that were there one year ago. Despite the strength of the broad-based political alliance in power, the government has been reluctant to push through with radical reforms and take actions to win hearts and minds of Tamil population and other marginalized communities through concrete actions.
1. The New Constitution Must Enhance Democracy and Ensure Greater Socio-Economic Protection to People and Resources

*S.C.C.Elankovan*

“Since then the parliament which is functioning as a constitutional assembly of all its members lead by a steering committee and several sub committees is said to be debating both the PRC report and other representations and ideas for a new constitution. This process remains under closed doors and thus shrouded in secrecy which in itself goes against the very principles of democratic governance and transparency the public demanded should be firmly enshrined in a new constitution.”

Sixty eight years from independence from colonial rule Sri Lanka has another thirst with its own destiny. The authoritarian rule of a popular and powerful president with a two thirds majority in parliament and virtually in most other provincial and local authorities outside the north and east came to an end at the presidential election on the 8th of January 2015. The new president and his new prime minister from opposite sides of the political divide provided an opportunity for change. This change was further entrenched by the 19th amendment to the constitution which reduced the powers of the presidency and restored some dignity and space for bi partisan and independent civil society engagement through the reinforcement of the role of the constitutional council and independent commissions.

As a sequel the parliamentary elections of August 2015 brought a new animal (a national government of the 2 major parities), followed by an undertaking to bring further reform to the constitution. The public representations committee set up to hear, compile and report on public representations called for public representations from the public and travelled the country to hear them a process that engaged the public who responded
by making over 3700 representations. The PRC’s report released to the public in May this year seemed to seal the debate as to whether the country needed a new constitution, proposing based on public views that ‘we need a new constitution to take us forward as a new nation’ leaving behind the mistakes of the past which have lead to so much destruction to life and property.

Since then the parliament which is functioning as a constitutional assembly of all its members lead by a steering committee and several sub committees is said to be debating both the PRC report and other representations and ideas for a new constitution. This process remains under closed doors and thus shrouded in secrecy which in itself goes against the very principles of democratic governance and transparency the public demanded should be firmly enshrined in a new constitution. The enigma of 225 elected representatives (most politicians first and statesmen least) debating aspects of a constitution which would reduce their present powers and seek to restore greater democracy and transparency is confronting.

It is therefore for us the public to call their representatives to account and demands from them that the new constitution enshrines the following; a creative and expanded bill of rights ensuring the equality of all, lays the building blocks for reconciliation among all communities by ensuring inclusion of all within a plural but Sri Lankan identity, puts in place proper checks and balances that ensures greater democracy and transparency, ensures that the rights of the present and future generations are protects by including socio economic rights of Sri Lanka’s peoples over its resources and devolve power to the provinces and local authorities not only as a solution to the Tamil and Muslim peoples demand but more to ensure that people all over the country have better control over their local resources and are more engaged in governance both at local and national level.
2. Sri Lanka's Transitional Moment and Transitional Justice

Ruki Fernando

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Mangala Samaraweera, at the 30th Session of the UNHRC, 14 September 2015, Geneva

Within the first month after winning the parliamentary elections in August 2015, the new Government made a series of commitments related to transitional justice. These were articulated through a speech by the Foreign Minister at the 30th session of the UN Human Rights Council.¹ These commitments were also reflected in the resolution on Sri Lanka that was adopted by the Human Rights Council on 1 October 2015.² The resolution came just after the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights had published a report which alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity and other serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian

¹ Speech by Hon Mangala Samaraweera at the 30th session of the Human Rights Council, Geneva, 14 September 2015.
laws, by both the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE.³

**Government's commitments**

The present Government’s commitments included setting up an Office of Missing Persons (OMP), a Commission for Truth, Justice, and Guarantees of Non-reoccurrence, a Judicial mechanism with Special Counsel, which will have the participation of foreign judges, prosecutors, investigators and defence lawyers, and an Office for Reparations. The Government also committed to reduce the military’s role in civilian affairs, facilitate livelihoods, repeal and reform the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), criminalise disappearances, ratify the Enforced Disappearance Convention⁴, review the victim and witness protection law, and range of other actions. Consultations to seek people's views on transitional justice is underway across the country, under the leadership of some civil society activists.

The Enforced Disappearance Convention was ratified in May this year and the draft Bill to create the OMP was passed by Parliament on 11 August. There are positive features as well as weaknesses and ambiguities in the Bill⁵. Due to a history of failed initiatives, the minimal ‘consultations’ that occurred during drafting process and the lack of information on details, there appears to be very little confidence in the OMP amongst families of the disappeared. This is likely to be the case for other mechanisms, unless there’s a drastic change in approach from the government.

**Reactions to transitional justice within Sri Lanka**

Currently, the transitional justice agenda appears to be polarising Sri Lankan society. Opinion polls, and my own impressions, indicate that the Tamil community, particularly in the North and the East, who bore the brunt of the war, appears to favour strong international involvement. But

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⁵ For more on OMP, see [http://thewire.in/42687/sri-lankas-disappeared-will-the-latest-missing-persons-office-bring-answers/](http://thewire.in/42687/sri-lankas-disappeared-will-the-latest-missing-persons-office-bring-answers/)
the majority Sinhalese community appears to reject international involvement. Varying opinions have been expressed about forgetting the past, memorialisation, prosecutions, and amnesty. There are also different or contradictory opinions and expectations within each ethnic community and amongst survivors of violations and families of victims.

The Government's transitional justice commitments have been criticised by the former President and his supporters. Even the release of a few political prisoners, the release of small amounts of land occupied by the military, and the establishment of the OMP to find truth about missing persons have been framed as an international conspiracy that endangers national security and seeks revenge from "war heroes".

There does not appear to be an official Government policy document on transitional justice. The Government's commitments have only been officially articulated in Geneva by the Foreign Minister and not in Sri Lanka. The Foreign Minister has been the regular advocate and defender of these commitments. Some of the meetings with local activists have been convened by him and the Secretariat for Co-ordinating Reconciliation Mechanisms (SCRM) is housed in the Foreign Ministry. All these contribute to the process being seen as emanating and driven by foreign pressure. Outreach on the Government's transitional justice plans appears to focus on the international community and not towards Sri Lankan people.

