



**SRI
LANKA
CAMPAIGN**
FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

HUMAN
RIGHTS
WATCH

HRW.org



CHOGM 2013

Sri Lanka

A MEDIA GUIDE

Introduction

The biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) is one of the world's most important global summits when 53 heads of government gather to discuss global issues and to agree upon common policies. Holding this year's meeting in Sri Lanka has brought great controversy; rather than hosting the Commonwealth's flagship event, many believe the country ought to be facing an international investigation into allegations of war crimes during the country's civil war, which ended in 2009. Meanwhile, the Government of Sri Lanka views this summit as a chance to draw a line across the allegations of atrocities, to shore up domestic support, and present an apparently reformed and reconciled Sri Lanka to the world.

We have produced this journalists' guide to CHOGM 2013 to help visitors see what lies behind the veneer of the CHOGM event. By intimidating their critics into silence, carefully managing media opportunities, and clamping down hard on civil society, the Government will try to portray Sri Lanka as a country enjoying a successful reconciliation process. With this guide, it should be possible to expose the full picture and the suffering still endured by too many Sri Lankans.

CHOGM will see the largest congregation of the world's media ever to assemble in Sri Lanka. This guide will assist journalists in telling the story of Sri Lanka and the summit. To this end, we also include useful practical and logistical information to help you to make the most of your visit.

In addition, this guide gives a full background to the Commonwealth's embarrassing decision to allow Sri Lanka to lead an organisation whose values it has repeatedly not respected. We have provided information regarding the security and ethical implications of the media's coverage of this event, as well as some useful contacts which will help you report on the real story taking place in Sri Lanka.



[HRW.org](http://hrw.org)

This guide was prepared by the Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace and Justice Ltd and published together with Human Rights Watch. We are not affiliated with any political or ethnic group inside or outside of Sri Lanka.

Contents

	Page
<i>What is CHOGM and why does it matter?</i>	1
<i>What is happening, and where?</i>	3
- <i>List and descriptions of key events and meetings</i>	
- <i>Outside the summit</i>	
<i>Practical information – Getting Around</i>	7
<i>Ethical tourism</i>	
<i>Accreditation, access, and security</i>	9
- <i>Security and seeing the real Sri Lanka</i>	
- <i>Accreditation and access</i>	
- <i>Seeing the North</i>	
<i>War crimes and other abuses in the final months of the conflict</i>	13
<i>Human Rights Since the Conflict</i>	15
- <i>Media Freedom</i>	
- <i>Attacks on Civil Society</i>	
- <i>Enforced Disappearances, Arbitrary Detention, and Extrajudicial Killings</i>	
- <i>Torture and rape</i>	
- <i>Sexual Violence</i>	
- <i>Attacks on Sri Lanka’s Muslims</i>	
- <i>Democracy, Rule of Law, Impeachment of the Chief Justice</i>	
- <i>Militarization and Land Grabs</i>	
<i>Contacts</i>	21

What is CHOGM and why does it matter?

CHOGM is the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at which the leaders of all 53 member states gather to discuss global issues and to agree on collective policies and initiatives. The 22nd CHOGM meeting will take place in Sri Lanka in November.

The meeting comes at a time when many believe Sri Lanka to be in contravention of the Harare Declaration committing all Commonwealth nations to the promotion of human rights and democracy under the rule of law, as well as the Commonwealth's "Latimer house" principles of good governance following last year's highly politicized impeachment and replacement of Sri Lanka's Chief Justice—the leader of the judiciary. As host of the event, Sri Lanka's President Mahinda Rajapaksa will become the Commonwealth's Chairperson in Office—this effectively means that Sri Lanka will lead the Commonwealth, in addition to chairing all Commonwealth meetings, for the next two years.

The Commonwealth has just finished a process which ended with the publication of a new "Commonwealth Charter" in spring 2013. This was intended to redefine the Commonwealth as a "community of shared values." Given Sri Lanka's behaviour, many are now questioning what these values are.

The Commonwealth once stood up to rights violators, making a significant contribution to the struggle against apartheid and demanding human rights' improvements from the Government of Nigeria before it could host the Commonwealth Summit in 2003. However this kind of robust action now appears to be a thing of the past.

The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG)—created to investigate serious or persistent violations of human rights—has inexplicably failed to place Sri Lanka on its official agenda, despite two UN reports and two Human Rights Council resolutions documenting serious human rights abuses within the country. It therefore seems likely that CHOGM 2013 will be a major embarrassment for all those in attendance. The Commonwealth now risks losing its already struggling political relevance.

The UK Parliament's Foreign Affairs Select Committee (FAC) stated in 2012 that: "continuing evidence of serious human rights abuses in Sri Lanka shows that the Commonwealth's decision to hold the 2013 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Colombo was wrong. The [UK] Prime Minister should publicly state his unwillingness to attend the meeting unless he receives convincing and independently verified evidence of substantial and sustainable improvements in human and political rights in Sri Lanka." In 2013, the FAC delivered a scathing report saying that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office had been "timid and inconsistent" on the issue of human rights in Sri Lanka.

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has announced his decision not to attend. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is under pressure not to attend as well.

Various international political figures and bodies have voiced their concern about CHOGM taking place in Sri Lanka. These include:

- Desmond Tutu
- Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland
- Malcolm Fraser, former Prime Minister of Australia
- Political parties from Tamil Nadu state in India.
- The British Labour Party
- David Miliband, former UK Foreign Secretary
- Sir Malcolm Rifkind, former UK Foreign Secretary
- Sir Ronald Saunders, prominent Caribbean diplomat
- Geoffrey Robertson QC, human rights lawyer
- Peter Kellner, Royal Commonwealth Society President

- Ricken Patel, founder, Avaaz
- Those campaigning for justice for murdered British tourist Khuram Shaikh
- Bloomberg
- The Washington Post
- The Guardian
- Amnesty International
- The International Commission of Jurists and fifty-six eminent jurists from around the world
- International Crisis Group
- Minority Rights Group International
- International Federation for Human Rights
- Commonwealth Journalists Association
- Commonwealth Lawyer's association (which called for Sri Lanka to be expelled from the Commonwealth)
- East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Project
- Forum Asia
- Asian Legal Resource Centre
- Civicus
- Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

More importantly, several Sri Lankan activists have voiced their concerns over Sri Lanka hosting CHOGM.¹

¹ "Holding CHOGM in Sri Lanka "absolute sham"- Dr Saravanamuttu," *Tamil Guardian*, June 23, 2013 <http://www.tamilguardian.com/article.asp?articleid=8152> (accessed October 19, 2013); Amanda Hodge, "Tamils applaud CHOGM boycott," *The Australian*, October 10, 2013, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/policy/tamils-applaud-chogm-boycott/story-fn59nm2j-1226735718356> (accessed October 19, 2013); "Much ado about CHOGM," *The Island*, October 18, 2013, http://island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=90386 (accessed October 19, 2013); and "Why we need alternative Civil Society forum? – Interview with Dr.Nimalka Fernando," [n.d.], video clip, YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2sC8gRtbgog> (accessed October 29, 2013).

