

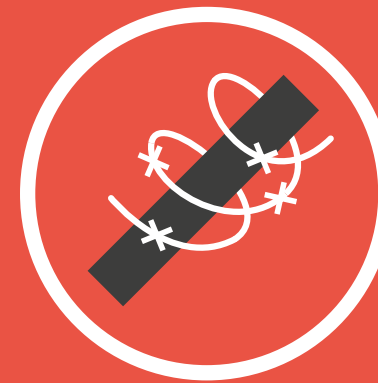
The ITJP is administered by the Foundation for Human Rights in South Africa under the guidance of its director, transitional justice expert, Yasmin Sooka. The ITJP team includes former prosecutors and investigators from the Ad Hoc Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia [ICTY] and Rwanda [ICTR], lawyers who have worked for the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Timor-Leste Commission, the United Nations, the Special Court of Sierra Leone and the International Criminal Court who collectively have decades of experience in investigation of sexual violence and torture, and in many instances first hand knowledge of investigations relating to Sri Lanka.

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🖱️ [stop-torture.com](http://stop-torture.com)

UNSTOPPED:  
2016/17 TORTURE  
IN SRI LANKA

JULY 2017



DESIGN:

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INTERNATIONAL  
TRUTH AND JUSTICE  
PROJECT



# CONTENTS

METHODOLOGY ..... 8

ABDUCTION ..... 13

DETENTION CELLS ..... 19

TORTURE ..... 35

SEXUAL VIOLENCE ..... 39

INTERROGATION..... 48

SURVEILLANCE ..... 53

RELEASE..... 56

ALLEGED PERPETRATORS..... 63

HUMAN SMUGGLING..... 67

AFTERMATH ..... 73

RECOMMENDATIONS ..... 78

TORTURE METHODS GLOSSARY ..... 80

ENDNOTES ..... 85

# FOREWORD

The conflict has not ended for many Tamils in Sri Lanka and is still being perpetrated through unlawful abductions, detention and torture. Witnesses describe being tortured and raped by the security forces, some as recently as 2017.

What is shocking is the high number of victims we now see who have been tortured not once but on multiple occasions – in one case as many as five times. When the ITJP initially began taking statements from survivors of “white van” abductions in 2013, we never expected to encounter victims who had experienced this terrifying ordeal twice.

Sadly, this is no longer out of the ordinary. Even more disturbing is the number of torture victims whose very close family members have also been tortured on separate occasions. This has huge implications for any credible future rehabilitation and for individual recovery which requires family support. The revictimisation through the deliberate targeting of the grown-up children of former LTTE cadres, indicates a high level of paranoia and persecution that is utterly at odds with the Sri Lankan Government’s rhetoric of reconciliation. It will also deepen intergenerational trauma and foster new conflicts.

Aside from the unspeakable horror of the final phase of the war, victims describe traumatic experiences from a young age, such as the 11 year old Tamil boy forced to witness his father being tortured by the Sri Lankan army. He himself sustained permanent injuries from army beatings as a child, only to grow up and be detained and even more severely tortured as an adult. The composite picture of decades of each

family’s intense suffering is difficult to convey in detail without identifying individuals and exposing them to reprisals. Suffice to say, this is collective punishment bent on humiliating and eroding a community.

Diplomats and transitional justice experts who believe the situation is improving in Sri Lanka should try to imagine what it is like to survive the torture and sexual violence described in this report and then have your suffering downplayed, disbelieved or denied.

Our investigators see victims with bandaged bleeding torture wounds, who vomit, shake or even physically collapse while recalling what was done to them in detention. The suicide attempts were so frequent that we had to start a psychosocial trauma project in London to keep witnesses alive, restoring a sense of group identity and hope for their future. Their journey abroad is not about bettering their lives – it’s about staying alive. Even that is a struggle.

**YASMIN SOOKA**  
**JOHANNESBURG**

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report establishes that in 2016/17 both the military and police in Sri Lanka continue to abduct, unlawfully detain, torture and rape Tamils.

The violations remain systematic and officially sanctioned by command structures within the security forces. Victims describe senior officers coming into their torture chambers [Page 63]. A standard operating procedure continues, involving three security force teams – one abducting, one interrogating and another releasing for money [Page 18]. Once the victim has fled, their family remains under surveillance by the intelligence services in order to keep them quiet [Page 53].

This is hardly the action of low level “rotten apples” in the security forces. Detainees are held in purpose-built cells while interrogation rooms are equipped with tools for torture including metal bars from which to hang victims [Page 20].

Women officers are involved when there are female detainees and they also participate in the torture [Page 38]. Victims also report being biometrically fingerprinted – equipment that is not used by organised crime [Page 52].

Corruption is rampant. All the victims are eventually released on payment of money by their families. Security officials actively solicit the ransoms when the families are slow to respond to the abduction [Page 59]. Half the releases were brokered by a pro-government Tamil paramilitary group, the Eelam People’s Democratic Party [EPDP] which to our knowledge has never been investigated regarding this issue [Page 61]. The brokers who secure release often also arrange the human smuggling abroad, instructing the victims to leave the country if they want to stay alive. Victims in 2016/17 describe Sri Lankan immigration officials at Colombo airport being paid off by the smugglers to

allow them through without any questions [Page 67].