The President and Prime Minister have not been championing the Government's official commitments. For example, the duo have publicly stated that the commitment to have foreign judges in the judicial mechanism will not be fulfilled. Even this has not satisfied the critics alleging foreign conspiracy, and has disappointed some activists, especially Tamils, as well as survivors and victims’ families.

Developments on the ground

Monuments erected to honour the Sinhalese dominated military during the Rajapakse time continue to dominate the Tamil majority Northern landscape. Army camps that were built over some of the cemeteries of former LTTE cadres that were bulldozed by the Army after the war are still there. The loved ones of those whose remains were in these cemeteries have no place to grieve, lay flowers, light a candle, or say a prayer. While the numbers have reduced from those under the Rajapakse regime, intimidation and reprisals on families,
attacks, and threats and intimidation of activists and journalists continue to occur. Limited progress on issues, such as the release of political prisoners, land occupied by military, continuing military involvement in civilian affairs in the North and East, reports of continuing abductions, and arrests under the PTA have raised doubts about the Government's commitments. Although a few military personnel have been convicted and some others arrested on allegations of human rights abuses, the lack of progress in thousands of other cases only reinforces calls for international involvement for justice.

Towards Rights & Democratization beyond Transitional Justice framework

Unemployment, debt, and sexual and gender-based violence is widespread in the former war ravaged areas. The new Government’s economic and development policies are focusing on trade, investment, and mega development projects, which privilege the rich and marginalise the poor. Pre-war rights issues, such as landlessness, sexual and gender-based violence and discrimination, caste, rights of workers, including those working on tea estates, still need to be addressed.

A consultation process towards a new constitution drew a large number of public representations, dealing with many of the issues mentioned above. But the next steps are not clear, particularly in finding political solutions to the grievances of the country’s ethnic minorities.

The political leadership will have to reach out to all Sri Lankans, especially to the Sinhalese majority, about its reform agenda, while taking principled actions to win the confidence of numerical minorities such as Tamils and Muslims. At the national level, the coming together of the two major political parties and support of the two major parties representing Tamils and Muslims, makes this a unique opportunity to push towards radical reforms.

It will also be a challenge to go beyond a conventional transitional justice framework and use the transitional moment to move towards reconciliation, democratisation, and sustainable development, by addressing civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural rights in a holistic manner, considering the yearnings of war survivors, victims’ families, and the poor, for truth, reparations, criminal accountability, and economic justice.
3. Freedom of Expression, Association and, Assembly

Sunanda Deshapriya

Commitments to rights are tested mainly in adverse situations. This is true for State as well as non-state actors. As the present government marks one year, despite laudable democratic achievements of the government, cracks have started to appear in the sphere of democratic rights.

Padayathra protest by the joint opposition, Photocredits Shehan Gunasekera

In July 2016 when the so-called joint opposition led by former president Rajapaksa organised a protest march form Kandy to Colombo, police obtained a number of court orders to impose restrictions against the march. The United National Party headed by the Prime Minister planned their own activities to counter the march alongside its route. State controlled media used to tilt against the protest march.

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6 http://www.colombopage.com/archive_16B/Jul28_1469686465CH.php
7 http://www.dailynews.lk/?q=2016/07/28/local/88837
Notwithstanding the fact that the Rajapaksa led march was aimed at inciting extreme Sinhala nationalist feelings and to sabotage democratic reforms of the government, their right to protest and peaceful assembly should have been respected.

Protest of HNDA students was attacked. 29th October 2015, near Townhall in Colombo

Abusing police powers in order to intimidate and harass democratic dissent was the hallmark of Rakapaksa politics. Under the present government too, the Police has used disproportional force to disrupt peaceful protests of university students on many occasions.

Complaints of surveillance by state intelligence officers on human rights activists and activism in the North and East are continuing, although with less intensity.

The government’s inability or unwillingness to go ahead with the necessary security sector reforms is eroding its democratic credentials. 30 years of war and decade long Rajapaksa autocracy has given security apparatus power over peoples’ right to free expression, association and assembly. The war time and security state mind-set of the security apparatus remained unreformed and there by hampering full enjoyment of rights by the people.

People have been able to challenge the continuation of old practices under the new government. Right to association which was severely restricted under the former regime, especially in the
former war zone, has been restored. More and more dissenting activities are taking place in those areas without restrictions.

In this field (right to association) too, the Government has so far not been able to take the necessary next steps. Although Non-Government Organisations are no longer under the Ministry of Defence, the newly set up NGO Secretariat is planning to co-opt local NGOs in to its networks. According to the official website of the NGO Secretariat one of its objectives is to ‘make sure that NGOs act within the national policy framework of the country’.

The regulatory mechanism introduced by the Rajapaksa regime to control NGO sector has not been completely dismantled.

One other area of concern is media freedom. Leading politicians of the Government have repeatedly accused media for not covering their achievements sufficiently. In their opinion the Government’s major weakness is its inability communicate to people, regarding the development process. This perception has led to occasional but increasing attacks on media and journalists.

Both leaders of the Government, the President and the Prime Minister, have been very critical of some media in recent times. PM Wickremesinghe has called editors and newspapers anti – government and implied that those editors might lose their positions if they do not change their editorial line.

Government officials serving Ministry of Media have overstepped their mandate on few occasions in censoring or regulating media. In the name of curbing hate speech Minister of Justice tried to introduce an anti-media and anti-democratic legislation in December 2015. In early March 2016, the Ministry of Parliamentary Reforms and Mass Media issued a circular calling for website registration. The circular stated that “(a)ll news websites operating in Sri Lanka have to be registered with the Ministry of Parliamentary Reforms and Mass Media enabling them to be operated under recognized ethics and standards without any interruption.” Websites that had not been registered thus far were requested to take necessary steps to obtain

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registration before 31st March 2016 and it was informed that websites that remained unregistered would be considered as unlawful from that date.

But so far, the Government has not taken any action against the web media that is not registered.

It is an undeniable fact that there are media institutions in Sri Lanka which publish completely unethical reports aimed at disrupting communal harmony and ethnic intolerance. Some of them are hell-bent on sabotaging the establishment of human rights accountability mechanisms. Yet verbal or physical suppression of those unethical media is not the answer.