What is happening, and where?

Officially opening on November 15 in Colombo, CHOGM will include a number of cultural and civil society fringe events surrounding the main executive sessions and leaders' retreat. Hambantota, the President's home town on the country's south coast, will host the Commonwealth Youth Forum; Hikkaduwa on the south-west coast, will host the People's Forum; whilst Colombo's Cinnamon Grand Hotel will host the Business Forum. Events for the spouses of delegates will also take place in



Galle and Kandy.

List and description of key events and meetings

What	When	Where	Additional Info
Committee of the Whole (CoW) Meeting	17-18 October 2013	London	Meeting of foreign ministers from every Commonwealth Nation. Its purpose was to set the agenda for the Commonwealth Summit and to make any significant decisions that are to be made with respect to the Commonwealth and the Summit.
Senior Officials Meeting	18 Oct	London	Meeting of senior civil servants attached to foreign ministers to discuss the implementation of the decisions of the CoW.
Information Desks open at Airport/Hotels/Venues	01 Nov	Colombo, Hikkaduwa, Hambantota	
Pre-CHOGM Foreign Ministers' Meeting	13-14 Nov	Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH), Colombo	
Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG)	13 Nov	BMICH, Colombo	<p>CMAG is the meeting of the foreign ministers of Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Maldives, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago and Vanuatu to discuss persistent violations of Commonwealth values by member states.</p> <p>Currently only Fiji is formally on CMAG's agenda. Sri Lanka has been repeatedly raised at CMAG meetings and is likely to be discussed but does not have a formal agenda slot.</p> <p>The Sri Lankan Government has advertised this CMAG meeting as being "to discuss the Harare declaration". This is something of a misnomer as all CMAG meetings are to discuss Commonwealth values as set out in the Harare declaration. We have been assured that this will be an entirely normal meeting of CMAG.</p>
Pre-CHOGM Media Briefing	13 Nov	BMICH, Colombo	Media briefings organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat
Daily CHOGM Press Conferences	14-17 Nov	BMICH, Colombo	See above.
Foreign Ministers' Spouse Programme	13-16 Nov	Colombo, Galle, Kandy	One of several social events planned for spouses of delegates.
Heads of Governments' Spouse Programme	15-16 Nov	Colombo, Kandy	One of several social events planned for spouses of delegates.
Commonwealth Youth Forum	10-14 Nov	International Convention Centre, Hambantota	<p>The Youth Forum is supposed to provide young Commonwealth citizens with the opportunity to discuss issues, share their experiences, build consensus and identify best practices. At the end of the forum they issue a communiqué.</p> <p>The event is administered by a Commonwealth affiliated charity called the Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council.</p>
Commonwealth Business Forum	12-14 Nov	Cinnamon Grand, Colombo	The Business Forum is the premier business event in the Commonwealth, bringing together around 1,000 business leaders from around the world.
Commonwealth People's Forum (CPF)	10-14 Nov	Chaya Tranz, Hikkaduwa	<p>The People's Forum is supposed to bring together civil society representatives from around the world to discuss and debate key issues contained in the Civil Society Statement - drafted and presented to Commonwealth leaders prior to CHOGM.</p> <p>It is organised by the Commonwealth Foundation, which is the charitable arm of the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Foundation traditionally acts as a gatekeeper between Civil Society and Commonwealth Heads of Government – and have been criticized in the past for ensuring the People's forum does not effectively hold Commonwealth Governments to account.</p> <p>This is likely to be even more true for this CHOGM as the People's forum will be in Hikkaduwa, a good 100km from the main summit, because the forum is being organised by a committee chaired by the President's brother-in-law Dr Lalith Chandradasa, and because all applications to attend are being screened by the military.</p> <p>The Forum will share this year's CHOGM theme, 'Growth, Equity and Inclusive Development' and will focus on the Post-2015 development agenda framework. This theme was chosen to allow the Sri Lankan Government to showcase its economic progress and its model of "reconciliation via development".</p>
CHOGM 2013 Opening Ceremony	15 Nov	Nelum Pokuna Mahinda	This is the highlight of the summit from the perspective of pageantry and will provide the government photo opportunities. It is happening in the

		Rajapaksa Theatre, Colombo	theatre built for Rajapaksa as a gift by the Chinese Government.
CHOGM Main Meeting: Executive Sessions/Retreat/Bilateral Meetings	15-17 Nov	BMICH/Waters Edge, Colombo	This is the actual summit itself. Traditionally the summit had a formal agenda and then the retreat took place afterwards and was an opportunity for Heads of Government to talk candidly to each other, off the record. Here it appears the summit and the retreat are happening in parallel - albeit in different locations (the Summit in BMICH and the retreat at the Water's Edge) - potentially reducing the opportunities for candid discussion.
Youth Dialogue	15 Nov	BMICH, Colombo	Representatives of the Youth Forum will meet with Commonwealth leaders to discuss the outcomes of its session.
Civil Society Roundtable	15 Nov	BMICH, Colombo	The culmination of the People's Forum, the issues discussed by Civil Society groups in Hikkaduwa will be presented for discussion at the Civil Society Roundtable.
Commonwealth Games Federation Sports Breakfast	16 Nov	Waters Edge, Colombo	The tradition of the sports breakfast has in the past involved Commonwealth heads and representatives of the Commonwealth Games Federation, as well as special guests. There has also been a media pool opportunity accompanying this event.
Concluding Press Conference	17 Nov	BMICH, Colombo	

Outside the summit

Given the extent to which official civil society interaction with the Commonwealth will be stage-managed and chaperoned, there is a strong desire from Sri Lankan civil society to express itself outside the confines of the formal Commonwealth summit. However the Sri Lankan Government's severe crackdown on freedom of expression means that this is a fairly dangerous thing to do. Sri Lankan civil society is currently discussing how best to balance the opportunity to air their grievances with the risk of reprisal after the summit has ended and the attention of the international media has moved elsewhere.