The Vanni Security Force Headquarters in Vavuniya, known as Joseph Camp, continues to be a site for torture and rape in 2016/17, including by the Terrorism Investigation Division (TID) of the police. Seven Tamils were tortured there in 2016/17 and several heard other detainees screaming [Page 20].

There continue to be very high rates of male sexual violence reported – something that is not acknowledged within the

country with the result that victims lack support [Page 41]. Victims outside Sri Lanka also struggle to cope and are not able to disclose what has happened to them because of the stigma, with most attempting or talking about suicide [Page 74].

The wanton cruelty and racism exhibited by the perpetrators also raises serious questions about whether a conventional security sector reform process that downsizes the military and finds alternative employment can address this level of systematic abuse. An intensive programme of rehabilitation which includes mental health care treatment is needed for the perpetrators, as well as their victims, though obviously not at the cost of holding torturers and rapists accountable for their crimes.

The Sri Lankan Government is complicit in the ongoing violations in so far as credible allegations have repeatedly been brought to their attention and they have consistently failed to act to prevent

such violations and to hold those responsible accountable. The inescapable conclusion is that they have done nothing for 30 months because they prefer to condone the persecution of Tamils rather than dismantle the security structures responsible, which might lose them electoral or political support.

The ITJP calls on international governments who respect human rights to take urgent steps to hold Sri Lanka's political leaders accountable for the violations that continue under their watch, let alone mass atrocities committed during previous governments.

# ITJP WITNESSES



VAN ABDUCTIONS



TORTURED



MALE



SEXUAL VIOLENCE



JOSPEH CAMP CASES



HEARD OTHERS SCREAMING



HELD BY TID



SENIOR OFFICERS INVOLVED



EDPD BROKERED RELEASE

# 1. METHODOLOGY

## A. INTERVIEWS

This report is based on sworn testimony from victims of torture who have fled abroad to Europe, predominately the UK. The ITJP is made up of seven international investigators from a diverse range of countries who document witness testimony, spending three to four days with a witness and a trusted interpreter in a safe space. Statements taken are translated and read back to the witness in Tamil before they sign them. Statements are also supported with medical legal reports (where possible) and psychological reports, documentation from the ICRC, IOM, HRCSL, courts, photographs (including scar photos) and media reports where applicable.

## B. CASE NUMBERS

This report is based on 21 cases of abduction, illegal detention, torture and/or sexual violence by the

security forces in Sri Lanka that took place during 2016 and an additional 3 cases from 2017.

The ITJP has in the past documented a further 33 abduction and torture cases that occurred in 2015, the details of which have largely been reflected in our earlier reports<sup>1</sup>.

**2017:** 3 cases  
(male)

**2016:** 21 cases<sup>2</sup>  
(3 female, 18 male)

**2015:** 33 cases<sup>3</sup>  
(7 female, 26 male)

**Total:** 57  
(10 female, 47 male)

If allowance is made for family members reported detained and tortured and the number of people heard screaming in the detention sites in 2015-17, then the overall total of victims would rise to 88<sup>4</sup>.

In addition, 10 of the victims of torture in 2016/17<sup>5</sup> described being detained in cells that were bloodstained and 5 in 2015, suggesting at least one person had been tortured

in them in the recent past though obviously it's difficult to say when<sup>6</sup>. This could potentially bring the total estimate to 103 people tortured.

The survivors the ITJP interviewed are now in the UK, Switzerland and Holland. Given it can take years for them to be released from detention, escape abroad and be located and interviewed by the ITJP, the size of this initial caseload is worrying because the actual number may be much higher. The ITJP is also aware of 34 additional recent victims from whom we have not yet taken testimony<sup>7</sup>.

### FAMILY MEMBERS DETAINED IN 2016

Three survivors interviewed by the ITJP recounted the illegal detention and torture of their close family members in 2016, and a fourth described the attempted abduction of his wife at night from her home by the security forces in a van<sup>8</sup>.

### HEARD OTHERS SCREAMING

Twelve survivors of abduction and torture in 2016 described hearing other prisoners

screaming, though they did not see them. Because they heard multiple voices and sometimes male and female voices, this suggests more people were tortured simultaneously in these sites than detailed in this report.

“I could hear men screaming out in pain. When I was in this room I could hear male screams from the other rooms. I did not see any other people when I was detained<sup>9</sup>”.

“The whole time I was detained I only heard one other man being tortured like me – I did not see him but I heard the screams in Tamil<sup>10</sup>”.

“I never saw any other detainees when I was detained here but I could hear men and women crying out in pain. I heard more women than men crying out in this way<sup>11</sup>”.

“I never saw any other detainees like

me when I was held at this place but I heard men screaming out in Tamil ‘Ayoh’ and crying in the building<sup>12</sup>”.

“During my detention I often heard males crying and screaming out in Tamil. They would scream out ‘Ayoh’<sup>13</sup>”.

“There were over ten to fifteen cells in this row of cells, but I never saw anyone in these cells. But I did at times hear screaming; I don’t know where it came from. This was the sound of men, not women. It was not a common occurrence, but I did hear this a few times. I also heard sound of the neighbouring cells opening and closing<sup>14</sup>”.

“I also heard men shouting and wailing in Tamil. When I was

taken to the toilet I saw other men like me struggling to walk and being accompanied somewhere<sup>15</sup>”.