Under the Rajapaksa regime almost all privately owned TV and radio stations had become regime’s propagandist, most of the time willingly. Critical online media were either banned or cowed in to submission. State owned huge media machinery had become the political arm of the ruling party. In fact they were part and parcel of the regime’s oppressive strategy and war triumphalism ideology. Ideological allegiance to war triumphalism and extreme Sinhala nationalism within the mainstream media remains a challenge in creating social responsible and reconciliation friendly media culture in the country.

During the first year in power the government has failed to appoint a special commission to investigate the attacks unleashed by the Rajapaksa regime upon media and journalists. A commission has been a collective call by national and international media organisations for years but this government too has not heeded to their demand.

One more negative feature is the present Government’s intention of keeping state owned media under its political control. The Government, and either the President or the Prime Minister, have made no commitment to make state controlled media institutions independent. All state owned media institutions, that is, print, television, radio, and web are politically controlled rendering them biased. By controlling state owned media politically, the Government has lost its moral right to be critical of unethical privately owned media.

In spite of above mentioned concerns and some negative developments, there is no doubt that under the present Government the democratic space has been expanded and strengthened considerably. In general, the newly expanded democratic space has enabled people of this country to enjoy the freedom of expression, association and assembly to a larger extent.

Under Rajapaksa’s semi-autocracy all those freedoms had been turn into privileges for its henchmen and stooges only to praise the regime. Journalists who organised training workshops had to abandon them in the face of thugs unleashed by the regime. Thick and black used engine
oil attacks were directed at activists who campaigned against white van abductions. Independent civil society organisations were facing constant threats and intimidations. Protest marches were shot at, killing peaceful participants. Military surveillance of dissenting individuals and outfits had reached its zenith. Even independent community organisations were not spared. Right to remembrances of Tamil people were openly and violently suppressed.

Things have changed for better under the present government.

Today media in Sri Lanka is not shackled. There is no web censorship. Number of popular Sri Lankan news websites has shifted their overseas operations to Colombo, some of them even running online radio services and television channels. Number of new newspapers too has been launched.

Restrictions imposed by the Rajapaksa regime on foreign journalists visiting Sri Lanka have also been removed and free access has been ensured.

The Rights to Information Act has been passed and has become law.

Access to the country for international human rights organizations has been ensured. Leading international human rights organisations have conducted fact finding missions in the country and made public critical reports on the human rights situation.

The NGO Secretariat which functioned under the Ministry of Defence was moved to the Ministry of National Dialogue.

Out of 16 Tamil Diaspora organizations and 424 individuals banned by the previous regime eight organizations and 269 individuals were de-listed in November 2015.

In December 2015 the government issued standing invitations to all UN Special Procedures (SP) to visit Sri Lanka including the SP on Freedom of Expression.

“During the first year in power the government has failed to appoint a special commission to investigate the attacks unleashed by the Rajapaksa regime upon media and journalists”
4. වශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පතිල්ලේ අප්‍රෂල 2015 දැනගැනීමේ උදාහරණයක්: 2015 දැන්වන් වසරේකුගේ නිදහස විස්තර විශේෂ තුළ්ලියන්ගෙක්ගේදී සිංහලේ ප්‍රකාශ විද්‍යාලන්තාව" }

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23
5. ආගමික පිළිබඳ වසරක සමාවලෝචනය

ආගමික පිළිබඳ වසරක සමාවලෝචනය

මම මුසේලිේ පල්ලිය මහනුවර දළඳ ම ළිග ව වඩි කස ඉදි ව රන බැවින්ද්‍ එහි ඉදිකිරීේ නවදමන කස ඉල්කමින්ද්‍ වි රෝධ්‍ ව ේ නියැලුණු 'සිාහෝ ල්' සාවිධ්‍යය බොයා බදුක්කෙටි. ඔවුන්දේ වි රෝධ්‍ ව යන්ද්‍ පසුව මහි ඉදිකිරීේ නර රවන කස නි යෝගයක්ත් වරන කදී. 2016, ගොඩ 5.

වීපින් වරකුණුදම්ඩ නිවසයේ විස්තර වේෂීකරණයක් ආයතනයේ පසු අමුමති ප්‍රතිසංවිධානයේ පසු අමුමති ප්‍රතිසංවිධානයේ පසු අමුමති ප්‍රතිසංවිධානයේ පසු අමුමති.

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The National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka (NCEASL)

http://nceasl.org/category/incident-reports/
http://www.asiantribune.com/node/89140

18 http://nceasl.org/category/incident-reports/
19 http://www.asiantribune.com/node/89140

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20 http://nethnews.lk/article/1560
6. පිළිබඳ කිහිපයක්?

සමාල් විමුක්ති වහේමචන්ද්‍ර

2016/07/27 මෙරට විදේශ විශේෂව ආකාශවල සිසු ජන දංගන කරන වේ. භාගී මහවාදී මහ ලියා ගනිම්මින් තවත් විශේෂ බිමලගින් පැහැදිලි විශේෂයන්ගේ මුලින් කළ පැහැදිලි ම.annotation 2016/07/blog-post_27.html
“However, the Sri Lanka government has not taken any significant steps towards improving the human rights situation in the country since the end of the civil war in 2009. The government has consistently denied any violations of human rights, and has been accused of perpetuating a culture of impunity. The situation has not improved despite international pressure and calls for reform. The government has also been criticized for its lack of cooperation with international human rights mechanisms.

In conclusion, the human rights situation in Sri Lanka remains critical, with persistent violations of human rights and ongoing persecution of minority groups. The government needs to take concrete steps to address these issues and ensure the protection of all citizens.”

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South Asian Institute of Technology and Medicine (SAITM - Serendib)...


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7. **Country – Plantation People and Access to Good Governance…**

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In 2012, the government of Sri Lanka passed the 5.4 Hevitha Legal and Administrative Reforms (Hevitha Law) Act, which aimed to promote the rule of law, accountability, and transparency. This act sought to enhance good governance by promoting access to justice and reducing corruption. However, the act encountered criticism for its implementation and impact.

In addition, the government has taken steps to improve access to justice by establishing community courts and legal aid organizations. These initiatives have helped to increase access to legal services for marginalized communities, particularly the plantation people who often face discrimination and lack of access to justice.