For this reason, plans for parallel events during the time of the summit are fluid, and different organisations with different attitudes towards both the Sri Lankan Government and the Commonwealth are planning different activities. You should contact the Sri Lanka Campaign (info@srilankacampaign.org) or Human Rights Watch (hrwpress@hrw.org) for the most up-to-date information. Ideas we have heard are currently in the planning stage include:

- A parallel People's Forum organized and led by civil society on November 7
- A forum for civil society activists in Rajagiriya, a suburb of Colombo, on November 8-9.
- A conference on good governance and the rule of law convened by the International Bar Association's Human Rights Institute and the Bar Association of Sri Lanka, featuring internationally eminent legal experts, to be held in Colombo on November 13.
- Demonstrations to be held in Colombo at the same time as the summit if the security situation allows.

Meanwhile, CIVICUS (the world alliance for civilian participation) are holding a week-long series of events for global civil society in Johannesburg between 10 November and 15 November. Several of these events are likely to address the situation in Sri Lanka and the Commonwealth's approach.

Practical Information – Getting Around

Bandaranaike International Airport → Colombo

BIA is situated just outside of Negombo, around 30km north of Colombo. The journey to Colombo takes just under an hour, depending on your choice of local bus or taxis (approx. LKR3000 A/C). Those arriving late at night may prefer to take the shorter trip into Negombo (approx. LKR1500 A/C) to find a bed for the night. Most hotels offer pick-up and drop-off to the airport if notified in advance.

While taxi touts are not as much of a nuisance as they are in other South Asian capitals the best and safest approach is to ask the airport taxi desk to arrange a taxi for you. Failing that call Kangaroo cabs on +94 11 2 580047.

Bandaranaike International Airport → Hambantota

Both Sri Lankan Airlines and its subsidiary Mihin Lanka (named after President Rajapaksa) run scheduled flights to Sri Lanka's newest international airport—Mattala Rajapaksa Airport (also named after the president) —situated just north of Hambantota (President Rajapaksa's home town).

The 40 minute flight can cost up to LKR 25,000. None of the other CHOGM venues are serviced by regular flights to a local airport.

In Colombo

The most convenient and efficient way to travel within Colombo is the tri-shaw (tuk-tuk or three-wheeler). Most drivers will charge LKR50 plus around LKR40 per km after the first. All of Colombo's CHOGM venues fall within a 7km radius.

More and more Colombo tri-shaws are now metered. These are much cheaper but ensure that the metre is functional and switched on before you get in. If you are meeting people with security concerns, it is advisable to hail a tri-shaw from the street away from the hotel rather than the ones lined up directly outside your hotel gates. Or call Kangaroo cabs on +94 11 2 580047.

From Colombo

From the city, most of CHOGM's venues can be reached by train. From Colombo Fort train station Kandy can be reached in 2.5hrs (LKR105 – 340), Hikkaduwa in 2hrs (LKR85-300), and Galle in 3hrs (LKR100-340). Hambantota is not currently accessible by train; Matara – 3.5hrs from Colombo - is the closest town with a station, from which a 2hr bus journey will take you to Hambantota.

Alternatively, all venues can be reached by bus, with Colombo's main bus stations situated a short walk east from Colombo Fort train station. Whilst prices vary between Sri Lanka Transport Board (SLTB) buses and 'luxury' private services, buses are always a cheap way to travel. Regular SLTB buses will take you to Kandy in 3hrs (LKR145), Galle in 3.5hrs (LKR131), and Hambantota in 7.5hrs (LKR272). The bus to Matara passes through both Hikkaduwa and Galle.

Visitors to Sri Lanka seeking greater ease and flexibility often opt to hire a private car with a driver familiar with the country's hazardous driving conditions. Rates start at around \$30 per day but vary depending on whether this includes fuel, driver allowances, etc. These services can be found easily through local tour operators or car-hire companies.

Ethical tourism

For tourism to Sri Lanka to be ethical it should maximise the benefit to local people and the cultural and economic interactions between ordinary Sri Lankans and tourists. It should also minimise the extent to which known rights violators benefit economically from tourism.

The Sri Lanka Campaign is running a campaign to encourage ethical tourism to Sri Lanka. Its website attempts to advise tourists as to how they can best do this. It identifies hotels with close ties to the government. It also points out where tourist resorts are allegedly being built on land that has been sold to private interests instead of being returned to local residents.

It is also worth mentioning the use of Hambantota as a location for the Commonwealth Youth Forum—a fishing town with a population of 10,000 which nevertheless has an international cricket stadium; Sri Lanka's second-ever international airport; an international conference centre; a 235 acre cinema site; a planned international athletics stadium; a velodrome and aquatics centre; and a \$1.4 billion port (the world's largest inland port—a considerable portion of it cut through solid rock due to the unsuitability of the location). Hambantota is also the home town of the Rajapaksa family.

Accreditation, Access and Security

Security and seeing the real Sri Lanka

While South and Central Sri Lanka may seem relaxed, the government keeps a tight grip on activists, critics and the media through intimidation and fear. This is true throughout Sri Lanka but is particularly true in the North and East of the country where the considerable military and other security presence—many of whom are out of uniform—act as the eyes and ears of the Sri Lankan state.

Therefore it is important that you realise that many Sri Lankans may not be in a position to respond to questions regarding sensitive political matters unless you can guarantee their anonymity and security. Furthermore it is likely that you will be watched closely if you attempt to stray from the major CHOGM venues, particularly if you go to the North. This is particularly true of ultra-sensitive issues such as: war crimes, sexual violence and torture, and any matter relating to the President's brother Gotabaya Rajapaksa, the Defence Secretary.

If the military believes you have been talking with villagers, they may return to those villages later and carry out reprisals—even if the villagers in question did not tell you anything of a sensitive nature. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, accused the security forces of intimidating some of those she met with on her trip to the North in August 2013.