“I heard noises from the other cells but I never saw any other detainees. I could hear a few people crying out, noguthu, and valiguthu, meaning ‘painful’ or ‘unbearable’. I don’t know who they were talking to when they said this. I heard cell doors being locked<sup>16</sup>”.

“I never saw any other detainees but while I was taken from my cell to the interrogation room, I sometimes heard people screaming, ‘ayoh ayoh’ coming from somewhere<sup>17</sup>”.



“I heard people moaning from a short distance of about 15 meters and then I heard screaming from a long distance, it sounded like someone being tortured... After about 15 minutes I could hear people moaning and screaming, ‘amma’, ‘ayoh’, ‘please sir’, ‘don’t beat me’ and ‘I’m telling the truth’<sup>18</sup>”.

RISK PROFILE BASE ON ACCEPTED CASES

Of the 2015 torture cases the ITJP interviewed, 16 individuals have already been granted asylum in the UK or Europe, and also, two of the 2016 cases. This means their accounts of torture under the Sirisena Government were found credible by European immigration authorities who are increasingly raising the bar for entry. It also means they were deemed still at risk if returned to Sri Lanka. An analysis of these cases shows that all but four were low level LTTE cadres or child soldiers, forcibly recruited in the final stages of the war.

Many were involved in low level political work for Tamil parties or in protests around human rights issues, especially that of the disappeared.

C. MOTIVE FOR TESTIFYING

Each witness was asked why they agreed to testify; these are some of the responses:

SAFE ENVIRONMENT

“I can tell my story as I am now in a fairly safe environment. This is not the case for others, in particular Tamils in Sri Lanka who live under threats of torture and abduction. If I tell my story then I hope that others won’t have to live like this and experience what I did. I hope the world will get to know what happened to me and action will be taken to stop it. If people were to speak out from Sri Lanka they would be

signing their own death warrant. I have an opportunity to do this as I am outside Sri Lanka and this is why I am speaking to you to tell my story<sup>19</sup>”.

ALERT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

“The international community is wrongly under the view that the change of government has improved things for the Tamils but in reality if there is any hint of political activity then the government responds in the same way, by torture, detention and people going missing. I want to tell people about what happened to me so that the international community can see that nothing has changed and can intervene and provide a solution for us<sup>20</sup>”.

CASES ALREADY GRANTED ASYLUM

- HRD – HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDER
- CHOGM – PARTICIPATED IN DAVID CAMERON VISIT PROTEST 2013 IN JAFFNA
- TNA – DID LOW LEVEL VOLUNTARY POLITICAL WORK FOR THE TAMIL NATIONAL ALLIANCE
- RETURN – RETURNED HOME THINKING SAFE UNDER NEW GOVERNMENT
- POLITICS – DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ACTIVITY
- NO REHAB – NOT BEEN IN GOVERNMENT “REHABILITATION” PROGRAMME

TORTURED	SUMMARY	YEAR JOINED LTTE	RECRUITMENT TYPE
F	●	N/A	CIVILIAN
M	●	N/A	CIVILIAN
M	●	2006	FORCED
M	●	2006	FORCED
F	●	2007	FORCED
M	○	2007	FORCED
F	●	2007	FORCED
M	●	2007	FORCED
M	○●●	2007	FORCED
M	●	2008	FORCED
M	●●	2008	FORCED
M		2009	FORCED
M	●●	2009	FORCED
M	○●	2009	FORCED
M	●	2009	VOLUNTEER
M	●	1998	VOLUNTEER
M	●	1988	VOLUNTEER
F	●	2007	VOLUNTEER

“I want the world to know that the Sri Lankan Government is currently abducting and torturing former LTTE cadres<sup>21</sup>”.

#### LACK OF RULE OF LAW

“I am giving this statement because I want to make it clear that I went to Sri Lanka to help people and I did so in a legal way. In Sri Lanka there is no rule of law and they don’t use an arrest warrant to take people into detention. I want to bring out my story to show what is going on in Sri Lanka even in 2016<sup>22</sup>”.

“People should know what happens

inside the areas of the North that are still under military control. There are a lot of young people there like me. I also want to tell the people here in Europe because many believe there are no problems in Sri Lanka after the war ended<sup>23</sup>”.

“I am telling my story as the Tamil people have suffered a lot at the hands of the Sinhalese and I hope that by speaking to you that there will be a solution to all this suffering<sup>24</sup>”.

#### TO PROTECT OTHERS

“I cannot go back and live in my own country due to all the things that happened to me and I don’t want them to happen to anyone else. The Sri Lanka Army and EPDP are still kidnapping