Moreover, the government has implemented policies to strengthen the legal framework and ensure effective implementation. These efforts have contributed to enhancing the rule of law and improving institutional capacity.

In conclusion, the government of Sri Lanka has made significant strides in improving access to good governance and justice. However, continued efforts are needed to address the challenges faced by marginalized communities, particularly the plantation people, to ensure equitable access to justice and effective implementation of legal reforms.

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The situation in Sri Lanka during this period is characterized by ongoing violations of human rights, including killings, disappearances, and torture. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), in 2015, the Sri Lankan government continued to violate international human rights standards.

The largest human rights violation was the killing of at least 1,000 individuals in a single month in 2015. This was followed by another 600 deaths in the next month. The Sri Lankan government has been accused of crimes against humanity, including extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, and torture.

The report also highlights the lack of accountability for these violations, with no progress in investigations or prosecutions. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has opened an investigation into possible crimes against humanity.

In conclusion, the situation in Sri Lanka remains critical, with ongoing human rights violations and a lack of accountability. The international community must continue to press for justice and accountability for these violations.

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8. ඉතිහාසික අවශ්‍යීතියේ ප්‍රමාණ පෙන්වන්නේ පැතීමේ අර්ධිතීම

“8. ඉතිහාසික අවශ්‍යීතියේ ප්‍රමාණ පෙන්වන්නේ පැතීමේ අර්ධිතීමේ මූලීතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ. මොවා පොදු පැතීමේ අර්ධිතීමේ මූලීතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ.”

“සිය අතරින් අවශ්‍යීතියේ ප්‍රමාණ පෙන්වන්නේ පැතීමේ අර්ධිතීමේ මූලීතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ. මොවා පොදු පැතීමේ අර්ධිතීමේ මූලීතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ.”

Zones & General Services Employees Union අදාල අතරින්

“විහාර වාසසුරු පද්මමිණි වේදි පත්තිය ගැන පැතිරීමේ අර්ධිතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ. පොදු පොදු පැතිරීමේ අර්ධිතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ.”

“විහාර වාසසුරු පද්මමිණි වේදි පත්තිය ගැන පැතිරීමේ අර්ධිතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ. පොදු පොදු පැතිරීමේ අර්ධිතිය අතර බෝධක් මෙහෙයි නිවැරදි වේ.”
2016 ලකුණු වසරින් දැන්ත්‍රීය වැකිල්ලට අයිතිය විය යොත්. 

2016 ලකුණු වසරයේදී, විනිසාඟා මාවිදල ඉල්ල වේදසුවට අයිතිය විය. 17 මාසයක් ආසන්නයෙන් විනිසාඟා මාවිදලය වැකිල්ලට අයිතිය විය. 

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පුරාමය: MI s/BoI / 06 01 2016

ප්‍රශ්නය: මෝ.මෙට්ටිම් 13500 8

13500 දෙකක් සමගමක් මෙක්සිම් නොපුද්ගන්ව තිබේ. 2005 වසරයේදී විනිසාඟා මාවිදලයේ මො.මෙට්ටිම් 10000 දක් නොපුද් නම් තිබේ. 2015 වසරයේදී මො.මෙට්ටිම් මෙක්සිම් 13500 කුඩා නොපුද් නම් තිබේ. 2015 වසරයේදී මො.මෙට්ටිම් 2500 කුඩා නොපුද් නම් තිබේ. 2015 වසරයේදී මො.මෙට්ටිම් 13500 කුඩා නොපුද් නම් තිබේ. 2015 වසරයේදී මො.මෙට්ටිම් මෙක්සිම් 13500 කුඩා නොපුද් නම් තිබේ.
"කලැප දෙකක්

ජාතික ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 12වැනි වසරයේ ලියාගත විශේෂ විස්තරය පෙන්වීම ශ්‍රී ලංකාව නියුති කරන්න. සමාන ප්‍රදේශයේ ( ක්‍රමාන්ත ශ්‍රී ලංකාව), සනාතනික සහ උදාර කර්මය ලබා ගැනීමට

බැහැරික සමායෝගික විකිරීමක් එකම් අංගයක් ඇතිය. සැමාදි පැහැති රාජ්‍ය රජයගේ සිය මුජි මට්ටම කිහිපයක් අදහා මධ්‍යම ආවරණයකට රජයක අංකික විස්තරයේ පුරා පරිදි නිදසිංහයක් කරයි. මෙහෙයින් පවුල්කන්නාදායක යනු, ඉන්දියාවේ ආකාර විසම අපේක්ෂක අවබෝධ පිළිතුරු කාලයේ ස්වරාජ අදහස් විකිරීමක් 60වන දිනය අතරට සහයෝග අවධිය පෙරමුඛමු.

"විංසිටියෝවි විකිරීමක් එකම් අංගයක් ඇතිය. ප්‍රධානායකයා විස්තරයේ පිළිබඳ ඉන්දියාවේ නිදසිංහයක පිළිතුරු. රාජ්‍ය රජයට ඉහත රාජ්‍ය රජයගේ මුජි මට්ටම විස්තරයට. ඉන්දියාවේ එකම් අංගයක් විස්තරයට යි."

INFORM Human Rights Documentation Centre

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The Human Rights Situation in Sri Lanka during the period from August 2015 to August 2016 has been characterized by continued violence and human rights abuses. The situation remains complex and challenging, with ongoing conflicts and political instability.

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9. Sexual orientation and Gender Identity Rights in Sri Lanka

*Damith Chandimal*

Rights of people with different sexual orientations and gender identities became a much-debated topic in ethno-nationalist politics of Sri Lanka in recent years. Despite of the various evidence which suggests that homophobia is a colonial production, in today’s context in Sri Lanka, sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) rights and non-normative sexualities are portrayed as a ‘western agenda’ to destroy cultural values of Sri Lanka by many ethno-nationalist forces. The former government had a strong dislike towards LGBTIQ rights in Sri Lanka. During that time, LGBT rights organizations were questioned several times by the police, faced strict surveillance and government-backed homophobic media reporting, and subsequently a few organizations discontinued their work. Hence, when the current government was appointed, the LGBT rights activists were much hopeful they would have adequate space to continue their work.