While Skype is theoretically no safer than email, the added capacity and resource required to monitor an audio recording (as opposed to scanning an email) means that Skype is usually a good deal safer.

Prominent critics of the government assume that telephone and internet contact to or from them are monitored so conversations over these mediums should be kept to a minimum.

Foreigners can pick up Sri Lankan SIM cards cheaply in Colombo airport. Sellers are required to take a copy of your passport to register the SIM. Make sure your mobile phone handset is not locked to one particular network before coming to Sri Lanka as unlocking your phone in Sri Lanka is almost as expensive as buying a new cheap handset. All networks are much the same with respect to price but Dialog has the best network coverage in remote parts of the North of the country. SLTel is a state owned network and so is likely to have a much closer relationship with military intelligence than its private sector rivals.

The biggest danger, however, comes from physical surveillance. Be careful when arranging meeting places and arrange to meet either in very open public spaces where it will be difficult to overhear you, or on secure private property. Try to determine if you are being followed, and do not meet sensitive sources if you are. In the North, you should assume that the army's surveillance is good enough that they will know which villages you have visited, as well as whom you visited.

Turn off your mobile phone, or better still take the battery out, when meeting sensitive or high profile contacts. Sri Lankan intelligence use the identity of the cellphone towers your mobile is connecting to in order to determine the position of mobile phones they are monitoring and then make note of mobile phones in that immediate vicinity.

It is very important that you:

- ✓ Seriously consider the security implications for your sources when carrying out any journalism into politically sensitive matters.
- ✓ Exercise the utmost care when visiting the politically sensitive North and East of the Island.
- ✓ Exercise care in writing down or emailing the names of sources.

Accreditation and Access

Access to all events and venues is controlled via the media accreditation passes open to journalists, editors, photographers, sound and camera crews, technical staff attached to media organisations, and freelance media professionals.

Media accreditation will allow access to the main Media Centre within the main conference centre—Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH) —in Colombo and all sub-media centres at all other CHOGM venues. It will also allow the use of the facilities within the Centre as well as “media pool opportunities,” which are likely to be carefully stage managed press conferences.

The media accreditation process must be completed via the official CHOGM 2013 site (www.chogm2013.lk) as follows:

- 1. The member of the media completes a Media Registration form online by clicking on one of the applicable tabs: Domestic Media or International Media.*
- 2. The Commonwealth Secretariat in London, in consultation with the CHOGM 2013 Taskforce Secretariat in Colombo, reviews the request and either approves or rejects the application. Members of the media, whose applications are approved, will be electronically issued a Media Accreditation Certificate.*
- 3. The media member forwards his/her visa application, along with the Media Accreditation Certificate, to the Sri Lanka Department of Immigration and Emigration using either the online application process or through regular post. Visit www.immigration.gov.lk for more information on the visa application process.*
- 4. The Media Accreditation Pass will be issued to the media member at any one of the Accreditation Desks at the Bandaranaike International Airport (BIA) or the Media Centre at the BMICH in Colombo. The media professional will have to present both the Media Accreditation Certificate and a valid ID to obtain the Media Accreditation Pass.*

The mandatory terms and conditions for press accreditation are telling, and perhaps fitting for a country with a poor record on press freedom. After clicking on the ‘international media’ option, you will be asked to agree to give the government absolute discretion to bar any person from a CHOGM venue, whether accredited or not, and to give the Sri Lankan government the right to withdraw accreditation at any time and for any reason.

Perhaps even more concerning is the warning that the Ministry of External Affairs reserves the right to share a journalist’s personal information with the security services. A further warning also explains that persons entering CHOGM venues may be filmed or photographed for legal purposes.

Visiting the North

The Sri Lankan Ministry of Defence has expressed its belief that the event will be “an excellent opportunity for international journalists to get a first-hand look at the developments in post-war Sri Lanka”.

It should now be possible to travel anywhere in Sri Lanka without requiring permission from the military or an escort. You can fly or catch a bus to Jaffna and the bus will also stop at Killinochchi. Travelling deeper into the North—and particularly travelling to the area around Mullaitivu, where the final stages of the war were fought – will in all probability require a driver, and you should allow extra time given the nature of the roads in this part of Sri Lanka.

The extent of the military presence in the North of Sri Lanka is visible even if you’re just driving along the main roads. The main A9 road is lined with military bases, army owned farms, and monuments to the military for much of its length.

While, in theory, you are allowed to travel anywhere in Sri Lanka, in practice you will find military roadblocks dotting many minor roads in the North and East. Additionally, when you first enter the North, you will be required to stop and register your passport at the main A9 checkpoint at Omanthai (between Vavuniya and Killinochchi). This roadblock was briefly taken down when the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights visited the country in August, so it is possible it will be taken down again for the Commonwealth Summit.

The soldiers manning the checkpoints will take a keen interest in anybody foreign and may attempt to turn you around or accompany you for your security. This is particularly likely if you are heading towards Mullaitivu or any particularly sensitive site. However, as even very large checkpoints appear to have no internet access and checkpoint administration appears to be done entirely using pencil and paper, it is likely that the soldiers manning the checkpoint will have no ability to establish exactly who you are and what you are doing, and so one can usually get past unimpeded by being friendly but uninteresting.

When travelling in the North, you should be careful not to allow the military to observe you talking to anybody, as this could cause trouble for them later on. You will also invariably need a trusted Tamil translator.

War crimes and other abuses in the final months of the conflict

While there is a great deal of publicly available information about these issues, our aim is to draw your attention to some of the spin tactics and political manoeuvring that the Sri Lankan Government has frequently deployed in relation to them. We also wish to emphasise that it is simply not the case that human rights abuses in Sri Lanka are a thing of the past, or just regrettable instances in a turbulent period of Sri Lanka's recent history. Not only have the atrocities that occurred during the final months of the war gone unaddressed, but many new forms of oppression and abuse have emerged since the end of the conflict in 2009.

Recent rights violations cannot be delinked from the atrocities committed in 2009 and in previous periods, including the enormous number of killings and enforced disappearances of Sinhalese in the South of the country in the late 1980s. The lack of accountability for all of these abuses has strengthened the prevailing culture of impunity, which enables these further violations to take place and creates a risk that they could happen again in the future.