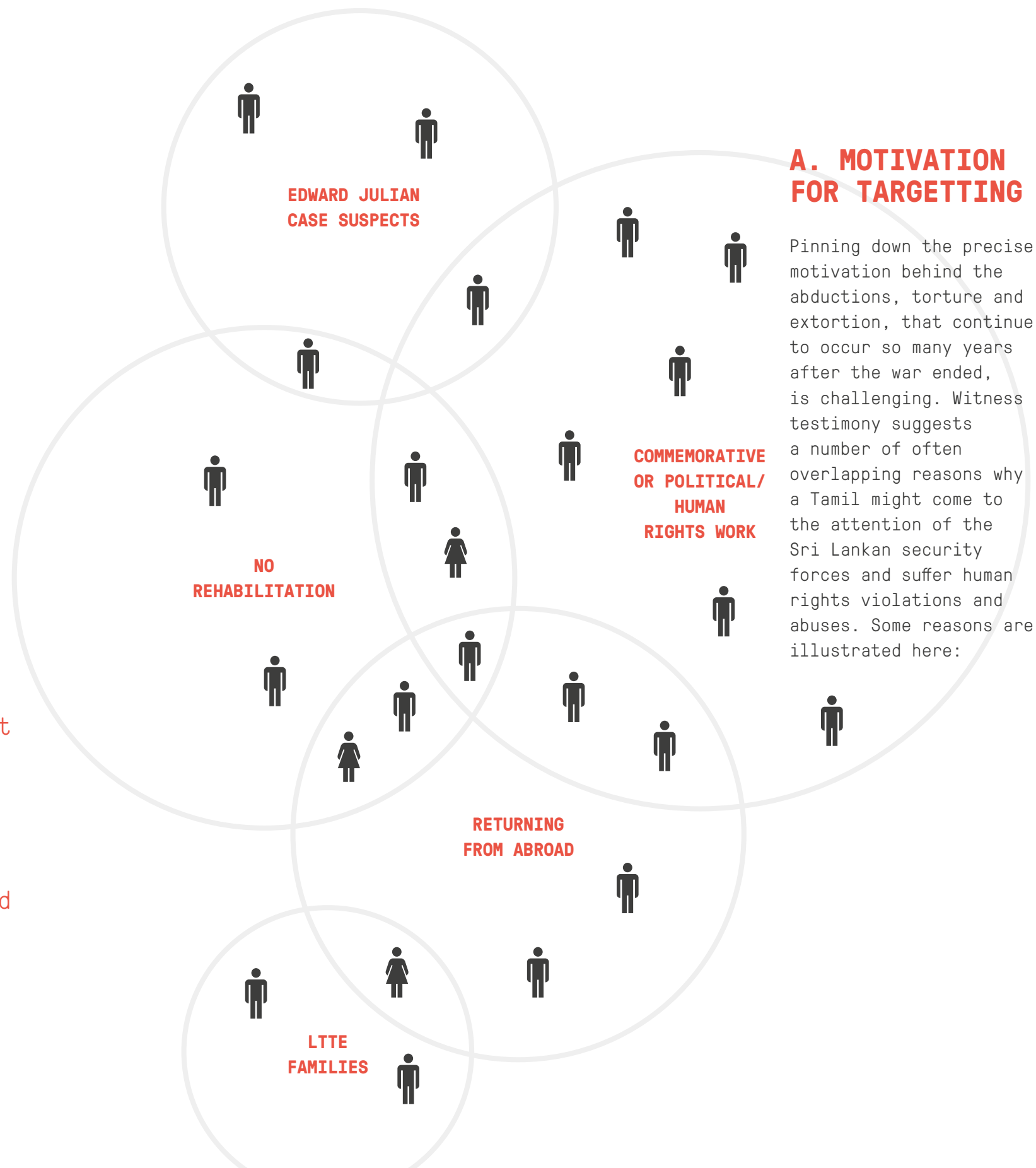
and torturing people like me and the world needs to know about it. It is terrible for the parents and family of those who are kidnapped like me and who don’t know where they are<sup>25</sup>”.

“I am giving this statement to help ensure that these awful things, such as the torture and sexual violence I suffered, will not happen to any Tamils or to any human beings<sup>26</sup>”.

#### SEEKING JUSTICE

“I don’t want this to happen to other people. I’m innocent of everything, I was never involved in politics or the LTTE and I want the men who tortured and sexually assaulted me to be brought to justice in an international court of law<sup>27</sup>”.

## 2. ABDUCTION



## DEMONSTRATIONS & POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING

Nine Tamils were abducted in 2016/17 after involvement in commemorations and low level political work for local Tamil MPs. Some had been involved in distributing fliers and posters, soliciting signatures for petitions or collecting the names of the Disappeared. This trend is similar to earlier patterns observed in cases of torture that occurred in 2015.

“I helped to set up the venues used for political meetings, put up posters and got people to sign a petition to set up a UN war crimes tribunal. I took part in the protests for those who had disappeared after surrendering to the Sri Lanka Army in the last stages of the war<sup>28</sup>”.

“They said that I was supporting TNA, had supported LTTE,

and was thinking of re-starting LTTE. They said that I had been looking for my missing brother and complaining to organisations about him, which was causing them embarrassment. They also said I had been participating in demonstrations against them, but they did not say who ‘them’ was<sup>29</sup>”.

### RETURNING FROM ABROAD

Eight of the 2016/17 victims had returned to Sri Lanka from abroad, either as students going home to see family or because they finally thought it would be safe to go back to the country after many years waiting abroad after the end of the war.

“I thought that it would be safe for me to go home as my family in Sri Lanka told me that it was as there was a new government<sup>30</sup>”.

This follows a similar pattern to 2015 cases. Once detained, victims

were asked for information about Tamils in the UK:

“They asked me if I was a member of the LTTE, which I was not. They accused me of trying to restart the LTTE. They generally wanted me to become an informer for them and asked if I knew anyone involved with the LTTE in the UK. I didn’t give them any names. They mentioned two names to me: I don’t know who they are<sup>31</sup>”.