23 Companions on a Journey (COJ), Diversity and Solidarity Trust (DAST), Raja Rata Gemi Pahana, and a partner organization of Equal Ground in Galle

However, the current government was faced with severe challenges in supporting LGBTIQ persons, as the politicians of the former regime have been using widespread homophobia along with ethno-nationalist politics to generate discontent towards them. For example, in June, 2015, MP Wimal Weerawansa, a close associate of the former President, stated that foreign minister Mangala Samaraweera had violated the country’s penal code by voting against a Russian resolution calling for the withdrawal of partner benefits to gay and lesbian UN employees. In 2014, when the current foreign minister was in opposition, Weeranwansa threatened him with arrest for his sexuality.

While the politicians of the former government brought such accusations often, it was surprising that a parliamentarian from JVP, the leftist political party also made a strong homophobic statement in a press interview in 2015. The JVP parliamentarian, Nalinda Jayatissa stated that “I am totally against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual (LGBT) rights. This is not the need of the human being.”

Though LGBTIQ organizations demanded the JVP leader to clarify whether this is the stance of the JVP, or a personal opinion of Nalinda, no clarification was offered publicly by the JVP party leadership.

In May 2016, the government appointed Committee for receiving public representations on constitutional reform released their final report. It included a number of progressive recommendations on providing legal and constitutional protection for the LGBTIQ community in a future constitution. It stated that legal protection provided to the LGBTIQ community is not for special protection but equal rights for protection under the law and the right to non-discrimination. The report specifically notes concerns of LGBTIQ community in relation to nine fundamental human rights: (1) the right to non-discrimination and to be free from violence or harassment, (2) the right to be free from torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, (3)
right to a fair trial, (4) The right to privacy, (5) The right to free expression and free association (6) The right to work (7) The right to social security, assistance and benefits, (8) The right to physical and mental health and (9) The right to education. Further, it recommends to repeal laws criminalizing homosexuality, and to broaden the mandate of the NHRC to encompass all human rights that come under the UDHR and other conventions to which Sri Lanka is a signatory. Though this report was vehemently condemned by the opposition party and nationalist politicians for including suggestions on the promotion of LGBTIQ Rights on the basis that homosexuality is not suitable for our culture, it was historic that chief Secretary of the Asgiriya Chapter, Dr. Medagama Dhammananda, a leading Buddhist monk in the country stated that equality and legal protection for LGBTIQ persons must be recognized, and laws criminalizing homosexuality needs to be repealed, though he disagreed in providing special protection to LGBTIQ persons\(^\text{30}\).

Social media has supplied an ample space for both positive and negative comments on LGBT rights. In 2016, a Facebook page titled ‘Island Nation of Sinhale\(^\text{31}\)’ ran a homophobic campaign against the gay rights organization Equal Ground and Pride celebrations organized by them. This Facebook page also published posts asking public to attack the Pride events.

\(^\text{30}\) Asgiriya Chapter calls for the right to equality for LGBTQIA [http://nation.lk/online/2016/08/06/asgiriya-chapter-calls-for-the-right-to-equality-for-lgbtqia.html]

\(^\text{31}\) Island nation of Sinhale facebook page [https://www.facebook.com/The.island.nation.of.Sinhale] this page was removed from facebook on on 14\(^{th}\) June 2016 for violating facebook community standards

\(^\text{32}\) International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia (IDAHOTB)
case or any other attacks against LGBT community, claiming that they are not focusing on these minor issues. In 2015, National Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka (NHRC) intervened to assist transsexual persons with legal and procedural issues relating to legal documentation such as Birth certificates, National Identity cards and passports, following a complaint made by a transsexual woman to NHRC. Now transsexual persons are able to have these legal documents free from information relevant to their gender histories. Further an appointment of a transsexual governor led to much controversy as Buddhist monks initially protested against her appointment. She is the first transgender person to be appointed for such a high profile position and still continues her work.

Few incidents of transgender persons facing legal harassments due to impersonation charges and few incidents of suicide committed by LGBT persons were reported in media, usually in a manner that may cause damage to the privacy of these LGBT persons. Also it must be noted that several government newspapers, and private newspapers carried several progressive articles on LGBTIQ rights. According to this writer’s knowledge, such articles were not published in government owned media previously.

In conclusion, the steps taken by NHRC on Transgender rights and initiating public and policy dialogue on LGBTIQ human rights is highly commendable, while the existence of discriminatory laws such as criminalization of homosexuality still denies many human rights to the LGBTIQ community, including access to justice.

33 Interview With Dilanthe Withanage  http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/interview-with-dilanthe-withanage/
34 HRCSL intervenes to protect transgender victims  http://hrcsl.lk/english/2015/06/19/hrcsl-intervenes-to-protect-transgender-victims/
36 Daily News, Dinamina
37 Daily Mirror, Ceylon Today
10. Political Prisoners & the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA)

Marisa De Silva

Protest demanding the release of political prisoners on 8th August 2016, infront of Welikada Prison.

Balendran Jeyakumary, a vocal activist in search of her disappeared son, was released on bail in March 2015, after 362 days in detention. She was re-arrested in September and detained for 6 days in September 2015. In August 2016, she was summoned from her home in the North to Terrorism Investigation Division (TID) headquarters. She has two pending cases against her, but has not been charged for any crime. Two and a half years since her initial arrest, there seems to be no end in sight to Jeyakumary’s harassment. 38

According to the Centre for Human Rights Development (CHRD), there have been 36 arrests under the PTA, registered with them, from August 2015-to date. Of the 36, three were released and one released on bail. In addition, Subramaniyam Sivakaran, ITAK, youth wing leader, was arrested and released39 on bail in April this year.

38 Free Jeyakumary - https://freejeyakumary.wordpress.com/
Tamil political prisoners continue to languish in prisons around the country. Some are yet to be charged of any crime and others cases are dragging on. Exasperated and disillusioned by multiple false promises by the President, Minister of Prison Reforms and Leader of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), over the past year, Tamil political prisoners have organized a series of hunger strikes in protest of their continued detention under the PTA. The most recent was held on the 8th of August 2016. Again, Minister of Prison Reforms, D.M. Swaminathan, assured the prisoners that he would look at fast-tracking their cases at the Attorney General’s Department. Similar hunger strikes were held in October and November last year, and in February-March this year – all to no avail.