In May 2010, the UN Secretary-General commissioned a Panel of Experts to investigate the events surrounding the final stages of the war in Sri Lanka. Its report, released in April 2011, found 'credible' allegations of gross violations of international law by both parties to the conflict, and recommended that the Secretary-General conduct an independent international investigation in order to pursue accountability.² The report found credible evidence of:

- The killing by LTTE forces of civilians attempting to leave the conflict zone.
- The large-scale indiscriminate shelling of the so-called 'No-Fire Zones' where the government had urged civilians to congregate—including the UN hub and food distribution lines.
- The shelling of civilian hospitals on the frontline of the conflict by government forces.
- The extra-judicial killing, rape, and torture of civilians fleeing the conflict zone by government forces.
- The use of civilians as human shields by and the forcible recruitment of combatants, including children by LTTE forces.

The Panel of Experts report found that up to 40,000 civilians may have died in the last few months of the civil war. A subsequent UN internal review suggested the figure could be as high as 70,000.³

To date, no one in Sri Lanka has been prosecuted for war crimes.

While the government condemned the Panel of Experts report, under pressure it launched its own parallel domestic inquiry in June 2010, the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC).⁴ While the strength of some of the recommendations in its November 2011 report surprised many observers, it failed to establish a process for achieving accountability for war crimes and crimes

² UN Office of the Secretary-General, Report of Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka, March 31, 2011, http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/POE_Report_Full.pdf (accessed October 29, 2013).

³ UN Office of the Secretary-General, Report of the Internal Review Panel on United Nations Action in Sri Lanka, November 2012, http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/The_Internal_Review_Panel_report_on_Sri_Lanka.pdf (accessed October 29, 2013).

⁴ Government of Sri Lanka, "Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation," November 2011, <http://slembassyusa.org/downloads/LLRC-REPORT.pdf> (accessed October 29, 2013).

against humanity. This was a predictable outcome given that the LLRC members were appointed by the government. Among other weaknesses, there was no witness protection programme for those wishing to testify about government abuses.

Many LLRC recommendations were included in the 'National Action Plan'.⁵ The government maintains that together the LLRC and the National Action Plan demonstrate progress on human rights and reconciliation.

However, only 85 of the LLRC's 285 recommendations made it into the National Action Plan, and although the government has announced the implementation of many recommendations, the results are not visible nor transparent. In July 2013 the cabinet announced that 53 more recommendations would be added into the National Action Plan,⁶ but there has been no further information as to how these recommendations will be implemented. Even with this announcement, fewer than half (138/285) of the recommendations are present in the action plan.

Not all the recommendations which the government claims to have implemented have been satisfactorily implemented. For example, in response to the LLRC recommendation to look into disappearances, the President simply established yet another commission of inquiry, one in a long line of such commissions and the results of the commissions inquiry remains unknown. Another LLRC recommendation to separate the police from the Ministry of Defence was implemented and a Ministry of Law and Order was established to house the police. However, the President appointed a former army chief to head the new Ministry, and the President himself, who is also the Minister of Defence, is the Minister in charge of the police. In response to the LLRC recommendation to investigate certain allegations of violations of the laws of war, an army commission of inquiry was established which in turn quickly exonerated itself of any wrongdoing.

In an attempt to sway international opinion, in the run-up to the September 2013 UN Human Rights Council meeting and CHOGM, Sri Lanka announced a new Presidential Commission of Inquiry into enforced disappearances. This is nothing new. In 2009, Amnesty International reported that there had been ten Presidential Commissions of Inquiry over the last 20 years, that the reports of the vast majority were never even published, and that none had had any impact whatsoever.⁷

⁵ "The Human Rights Council passes its resolution," *The Sri Lanka Campaign Blog Post*, March 21, 2013, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2013/03/the-human-rights-council-passes-its.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

⁶ The Government of Sri Lanka, "National Plan of Action for the Implementation of LLRC Recommendations," undated, <http://www.llrcaction.gov.lk/index.php/80-land-return-and-resettlement/162-cabinet-approves-action-on-53-more-llrc-recommendations> (accessed October 29, 2013).

⁷ Amnesty International, "Twenty Years of Make-Believe: Sri Lanka's Commissions of Inquiry," June 2009, http://www.observatori.org/paises/pais_75/documentos/srilanka.pdf (accessed October 29, 2013).

Human Rights Since the Conflict

The end of the conflict has not led to any accountability as promised by President Rajapaksa, and the climate of impunity has continued unimpeded. Media and civil society critics continue to face threats and intimidation, insecurity remains a major concern in the North and East of the country, and the rule of law and governance has been further eroded particularly since the introduction of the 18th amendment to the constitution which tramples the independence of important institutions such as the police, the judiciary, and the elections commissions.

Media freedom

Over the last few years, freedom of expression in Sri Lanka has continued to be under great pressure, with journalists being subjected to both legal harassment and physical intimidation. The country now ranks 162nd on the Press Freedom Index—the lowest of any ‘democratic’ country in the world.

According to Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka, 43 media workers have been killed or disappeared since 2005. Among the most prominent and unsolved cases are:

- The disappearance in 2010 of prominent cartoonist and government critic Prageeth Ekneligoda.
- The murder of Lasantha Wickramatunga, the outspoken editor of the Sunday Leader newspaper, in January 2009.

The Tamil-language Uthayan Newspaper has faced persistent attacks against its personnel and offices. The editor of *The Sunday Leader* lost her job after the paper came under pressure from the Defence Secretary for their critical articles.

The government has also engaged in censorship. For instance, six critical websites have been blocked.⁸ Several news websites have been shut down, and many others are constantly evading blockades on in-country internet availability. The government has proven itself consistently unwilling to take action on media freedom, opting not to support any of the recommendations by the UN Human Rights Council after its recent “Universal Periodic Review” in November 2012 in which UN members states urged the investigation of disappearances and physical attacks against journalists.⁹

Given the ongoing climate of fear in which journalists operate, journalists were extremely concerned by the government’s proposal for a ‘Code of Media Ethics’, which one government minister described as designed to create a “salutary media culture.”¹⁰ While billed as voluntary, it is likely that the code—which prohibits criticisms of the executive and of Sri Lanka’s foreign relations—may be used to intimidate the media, including by equating dissent with treason. In light of heavy criticism and public pressure, the government has since backed down from this proposal.

⁸ Charles Haviland, “Sri Lanka blocks websites for ‘maligning’ president,” *BBC News*, November 7, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-15621160> (accessed October 29, 2013).