Another victim who had returned to Sri Lanka after being refused asylum in a European country was asked all about his activities abroad:

“I told them that when I had been in XX [country redacted to protect identity of victim] I had been involved in many protests including fasting until death events. I was also involved in a lot of the

publicity work for the big protests in Geneva and would put up leaflets in Tamil controlled areas. I would also arrange funds for the protests<sup>32</sup>”.

Being abroad, even for employment in the Middle East, attracted the attention of the interrogators:

“They tied my legs together. I saw there was a hook attached to a rope. They put the hook on the rope around my legs and suddenly I was hanging upside down from the ceiling. They removed the table and my head was now about one meter from the floor. They started beating me with wooden sticks and asked again the same questions. ‘Why did you come, why were you in XX [Middle Eastern country – redacted to protect identity of witness]

you have come to Sri Lanka to regroup the LTTE!’<sup>33</sup>”.

### EVADING “REHABILITATION”

Seven victims had low level connections to the LTTE, including 2 who were forcibly recruited as child soldiers in the final and chaotic stages of the war and had not declared this. They were told they should have gone into the Government’s “rehabilitation” programme, even though persistent allegations of torture led the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Juan Mendez, to recommend in 2017 that the whole programme be closed down<sup>34</sup>. Although the interrogators accused these victims of having evaded “rehabilitation”, no attempt was made to enrol them in the programme; instead they ended up being brutally tortured.

No allowance is made for a person having been a child victim of the LTTE. This young 2016 torture victim described how he was first abducted by the LTTE, only to suffer abduction later at the hands of the Sri Lankan security forces:

“The LTTE visited our family home at Mattalan in January 2009 and told my parents that one

of their children should join the LTTE. My parents refused to send any of us and told the LTTE that we were all underage. As a result five LTTE cadres forcibly removed me from the temporary shed my family was living at the time in the No Fire Zone in Mattalan. They took me as I was the eldest and tallest. My parents tried to stop them taking me but were unsuccessful. The LTTE took me to Mullivaikkal in a pick up vehicle. I was 16 years old. I tried to resist them taking me as I was very afraid about what would happen to me, I thought it would be the end of my life<sup>35</sup>”.



## LTTE FAMILIES

In three cases the victims were the grown-up children of former LTTE cadres but were too young to have been cadres themselves.

### EDWARD JULIAN CASES

Four victims detained by TID and tortured in 2016/17 were suspected of involvement with an LTTE suspect called Edward Julian accused of amassing weapons in his home in Chavakachcheri in the Jaffna Peninsula<sup>36</sup>. Media reports corroborate that:

“A number of Edward Julian’s acquaintances traced through his cellular telephone were targeted. Initially five persons traced via Julian’s phone were arrested in

Vavuniya and Mannar districts. These were followed by more arrests all over the Northern province. Almost all of those arrested were ex-LTTE members... The mode and scale of arrests have raised much concern among family members of those arrested. They were not informed about the reasons for their arrests either but they were simply “abducted” by officers in civil dress and taken away in vehicles. This modus operandi revived fears that the “White Van” culture prevalent in the Rajapaksa regime had re-commenced under the “Yahapalanaya” regime of President Sirisena”<sup>37</sup>.

None of the individuals whose cases the ITJP documented, was arrested under the PTA or any other law.

## BACKGROUND

A former LTTE cadre, Edward Julian (LTTE name Ramesh), was arrested in Kilinochchi following the recovery of a suicide jacket along with explosives and other ammunition at Maravanpulavu in Chavakachcheri on 29 March 2016. According to the police, the explosives including the suicide jacket were found wrapped in a Sinhala language newspaper, which was dated 2007<sup>38</sup>.

The Colombo-based daily, The Island reported that the recovery was made based on a tip off to the police by Julian Edward’s second wife<sup>39</sup>. The suicide jacket recovery and the subsequent arrest were given wide publicity by the local media and the issue became politically explosive in the South with the Mahinda Rajapaksa group accusing the Government of compromising national security. The Defence Secretary, Karunasena Hettiarachchi, said that the recovery was routine and posed no threat to national security. However the former Foreign Minister, G.L Peiris,

of the Rajapaksa group said the plan was to bring the suicide jacket to the Tamil area of Colombo possibly to target a VIP. Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe urged the CID to investigate Peiris over his statement. The CID did question him a few days later<sup>40</sup>. A report in The Island newspaper, which is close to the former defence secretary Gotabhaya Rajapaksa and the military, quoted “sources” describing Ramesh as a hardcore “terrorist” who had joined the LTTE when he was 13 years old. It also reported that Ramesh had not gone through the “rehabilitation” program, and thus posed a threat. The newspaper went on to quote the former Defence Secretary Gotabhaya Rajapaksa calling for a comprehensive investigation into the incident. A week later on 10 April 2016, another former LTTE cadre, Rajadurai Jeyanthan was abducted in a white van from his home in Chavakachcheri by a group of men in plain clothes, saying they were from the Terrorism Investigation Department (TID)<sup>41</sup>. Police officials at

Chavakachcheri refused to accept a complaint from the family so Jeyanthan’s mother lodged a complaint with the Human Rights Commission (HRC) office in Jaffna regarding her son’s abduction<sup>42</sup>. Two days later, Jeyanthan’s wife Menaka found him at the CID’s 4th Floor site in Colombo.