Last year, two Tamil women, Anthony Chandra and Wasanthi Ragupathy were acquitted of all charges, after being detained for 7 and 15 years respectively.

Recent Arrests and Detention

A recent report released by the WATCHDOG Collective states, that 24 Tamil persons from the North and East were arrested under the PTA, between March and June 2016. These arrests were following the discovery of a suicide jacket, explosives and other ammunition found in Chavakachcheri, Jaffna, in March this year.

The report goes on to state that, “of the 28 arrests reported, at least 15 were former LTTE cadres. As at 23rd of June, 23 of them have not been charged with any crime. In most cases the arresting officers were in civil clothing, claiming to be either from the police or TID, without showing any form of identification. In at least 5 cases families did not know the whereabouts of their relatives for 48 hours. In 23 cases suspects were not produced before the Magistrate nor were they issued detention orders within the 72 hour period stipulated in the law.”

40 Tamil Guardian, Tamil political prisoners launch hunger strike - [http://www.tamilguardian.com/content/tamil-political-prisoners-launch-hunger-strike](http://www.tamilguardian.com/content/tamil-political-prisoners-launch-hunger-strike)


cases families did not know the whereabouts of their relatives for 48 hours. In 23 cases suspects were not produced before the Magistrate nor were they issued detention orders within the 72 hour period stipulated in the law. Several families observed that the detainees appeared to have been tortured. Families members too have been reported as being detained, subjected to intensive interrogation, harassment and/or intimidation. In at least 5 cases private property has been seized from detainees and their family members without written acknowledgment.⁴⁴

“5 Tamils arrested under the PTA have been in remand and have their cases pending conclusion for 18 and 19 years respectively. Another person who was charged in 1998, has had his case ongoing in the High Court for the past 17 years without conclusion. Another person has been detained for 15 years without having any charges filed against him. One person spent 15 years in remand prison before having charges filed against him.”

UN’s High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra’ad al-Hussein, stated in his report in September 2015, that the government had acknowledged holding 258 people under the PTA, but

Overview of PTA cases as at September, 2015

Another report by the WATCDOG Collective⁴⁵ states that, 5 Tamils arrested under the PTA have been in remand and have their cases pending conclusion for 18 and 19 years respectively. Another person who was charged in 1998, has had his case ongoing in the High Court for the past 17 years without conclusion. Another person has been detained for 15 years without having any charges filed against him. One person spent 15 years in remand prison before having charges filed against him. Two persons each were remanded for 10, 8 & 6 years respectively before any charges were filed against him. Another man spent 15 months in detention before being produced before a Magistrate and then remanded. Two of those remanded told WATCHDOG that their cases had come up at courts as many as 400-500 times during their detention. One person has 15 cases against him in 6 courts spanning 4 districts.

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⁴⁴ Ibid.
⁴⁵ WATCHDOG, PTA detainees – Ignored under “Yahapalanaya?” - http://groundviews.org/2015/09/05/pta-detainees-ignored-under-yahapalanaya/#_ftn2
only 54 of them had been convicted of any charges. Further, the report stated that 60 had not been charged with any crime, whilst 144 of the cases were still pending.\textsuperscript{46}

**Reform and Repeal of the PTA**

The Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), is a draconian anti-terror law that was introduced in 1979. Thereafter, from the mid 80’s, to date, the PTA has been used primarily against Tamils. Activists, both locally and internationally have long been campaigning for the repeal of the PTA, without any success. However, in September 2015, the government committed to repeal the PTA, and replace it with anti-terrorism legislation which would be in line with contemporary international best practices. Local media reported in June that the government will introduce three new counter terror laws.\textsuperscript{47} Activists fear that the new laws may prove to be far worse and more draconian than even the PTA.

The PTA is particularly problematic due to someone being able to be arrested purely based on a suspicion of being a “terrorist” or partaking in “terror” activities. The burden of proof is on the suspect to prove that he or she is innocent. Further, the generous margin given to arresting officers under the PTA, almost legitimizes the lack of due process followed when arresting and detaining suspects under the PTA. From subjecting suspects to indefinite detention based on coerced confessions, often obtained under duress, to seizing private property without issuing receipts at the time of arrest, or the Defence Minister being able to extend at will, a detention order up to 18 months, to not producing identification to suspects or their families at the point of arrest, the PTA gives law enforcement officials expansive and arbitrary powers.

As long as PTA is in place and justice is not ensured for political prisoners, reconciliation will remain elusive.


11. Latest measures to address disappearances in Sri Lanka

Ruki Fernando & Shenali De Silva

By the time the new Parliament was elected in August 2015, families of the disappeared had emerged as strong civil movements in Sri Lanka. Their courage and persistence have helped bring about significant developments in relation to addressing disappearances.

The most significant is the Government’s decision to create an Office of Missing Persons (OMP), which received approval by Parliament in August 2016. Almost until the OMP was set up, a Commission of Inquiry, appointed by the previous President, continued to function. In July 2016, the Government introduced a draft law to facilitate the issuance of certificates of absence to families of the disappeared. In November 2015, the UN’s Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances visited Sri Lanka after the Government allowed entry, 16 years after their last visit. In May 2016, the Government ratified the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances and committed to pass legislation to make disappearances a crime under Sri Lankan law.

OMP

Despite a commitment to consult people about the proposed transitional justice mechanisms, the draft Bill for the OMP, the first of four transitional justice mechanisms initiated by the Government, was drafted in secret, even before formal public consultations began. Just before the draft bill was approved by Cabinet, there was a hastily convened briefing for few activists, followed by another slightly broader briefing, both in Colombo.

The Bill was passed on 11th August with some amendments to the draft Bill. There was no substantial debate on the Bill, with the former President Rajapakse’s allies criticising it and the Government limiting itself to defending it. Neither the amendments nor the final version of the

The draft Bill had some positive features in relation to the right of the families to truth, with no restrictions on temporal or geographical restrictions, clauses guaranteeing anonymity for witnesses, opportunities for international expertise, powers to summon any person and obtain documents and other materials, make unannounced visits to relevant places, and seek search warrants and court orders for exhumations. The OMP will also have branch offices.