⁹ UN Human Rights Bodies, Universal Periodic Review Second Cycle – Sri Lanka, November 1, 2012, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/UPR/Pages/LKSession14.aspx> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹⁰ Roy Greenslade, “Press freedom fears as Sri Lanka considers new media code,” *The Guardian*, June 19, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2013/jun/19/press-freedom-srilanka> (accessed October 29, 2013).

The government is increasingly using state media as its own political tool. Reporter's Without Borders reported, for example, that at the last presidential election 96.7% of news programme air-time was devoted to the President, while under 3.3% was given to the opposition.¹¹

Sri Lankan state media has also repeatedly been used to threaten and harass critics and human rights activists, using language such as "dogs" and "traitors," which is dangerous in Sri Lanka's culture of vigilante political violence.¹²

Attacks on Civil Society

Activists and civil society, particularly those working in the North and East, reported ongoing harassment and intimidation. Pillay reported that people who she met with in the North and East were visited by security forces within hours of her visit. Instead of investigating these reports, the government denied Pillay's allegations and demanded the names of her sources.

In August, the army opened fire on a group of protesters demanding clean drinking water, killing three.

The government launched a wide attack against those associated with screenings of the movie *No Fire Zone* and producer Callum Macrae. Macrae received threats over Twitter from a senior Sri Lanka diplomat with the government taking no action to censure this behaviour. A Malaysian human rights defender was jailed for screening the movie. In October, Nepali authorities banned the public screening of the movie at a South Asian film festival in Kathmandu at the request of the Sri Lankan embassy.

Enforced Disappearances, Arbitrary Detention, and Extrajudicial Killings

According to the UN Working Group on the subject, Sri Lanka is second only to Iraq for global political disappearances.¹³ According to official reports from the UN, at least 5,676 cases of disappearances remain unresolved in Sri Lanka. At least 20 persons remain unaccounted for after security forces took them into custody at the end of the conflict in 2009.

While many of these disappearances happened prior to the end of the conflict, more recent research suggests disappearances are still ongoing.¹⁴

The Prevention of Terrorism Act remains in force, despite the end of the conflict. The PTA and other laws contribute to large numbers of arbitrary arrests in which individuals are held and often tortured

¹¹ Reporters Without Borders, "World Report: Sri Lanka," March 2010, <http://en.rsf.org/report-sri-lanka,79.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹² Sri Lanka Campaign, "The State media's vicious attacks on human rights activists," *SL Campaign Blog Post*, June 6, 2013, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2013/06/the-state-medias-vicious-attacks-on.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹³ United Nations General Assembly, "Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances," A/HRC/22/45, January 28, 2013, www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session22/A.HRC.22.45_English.pdf (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹⁴ "Horrible rise of disappearances in post-war Sri Lanka continues unabated," *Groundviews*, May 4, 2012, <http://groundviews.org/2012/04/05/horrible-rise-of-disappearances-in-post-war-sri-lanka-continues-unabated/> (accessed October 29, 2013).

by the authorities without informing families of their whereabouts.¹⁵ Many abductions are ascribed to “white van” squads, which have become infamous and operate with total impunity. Despite thousands of disappearances and extrajudicial killings, including the killing of 43 media workers and many human rights activists, no one has been successfully prosecuted for an attack on a journalist or activist.

Examples of killings in which the perpetrators have not been held accountable include:

- The killing of 17 humanitarian aid workers of the French NGO Action Contre la Faim on 4 August 2006. Despite clear evidence of Sri Lankan military involvement, there has never been a credible investigation.¹⁶
- The killing of Lasantha Wickrematunga, the editor of the Sunday Leader, and one of Sri Lanka’s most outspoken journalists, in broad daylight on a Colombo street on 8 January 2009. To date there has been no meaningful investigation into his murder, and the only person to be arrested died while on parole.
- The killing of British holidaymaker Khuram Sheikh and rape and assault of his Russian girlfriend on Christmas Day 2012 after they attempted to break up a fight in their hotel. The prime suspect was Sampath Chandrapushpa, the political advisor of the President’s son. Chandrapushpa had previously been charged with murder for which he had been found not guilty on grounds of insanity.¹⁷ Prince Charles has reportedly expressed interest and concern over the case.¹⁸ The Sri Lankan government announced the arrest of six men, including Chandrapushpa, in this case shortly after Prince Charles’ announced interest in the case in October.

A recent demonstration for clean water saw three protesters shot dead in Weliveriya as the army used live ammunition to clear the streets.¹⁹ This was the third incident in which the state had caused fatalities at a peaceful demonstration in the last two years. Under intense public outcry, the army announced an inquiry into the incident, which found that the army had exceeded their legal remit in the post-shooting incidents, but seemed to absolve the army of for the shootings.

¹⁵ Sri Lanka Campaign, “The four students that were freed hides a bigger story,” *SL Campaign Blog Post*, February 2, 2013, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2013/02/the-four-students-that-were-freed-hides.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹⁶ ACF International, “Justic for Muttur,” undated, <http://www.justiceformuttur.org> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹⁷ Sri Lanka Campaign, “Politicians running amok?” *SL Campaign Blog Post*, January 16, 2012, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2012/01/politicians-running-amok.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹⁸ Peter Beaumont, “Commonwealth summit mired in row over Briton shot in Sri Lanka,” *The Guardian*, October 13, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/13/prince-charles-help-briton-sri-lanka> (accessed October 29, 2013).

¹⁹ Sri Lanka Campaign, “Environmental protestors killed in clashes with the Sri Lankan Army,” *SL Campaign Blog Post*, August 6, 2013, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2013/08/3-environmental-protestors-killed-in.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

Torture and rape

Sri Lankan security forces have long routinely engaged in torture of detainees in police stations and offices, prisons, rehabilitation centres, and secret detention facilities. Torture has been used against LTTE members, supporters and Tamil political activists, but its use is much more widespread and not only used on a political basis.