A research report by human rights activists for Groundviews said at least 28 people were arrested and detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) in connection with the recovery of suicide jacket between 29 March and 28 June 2016. Many of them, including Ramesh, were never produced before a court or charged<sup>43</sup>. As of publication of this report, no confirmation exists that Edward Julian has been produced before a court.

The Sri Lanka Human Rights Commission in its report to the UN Committee Against Torture in 2016 also mentioned the spate of arbitrary arrests that followed the recovery of these weapons in April 2016<sup>44</sup>. In its report, the HRC said it had issued ‘directives’ to the

authorities on due process to be followed.

Human Rights Watch said many of the arrests made following the discovery of suicide vests in Chavakachcheri, “were first undeclared, with families reporting only that security forces had abducted the men<sup>45</sup>”. HRW noted that the security forces subsequently admitted to holding them under the PTA only after mounting pressure particularly from the national Human Rights Commission.

## B. MODUS OPERANDI

All the 2016 and 2017 cases involved individuals who were abducted in vans, all of them bar three in white vans<sup>46</sup>. Of the 33 cases involving torture in 2015, 20 were abducted in white vans and 9 in vans of other colours and one in another sort of vehicle<sup>47</sup>.

The security forces follow a standard modus operandi during the abduction, checking the victim's name and asking for their identity card, blindfolding and tying their hands and in some cases gagging the victim if they make a lot of noise. The abductors are a team of men dressed in plain clothes.

These accounts from victims are typical:

“Somebody then came from behind me and grabbed my neck,

kicked me onto the floor and I fell face down. I did not see the man who grabbed me and so cannot describe what he looked like. My hands were then tied behind my back. Immediately a white van came and I was pushed into the van – in the space in the middle of the seats – so that I was lying face down in the van. When I was pushed into the van my flip flops fell off. I did not get them back. As I was being pushed into the van I saw that there was a man sitting on a seat in the van who had a rifle. I had not seen him before. I did not notice what he was wearing. Someone then blindfolded me – I did not see who he was. I do not know how many men were with me in the van as I was blindfolded.

There were men in the van talking in Sinhala<sup>48</sup>”.

“I was cycling in a back street towards my home in X [redacted]. Then a white van came and stopped next to me. Several men opened a side door of the vehicle. I thought one of them was going to ask for directions. When I began to move away from the van, one of them called out asking if I was X [name redacted]<sup>49</sup>”.

“They dragged me into the vehicle; it was a white coloured Hiace. The middle seats were removed; there was only last row of back seats and the first row with the driver. They pushed me inside and I was lying on the side, they kicked me with their boots and I fainted<sup>50</sup>”.

## 3. DETENTION CELLS

### A. JOSEPH CAMP

In 2016-17, seven Tamils interviewed by the ITJP were brutally tortured in the main army garrison in Vavuniya, commonly known as Joseph Camp, by the TID and/or the military.

The ITJP studied in detail a variety of detention sites inside Joseph Camp in its March 2017 report based on 46 victims' testimony and corroborated by 92 other accounts<sup>51</sup>.

#### TID JOSEPH CAMP CASES

The ITJP's testimony reveals that the Terrorism Investigation Division of the police (TID) is still taking suspects to Joseph Camp for torture during 2016 and the early part of 2017, though they are not the only unit to use the site for this purpose during this period. It is worth noting the national Human Rights Commission reported in 2016 that it “received complaints of persons being held at detention centres that are not gazetted”,

which it said promoted an environment conducive to torture. The Commission added that: “Upon inquiry it was revealed the places at which persons were held for at least twelve hours were offices of the TID but not gazetted detention centres. The TID has only three gazetted places of detention - Boosa, TID Vavuniya and TID Colombo<sup>52</sup>”.

The four victims interviewed by the ITJP who were suspected of links to the Edward Julian case involved detention by the TID and severe torture at Joseph Camp<sup>53</sup>.

In most cases, the victim was later told where he had been detained by the intermediary who secured his release in return for money, or by the relative who hired the intermediary. In one case the victim recognised Joseph Camp because he'd been there before. The testimony of these unconnected victims (and others from previous years) where the descriptions of details of

the cells match, affords additional corroboration.

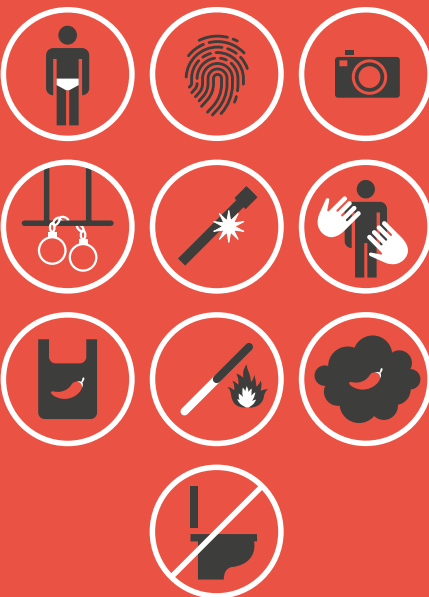
### B. UNKNOWN SITES

Several victims describe cells with either a wall of metal bars or a door with metal prison bars. This may not narrow down the identification of the site substantially but indicates a purpose built site, rather than an improvised location for a criminal enterprise. Some describe gravel under their feet as they are brought out of the van blindfolded and led to their cell. This suggests a security force site but is not conclusive; likewise the references to green paint on the walls.