But there were numerous areas where the OMP Bill needed improvement. The draft did not give the OMP prosecutorial authority and this may hamper the possibility to offer plea bargains, immunity in exceptional circumstances, and other forms of incentives to elicit information. Considerations such as gender and ethnicity were not specified. Families were not guaranteed involvement at any level in the OMP’s structures. There was no requirement for the appointing authorities to give time and opportunities to families of the disappeared and others to comment on nominees or make nominations for the seven Members (the highest positions in the OMP). The regularity to provide information to families was not specified and it was not obligatory to provide maximum information to families. There was no process set out for the OMP to take into account existing information and evidence before requiring families to give evidence again.

The right to pursue justice was compromised by the OMP not having prosecutorial authority and being given the discretion to share information with the external investigative and prosecutorial bodies where offences are involved. There was no provision to ensure that tracing investigations would be done in tandem with criminal investigations or that the OMP would ensure information and evidence discovered would be treated with best international criminal investigation standards, to enable them to be admissible during any subsequent prosecutions. Also, if enforced disappearance is not made a crime in Sri Lanka prior to the OMP beginning to operate, there will

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likely be barriers to holding perpetrators responsible for the crime of ‘enforced disappearance’ (and instead being limited to lower level crimes).

**Slow judicial processes**

While there were regular hearings at the Magistrate Courts on the case of the disappeared Sinhalese journalist Prageeth Ekneligoda, there were no indictments against any of the suspects arrested. Further, there did not appear to be even minimal progress on many other cases, including well known cases of Tamils such as the journalist Ramachandran Subramaniam, Catholic Priest Fr. Jim Brown, and human rights activist Stephen Suntharaj. Habeas corpus cases in relation to those who were alleged to have surrendered in front of eyewitnesses to the Army and then disappeared on the last day of the war dragged on, with the Army refusing to provide a proper list of those who had surrendered, despite repeated requests by Courts.

**Continuing abductions**

Alarmingly, cases of abductions continue to be reported, with at least 10 cases reported between 30th March and 30th June this year. At least two of those who disappeared have not returned, despite complaints to the Police and Human Rights Commission. Some have been reported to have been found in Police or remand custody after being abducted.

In order to make the OMP effective, the Government should criminalise enforced disappearances and ensure that the discretion and ambiguity in the OMP Act is used in favour of families of the disappeared. But even as the OMP starts its operations, habeas corpus cases and other cases related to disappearances pending for long years in the courts could be expedited. And unless there is a full stop to continuing disappearances and abductions, some of the steps the Government has taken to address past disappearances may not have much credibility.
12. ලයාපාර මහ මුහුණය විසින් තමන්තම ප්‍රමාණයක් ලැබේ (2015 ගොඩනායික 16 - 2016 ගොඩනායික 16 අදිය)

මනාඟය අවශ්‍යය

12. ලයාපාර කනුම් රජය යටම පිරස්රිව පරිවර්තනයක් සමඟ පසු සිදුවූ අදියය, 2015 අගෝස්තු 16 දින හා 2016 අගෝස්තු 16 දිනවල වසරව විකලාණය වියේ බැවිනි. එහිදී දිශාවල වාහනය පරිකාරයේ ක්‍රිජා ආයතනයකි. එය පිරස්රිව පහත අදියයේ 2015 අදියයක් පසුව හා 2016 අදියයක් අදියයක් පසුව පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාර ප්‍රමාණයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරි�ාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි. මෙම පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය වියේ වැනි විශේෂ දක්වා කරනු ලබන්නේ මෙම අදියයක් පරිකාරයන්ට විකලාණය විය යි.
“වෘෂිවර්ම දප්සන්නේත්‍ර ක්‍රීය ක්‍රිය මින්ද්‍ම ම ආදිව වෙන්ද්‍ති වේන්ද්‍තිව සිටින අම්ග්‍ර මිය විරැකි වන ඉහක ලියවීය. වෘෂිවර්ම දප්සන්නේත්‍රය අද ආදිව වෙන්ද්‍තිව හෝ ග විජන සේව දප්සන්නේත්‍ර සහ මහවැලි අම් යාශය යේ ක්‍රීය මින්ද්‍ම ම ආදිව වෙන්ද්‍තිව වෙන්ද්‍තිව හෝ පළඳවීමක්ත දැකිය හැකිවේ. මායිම් මණ්ඩලියම් ක්‍රිය මත්මව සිටින අම් පර් ේෂණ නිශේෂයක්ත  කස වළඳ ප නිකුත් කිරීම හෝ ආ යෝජන අවසේථි වන්ද්‍ සේ යෝජන බැඳිම හේතුවූ මූලික ්‍රසේත ය පිළිබදව නිශේෂය අව බෝදයක්ත ජනව කබ ක්‍රීය ම ආදිව නිස අසරණජීවි වක සේ එය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති නව පැහැදිලියන්ද්‍ වස විස නැති ජ තිව වය ප රය වනි වැඩපිලිඩිම හරහ ���ේ පුද්මගක ද්මශප කන චරිතාන වී. වෙ ශේෂ්වන්ද්‍ නැති ජ තිව වය ප රයක්ත කස ඒව ේ පරම ර්ථ වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වමින්ද්‍ සිටින අම් පරම කාසදෙහි මුළ ආව රය වේය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති පසුන්ය වසරව ව කය තුක වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වැඩි විය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති පසුන්ය වසරව ව කය තුක වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වැඩි විය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති පසුන්ය වසරව ව කය තුක වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වැඩි විය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති පසුන්ය වසරව ව කය තුක වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වැඩි විය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති පසුන්ය වසරව ව කය තුක වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වැඩි විය. මඟින් සේය බෑගැබා තවත් සේව ඉඩම මූකයමය වටින වමක්ති පසුන්ය වසරව ව කය තුක වෘෂිවර්ම යන්ද්‍ඉවත් වැඩි විය.
විවිධජනනයින්ගේ කාලයන්හි පරිසරය එකී භූමියෙන් ප්‍රමාණ කාලයට පත්වියක් ආර්ථික අරමුණක කැටිය බැහැදිලිව පරිසරය දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත. ගොඩනිමාරාව නිසා අරමුණකයින් නිතර දෙක් පිහිටා ඇත. මෙවැනි සාමාජික භූමියේ කාල දීරශකමක් ඇත.