Despite the Government's recent announcement of a 'zero-tolerance' policy towards torture in its National Action Plan, this rhetoric has not been matched by any concrete measures aimed at dismantling the structures of impunity that permit continued abuse.²⁰

Sexual violence

Given the level of both state and cultural intimidation of victims of rape it is very hard to find rape victims willing to speak about what has happened to them. Thus, the fact that Human Rights Watch was able to document 75 cases of rape by Sri Lankan security force personnel of Tamils in custody suggests that it is a widespread practice.²¹ While widespread rape in custody occurred during the armed conflict that ended in May 2009, Human Rights Watch found that politically motivated sexual violence by the military and police continues to the present. In the cases documented, men and women reported being raped on multiple days, often by several people, with the army, police, and pro-government paramilitary groups frequently participating.

Most of the rape victims spoke to Human Rights Watch outside of Sri Lanka, and corroborated their accounts with medical and legal reports. All suffered torture and ill-treatment beyond the sexual violence. Because Human Rights Watch was not able to openly conduct research in Sri Lanka or interview people still in custody, these cases likely represent only a tiny fraction of custodial rape in political cases.

Many of the cases followed a pattern of an individual being abducted from home by unidentified men, taken to a detention center, and abusively interrogated about alleged LTTE activities.

As a result of these and other accounts, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees revised their country guidance on returns to Sri Lanka in December 2012, stating that persons with any suspected links to the LTTE must be considered to be at risk of torture on return. Several European countries followed suit, although not always with the same expansive definition as UNHCR, through the course of 2013.

Attacks on Sri Lanka's Muslims

Extremist groups have started to target Sri Lanka's sizeable Muslim community, attacking and damaging 16 mosques, urging Sri Lankans to boycott Muslim shops, and spreading racial epithets via

²⁰ Asian Human Rights Commission, "Trying to understand the police crisis in Sri Lanka – Basil Fernando," undated, <http://www.humanrights.asia/news/forwarded-news/AHRC-FST-061-2011/?searchterm=> (accessed October 29, 2013).

²¹ "Sri Lanka: Rape of Tamil Detainees, Human Rights Watch News Release, February 26, 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/02/26/sri-lanka-rape-tamil-detainees> (accessed October 29, 2013).

graffiti, often painted onto mosques themselves.²² In the most recent and potentially most serious incident, a coordinated assault, with clear police collusion, was launched on the central Colombo prayer hall of Grandpass on the 10 August 2013 following the first post-Eid Friday prayers, injuring five.²³

Elements of the Sri Lankan government have appealed to their supporters through extremist Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism. Some have forged alliances with overtly racist groups. The government has even patronised some by, for example, attending the inauguration of a leadership academy for the BBS (Buddhist Power Force), a group behind many anti-Muslim demonstrations and assaults.²⁴

Democracy, Rule of law, Impeachment of the Chief Justice

With the passage of the 18th amendment in 2010, Rajapaksa successfully removed presidential term limits, granted himself further legal immunity, and established his right to control all appointments to the civil service commission, the judicial commission, the electoral commission and the National Human Rights Commission.

In 2012 he launched an assault on the final check on the arbitrary use of state power by orchestrating the removal of the Chief Justice, an appointee of the president. This followed the rejection of the president's brother Basil Rajapaksa's 'Divineguma Bill' by the Supreme Court in November 2012, which would have given the government increased control over land otherwise in provincial council control.²⁵ In response, 117 MPs submitted a resolution calling for the impeachment of the Chief Justice Shirani Bandaranayake. Her hearing, carried out in secret by a Select Committee of MPs, proceeded to find her guilty on a series of technicalities and prompted her removal in January, all without a fair process.²⁶ This was in clear contravention of official Commonwealth values and inspired the Commonwealth Lawyers' Association to call for Sri Lanka's expulsion from the Commonwealth.²⁷ The Commonwealth spoke out against the impeachment, to no avail. However, the Commonwealth Secretariat has refused release two reports it commissioned into the impeachment. One of the reports, which was leaked to the media, concluded that

²² Minority Rights International "Islamophobia and attacks on Muslims in Sri Lanka Incident Map, http://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/129946499-Muslim-Attacks-Online&access_key=key-3szuxcd2ta360nmtijl (accessed October 29, 2013).

²³ "Well-Planned Attack with Police Connivance Launched Against Molawatte Mosque in Grandpass During Maghrib Prayers," *Dbsjeyaraj.com*, August 11, 2013, <http://dbsjeyaraj.com/dbsj/archives/24073> (accessed October 29, 2013).

²⁴ Sri Lanka Campaign, "Attacks on Sri Lanka's Muslim Community," *SL Campaign Blog Post*, March 12, 2013, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2013/03/attacks-on-sri-lankas-muslim-community.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

²⁵ The bill would have given Basil Rajapaksa control of a 47 billion rupee development budget with limited financial oversight, see Dinouk Colombage, "Divineguma Bill to Give Unrestricted Financial Power to Basil," *The Sunday Leader*, August 26, 2012 <http://www.thesundayleader.lk/2012/08/26/divineguma-bill-to-give-unrestricted-financial-power-to-basil/> (accessed October 29, 2013).

²⁶ Sri Lanka Campaign, "Unravelling of the Rule of Law in Sri Lanka," *Sri Lanka Campaign Blog Post*, July 7, 2013, <http://blog.srilankacampaign.org/2013/06/the-unravelling-of-rule-of-law-in-sri.html> (accessed October 29, 2013).

²⁷ Franny Rabkin, "Lawyers back Sri Lanka suspension," *BD Live*, April 24, 2013, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/law/2013/04/24/lawyers-back-sri-lanka-suspension> (accessed October 29, 2013).

Bandaranaike's removal was unconstitutional and represented a clear violation of Commonwealth values and principles.²⁸

Beyond these assaults on the rule of law, Rajapaksa has sought to consolidate his power through the use of personal appointments, particularly within his family network. Rajapaksa and his brother Basil, Minister of Economic Development, and Gotabhaya, Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, now control a majority of the country's budget. More than two dozen members of their extended family now hold senior posts in government, the civil service, the media and industry.

Militarization and Land Grabs

A key feature of the post-war period in Sri Lanka has been the large and invasive presence of the military in the North and East of the country. Despite the LLRC's calls to reduce troop numbers, the military's intrusion into civilian life through camps stationed in these areas continues unabated. Both troop numbers and overall defence spending are higher now than they were during the war.