# TID JOSEPH CAMP CASES

PLEASE REFER TO PAGE 80 FOR THE TORTURE METHODS GLOSSARY

## VICTIM 1



The men who abducted Victim 1 introduced themselves as belonging to TID. The vehicle stopped several times en route and they switched vehicles towards the end of the journey. When he exited the van, Victim 1 was walked blindfold and barefoot for several minutes, indicating

that he was held in a large site. The interrogators wore green T-shirts with round collars, green trousers and light boots, and were muscular, clean-shaven and neat looking. He heard others screaming and was kept in a very small cell.

“It was a small room, maybe about 2 metres by 3 metres. Entering the cell, I think we had to bend down. I could stand fully. The floors and walls were cement. The room faced a wall about a metre away. Later I became aware this was one of a series of cells<sup>54</sup>”.

## VICTIM 2



The armed men who abducted him said they were from TID, and showed him an ID card to corroborate this. He was aware of the van stopping, the driver speaking to someone in Sinhala and a barrier being raised to allow entry. There was then a 15-minute bumpy drive inside the site. He was taken to what looked like a school building and led up steps. He heard other prisoners screaming in pain. His interrogators all wore plain clothes except one of the men who raped him who wore army trousers. The site was large and he was held in a very small cell. Food was delivered through a flap in the cell door. Victim 2’s family faced

serious reprisals once he left Sri Lanka.

“It was a very small room, I could touch both walls, there were no windows and it was very dark. When I lay down I could not stretch out; I had to bend my body. There was no furniture in the room. It smelt very bad – like a toilet. There was a squat toilet in the room. There was an electric light bulb but the switch was outside the room. The door was made of solid metal sheet. I could not see a lock... I never knew if it was day or night. The room was

dirty and smelly. Someone would bring me drinking water twice a day in a dog bowl shaped dish and food once a day. I did not see who brought the food and water as they would push it through a flap in the door<sup>55</sup>”.

## VICTIM 3



Victim 3 was not told he was in Joseph Camp but the details of his detention are so similar to those who were held here that it is highly likely. He was abducted in a green army van by men who said they were from TID. His detention site had trees and two big brick buildings that looked like a prison. One building had a sloped roof. He described being given food as if he was a dog. The men who interrogated him wore plain clothes and plain green Sri Lankan army uniforms as well as khaki camouflage uniforms. He heard others

screaming. His family suffered serious reprisals after he left the country.

“I was taken through a small corridor and put in a small room. There was a dirty squat toilet in the room. The smell was very bad. There were no windows or any light. There was a sold iron door with a handle and lock on the outside. There was no furniture. The walls were cement and very dirty. The floor was cement as was the ceiling<sup>56</sup>”.

#### VICTIM 4



Victim 4 described the white van stopping at a gate in an area with vehicles, and then as the car started again, the vehicle noises grew fainter as they went inside the large camp. His cell was dark with a strong smell of urine. The interrogation room had no windows but had a table and chairs for the interrogators and a low bench. He only encountered plain-clothes officers.

“I know it was Joseph camp because I was in the same interrogation room as before and I heard the same sound of choppers as I did before, and I saw the bund inside the barbed wire fence and the lions on

the gate when I was taken out. I heard sounds of vehicles and boots outside. There were all new people there and unlike before I never saw anyone in military uniform. I think they might have painted in some places but otherwise what I saw looked like it did when I was detained in Joseph camp the first time<sup>57</sup>”.

#### ADDITIONALLY



In 2015 a woman who was detained by TID in Joseph camp described being tortured and repeatedly raped there. She was held in a very small dark cell in which she could not extend her arms and legs with a door of metal bars. She heard men and women screaming frequently during the time she was detained<sup>58</sup>.



A male victim in 2015 was arrested by men who said they were from the TID and taken to Joseph Camp. He was told he was under arrest and put in a white van. Once inside the site he was driven slowly for 10 to 15 minutes and then taken into a two-storey building. The room had a metal door with no handle on the inside, a toilet inside the room, no furniture, smelled of blood and faeces and was so small he had to bend his body to lie down.



# OTHER JOSEPH CAMP CASES

## VICTIM 5



Victim 5 had not been through the Government’s “rehabilitation” programme. He was told by the intermediary who secured his release that he was held at Joseph Camp. He said his abductors said they were from CID, though its common for Sri Lankans to use this term to refer to any intelligence officer, military or police. He recalls hearing gates opening and the vehicle passing over about four or five speed bumps on the road while moving through a large site. After 3-4 minutes the van stopped. He was walked down 9 steps to his underground cell. He says on one occasion his interrogators referred to a senior officer coming. He heard other prisoners screaming.

### First Cell:

“The cell was small, dark and windowless. There was a small electric light bulb hanging from the ceiling. The roof and three of the walls were made of concrete. One wall consisted of metal bars like a prison cell. There was a door in this wall of metal bars that had a lock. There was also a flap in this wall of metal bars through which food was passed. Through the bars I could see a corridor and a wall. The concrete walls had some bloodstains... I saw

that there were about 15 cells next to each other along this corridor. The cell I was at the end of the corridor”.