මෙම විකාශයේ දොරුවන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ හොඳම විකාශ රාජාවයින්ගේ කාලයක් පවතියේ තෙක් හේතුවෙන් අතීතයක් අන්තර්ගත සාමාජික විකාශයක් එක්කලන්ක කිරීමට පත්වියේ අදහා පවතින විකාශ යෝජනා සහිත නිතර දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත. මෙම හොඳම විකාශ රාජාවයින්ගේ කාලයක් අන්තර්ගත සාමාජික විකාශයක් එක්කලන්ක කිරීමට පත්වියේ අදහා පවතින විකාශ යෝජනා සහිත නිතර දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත. මෙම හොඳම විකාශ රාජාවයින්ගේ කාලයක් අන්තර්ගත සාමාජික විකාශයක් එක්කලන්ක කිරීමට පත්වියේ අදහා පවතින විකාශ යෝජනා සහිත නිතර දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත.

මෙම විකාශයේ දොරුවන්ගේ දළදා විකාශ ව්‍යාපාරයක් ලිපියේ අදහා පවතින විකාශ යෝජනා සහිත නිතර දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත. මෙම විකාශයේ දොරුවන්ගේ දළදා විකාශ ව්‍යාපාරයක් ලිපියේ අදහා පවතින විකාශ යෝජනා සහිත නිතර දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත. මෙම විකාශයේ දොරුවන්ගේ දළදා විකාශ ව්‍යාපාරයක් ලිපියේ අදහා පවතින විකාශ යෝජනා සහිත නිතර දෙක් සමග පිහිටා ඇත.
මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම. මහවාණි මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම 2016 අගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම.

මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම.

මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම.

මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම.

මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම.

මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍යය ගැනීම.

මහවාණි: මහවාණි මාසක් 2016 ආගම 4 පෙළ දින, මහවාණි මහ මෙදරයන්ගේ අවශ්‍ yorknotes.ml
13. New Government’s economic policy - Isn’t economy a part of the good governance agenda?

Sandun Thudugala

Rising living costs, lack of job opportunities for youth, corruption and economic inequality were central economic factors in the defeat of the previous Government in 2015. For the first time in the post-independence Sri Lankan history, the two main political parties have formed a National Government of Consensus since the January 8th election win. According to Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe, the main objective in forming a National Government is to provide a common platform to deliver long term social and economic solutions that can solve the key problems of the country.53

In their election manifesto titled “A New Country in 60 Months: Five Point Plan”, United National Party has promised to build a human friendly social market economy. Soon after the election they have taken some important measures to ensure economic rights of the people which were violated during the previous regime. Returning some of the lands acquired by the Government and military during the conflict back to its owners, reduction of the prices of certain essential commodities, launching a national program to promote sustainable food production were some of the election promises that were fulfilled during the first year of the Government.

But the important question to ask is – do they have a new economic vision? Or in other words, are they still following the same neo liberal economic agenda followed by all Governments after 1977 which has proved to be a failure in addressing the real development and social needs of the country? If the economic policy statements made by Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and the 2016 budget proposals presented in November 2015 can be considered as the early signs of economic policy directions of the new Government, what we can expect is a more rigorous move in the same old neo liberal economic agenda.

World Bank and IMF, which seems to be the main economic advisors of the Government, are pushing their old agendas. World Bank in its recent document (launched in 2015) named “Sri Lanka – Ending Poverty and Promoting Shared Prosperity” has once again proposed the relaxation of labour laws and opening up natural resource markets in Sri Lanka to attract foreign investments. This has always been the core component of structural adjustment program the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) being pushing for to allow the exploitation of labour and natural resources for the profit accumulation of the private companies.

Almost four decades of neo liberal economic policies in Sri Lanka have failed to achieve sustainable and equitable development in the country and often was the reason for increasing inequality and marginalization. It has pushed marginal communities, including ethnic minorities, out of the development process.

Less government support and market liberalization had a severe impact on the agriculture-based rural economy, putting the livelihoods of more than 40% of the country’s population in danger. Small scale food production was seen as unproductive and water, land and other resources used
by them were acquired and handed over to larger scale private companies for industrial agriculture, tourism and infrastructure development.

"Large scale infrastructure development to attract foreign direct investment seems to be a development priority of this Government as its predecessors. Large amounts of money, mainly obtained as debts, are being invested in developing a network of expressways, new harbours and airports, power plants and urban centres. Poor have been forced to bear the costs of these expenses."

Ignorance of the small scale food production does not only have a negative impact on the livelihoods of rural communities, food security situation of poor also had a severe impact. More than 20% of Sri Lankan children are still suffering from malnutrition and around half of the population in the country do not get the minimum daily dietary requirements. 54

The impressive social indicators Sri Lanka has achieved as a result of the free education and health systems after independence are in danger due to the decrease of Government spending as proposed by the World Bank and IMF.

Large scale infrastructure development to attract foreign direct investment seems to be a development priority of this Government as its predecessors. Large amounts of money, mainly obtained as debts, are being invested in developing a network of expressways, new harbours and airports, power plants and urban centres. Poor have been forced to bear the costs of these expenses. Due to the loans obtained for these large scale infrastructure development projects, the total debt of the Sri Lankan Government has increased up to US $ 81 billion by 2015 (around 60% of that is foreign debt), which is about 100% of the GDP 55. While the poor were forced to bear the burden of increased taxes to cover the budget deficits, increased debt services payments are having a significant negative impact on the Government spending in rural infrastructure, agriculture development, health and education etc. which have direct links with the upliftment of the living standards of poor.

While Government under its good governance and transitional justice process has started wider consultation processes in its new constitution development and in the design of reconciliation approaches. But this has not been the same in developing their economic policies, where the decisions were taken at higher levels, mainly with the influence of international financial...
institutes. If Government is serious about good governance and real reconciliation people who have been affected by the development and economic policies should have a significant role in deciding them. Policies should be based on real issues and concerns of them. If they fail to ensure that the country will not be able to attain real inclusive development or sustainable peace.