The government claimed that it has significantly reduced troop numbers. However as a report posted on citizen-journalism site Groundviews made clear, there is no actual evidence that any troop reductions were made.²⁹

Government spin has not helped the situation. In July, the Sri Lankan government issued a press release claiming it was reducing troop numbers in the North. However, a closer reading of the statement showed that in actual fact troop numbers in the North were not to be reduced even slightly – troops were simply to be moved from a series of small bases into one big base in the same area.

The military has been involved in increased economic activity in the country since the end of the conflict. There are also indications that a number of vested economic interests have developed around its presence in these areas. Not only does the army continue to profit from lucrative reconstruction and development contracts in the North and East of the country, it has also increasingly been involved in a number of private commercial ventures, including hotels, restaurants, and travel services.

It is also clear that the government and army are increasingly prepared to use extra-legal means to exert their dominance over these parts of the country. The regime has engaged in a massive land grab in the Jaffna peninsula on the dubious premise that lands acquired by the military were for a 'public purpose'. Over 7000 acres of land with a possible value of up to US\$2 billion has been seized.

²⁸ "Exclusive: Secretary General Hides Two Key Legal Findings on CJ Impeachment from CMAG", *Colombo Telegraph*, August 15, 2012, <https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/exclusive-secretary-general-hides-two-key-legal-findings-on-cj-impeachment-from-cmag/> (accessed October 29, 2013).

²⁹ Anon, "How Credible are the Latest Official Claims Concerning Troop Reductions in Jaffna," *Groundviews*, July 7, 2012, <http://groundviews.org/2012/07/10/how-credible-are-the-latest-official-claims-concerning-troop-reductions-in-jaffna/> (accessed October 29, 2013).

Contacts

For any further information, please feel free to contact Fred of the Sri Lanka Campaign on info@srilankacampaign.org

If you would like to talk to representatives of Sri Lankan civil society, victims of the Sri Lankan regime, or require help and advice with respect to reporting human rights violations in Sri Lanka, then please do get in touch in good time before the Summit as the security implications of these requests mean they may take some time to arrange. Please also be aware that for security reasons it is not always possible to arrange this.

Further reading

The United Nations Panel of Experts Report	http://bit.ly/eq3uZb
The Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission Report	http://bit.ly/rqSMH0
The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights' report on violations in Sri Lanka	http://bit.ly/1bs1vvJ
The UN internal "Petrie" review (redactions here: http://bit.ly/TJtNbv)	http://cl.ly/05042e2R3031
Geoffrey Robertson QC's legal opinion on the impeachment of the Chief Justice	http://bit.ly/17Ln2LN
The Sri Lanka Campaign's report on political prisoners	http://bit.ly/YMf9kn
Amnesty's report on the crackdown on dissent	http://bit.ly/13JjzGA
HRW's report on rape in Sri Lanka	http://bit.ly/YUAIKL

Useful websites

CPA (a Sri Lankan research organisation)	http://cpalanka.org
Groundviews (Sri Lankan citizen media)	http://groundviews.org
The CHOGM website	http://www.chogm2013.lk
Commonwealth Opinion (blog of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies)	http://commonwealth-opinion.blogs.sas.ac.uk
The Commonwealth Secretariat	http://www.thecommonwealth.org
The Sri Lanka Campaign	http://www.srilankacampaign.org
Human Rights Watch	http://www.hrw.org

Useful Twitter contacts

NGOs and Media:

@SLCampaign (The Sri Lanka Campaign), @francesharris0n (author, former BBC Sri Lanka Correspondent), @nofirezonemovie (the campaign team behind the Channel 4 documentaries on Sri Lanka), @akeenan23 (International Crisis Group's Sri Lanka expert), @nass_shaikh (the brother of murdered British tourist Khurram Sheikh), @mg2411 (HRW's South Asia director), @libdemdaisy (knowledgeable Commonwealth and Human Rights expert).@groundviews (citizen journalism website), @JaffnaPressClub (anonymous group of Tamil journalists), @soc_arch (anonymous Tamil civil society collective), @CeylonToday (one of Sri Lanka's more independent newspapers), @dinoukc (who writes for Ceylon Today), @cfhaviland (BBC in Colombo), @AzzamAmeen (local BBC), @thersq (The Republic Square) and @apelankawe

The Sri Lankan Government:

@CabinetSL (Sri Lankan Cabinet), @charith9 (Secretary for the Ministry for Information), @AnuradhaKHerath (the President's spokesman), @PresRajapaksa (the President), @bundeljayse (Deputy High Commissioner to Australia, very active on twitter)

Opposition Sri Lankan Politicians:

@officialunp (largest opposition party), @KaruOnline, @RamanayakeR (UNP MPs), @TNAMediaoffice (largest Tamil political party), @MASumanthiran (TNA co-leader and human rights activist), @TnpfOrg, @GGPonnambalam (another Tamil Political Party).

Advocacy groups:

@UstpacAdvocacy, @ctconline, @GTFonline, @tamilsforum, @jan_jananayagam, @romesh_h, @SLWBCanada.

The Commonwealth:

@CW_Spokesperson (The Commonwealth's Press Secretary Richard Uku), @CHOGMSriLanka (the Official news portal of the Commonwealth Summit), @commonwealthsec (The Commonwealth itself)

Other Commonwealth Heads of Government:

@MYPLP_Believe (Bahamas) @PR_Paul_Biya (Cameroon) @pmharper (Canada) @AnastasiadesCY (Cyprus) @JDMahama (Ghana) @PMOIndia (India) @UKenyatta (Kenya) @JosephMuscat_JM (Malta) @johnkeypm (New Zealand) @PaulKagame (Rwanda) @jmkikwete (Tanzania) @David_Cameron (United Kingdom) @SAPresident (South Africa).

Other Sri Lankan experts:

Alan Keenan

Senior Analyst and Sri Lanka Project Director
International Crisis Group
Email: akeenan@crisisgroup.org
UK Mobile: +44 75 8033 8072
skype: akeenan23

Paikasothy Saravanamuttu

Executive Director, Centre for Policy
Alternatives
Sri Lankan number: +94 777 731458
Email: psara1@cpalanka.org

Yolanda Foster

Amnesty International, Sri Lanka expert
Email: yfoster@amnesty.org

Brad Adams

Asia Director, Human Rights Watch
Email: Brad.Adams@hrw.org

Meenakshi Ganguly

South Asia director, Human Rights Watch
Email: Meenakshi.Ganguly@hrw.org