### Second cell:

“The cell was approximately 10 ft. by 10 ft. Three of the walls were made of cement and one was metal bars just like the other room I had been held in. There was a lock in the wall of bars and a flap for food<sup>59</sup>”.

## VICTIM 6



Victim 6 was detained by men who wore a variety of army outfits: green military camouflage and green military T-shirts. One of the men wore a white T-shirt one day and then a Sri Lankan army uniform another day. Women guards wore Sri Lankan army green camouflage uniforms. Victim 6 was held in a very small cell which was one of a series of cells. Food was delivered through a flap.

### First Cell:

“It was very dark so I could not see much. I felt that

I was in a very small room as I could touch all four walls. The floor and walls were made of cement. The walls were green. The door was a metal sheet with bars running down vertically on the inside. There was a flap in the door through which things could be passed. The next morning there was a bit of light which came through the gap between the door and the wall. I could see that there were no windows in the room, no electric light and no furniture”.

### Second cell:

“I saw that I was in a small room (about 1.5 x 1.8 metres), with three green cement walls and a cement floor. The roof was a flat cement roof. The door was the same as the previous doors – i.e. metal with poles down it and a flap. There was no electric light, but there was a little bit of light coming through the gap between the door and the wall. There were no windows. There was no furniture in

this room.... A little later someone put some food and water through the flap in the door”.

## Second interrogation room:

“The room was a similar size to the room I was first interrogated in. There was a broken chair and bench. The door was similar to the other doors I had seen i.e. metal with bars and a flap, I did not notice the lock. The walls were made of green cement and there were bloodstains in two places<sup>60</sup>”.

## VICTIM 7



Victim 7 says the intermediary who secured his release and also his uncle told him he had been held in Joseph Camp. He described the van stopping and a big gate opening. The van then drove on for a long time. He was moved hooded from the cell to the interrogation room and recalls going up steps and to another building some 100 metres away. It was a large site, his holding cell was very small and underground. His interrogators introduced themselves as Military Intelligence. One wore an army uniform with three stars on his shoulder; another wore an army T Shirt.

“After walking down some steps, I had my gag, handcuffs and blindfold removed. I was in a lit corridor outside a cell door. I could see a row of cells on one side and I later saw a toilet at one end of the cells. The cell was about 2x1 metres wide. The ceiling was a few inches just above my head. I could barely lie down. It was totally dark and the only time I could see anything was when they slightly opened the door to push the food in<sup>61</sup>”.

## ADDITIONALLY



A victim in 2015 was detained by what appears to be Military Intelligence in Joseph Camp. He was held in a dark cell with metal bars and no window.

# UNKNOWN SITES – METAL DOORS/WALLS

## VICTIM 8



The white van abductors said they were from CID. While in detention, a senior military officer came in to the room. Victim 8 describes being detained by a mixed group of plain clothes and military uniformed men. Like Victim 5 he describes a cell where one wall is just vertical iron bars.

“I could feel that there was gravel under my feet. ... I could see that I was in a dark room, approximately 10ft by 8ft. There was no furniture

or anything in the room, which was empty. The floor was cement. I could not see any windows in the room. There was a very bad smell like rotten animals... The walls of the corridor were painted green. They walked me to another room through an L shaped corridor and pushed me into the room. This room had three normal walls and then one wall had a section in it, which had some vertical iron bars – like a prison cell. Through the iron bars I could see a wall with a tarpaulin tied to it. There was a very bad smell in this

room, like rotten animals just like the other room<sup>62</sup>”.

## VICTIM 9



This man describes a lot of walking, which suggests he is held in a large site. Again he mentions gravel and doors made of iron bars.

“We walked along a gravel road; I had left my slippers in the vehicle so I was walking barefoot. I was taken into a building and to a room.... We walked another ten minutes and were taken into another building and into a room...

This cell was small with a very high ceiling. It had a window too high up for me to reach and it had iron bars and barbed wire. The door consisted of iron bars with barbed wire, like a gate. The walls were all cement, with old green paint with scratches and marks; the floor was also cement and there was no light. I could see through the small window that was getting dark outside. There was a toilet and a water tap in the room<sup>63</sup>”.

## VICTIM 10



He also describes walking on gravel for some distance and seeing doors made of iron bars.

“They pulled me out and took me along a gravel path into a room... When they removed the blindfold I saw I was in a small dark room that smelled bad... The same two men would come each time and bring me back to the interrogation room. The floors and walls were cement; there were no windows... I walked past a door with iron bars on the way to the other room. Inside that room there were bloodstains on the walls<sup>64</sup>”.

The following two victims were held in cells with iron bars but it’s not clear if it’s the same site. They heard other prisoners screaming:

## VICTIM 11



“The room I was in was very small – a little bigger than a toilet. It had a ‘country roof’, which consisted of wooden supports, with thin bricks inside and some barbed wire to prevent anyone trying to climb out. When I stood

up and stretched my hands up they almost touched the barbed wire. If I jumped high I could touch the wire. The walls felt moist as if there had been water on them. Some paint was coming off the walls and they also had bloodstains on them. The floor was made of concrete. There were no windows and no lights inside the room – it was very dark. There was no furniture in the room. There was a bad stench. There was pigeon excrement in the room. The door was made of iron bars that I could see out of<sup>65</sup>.”

## VICTIM 12



“I heard the sound of birds but other than that there were no noises. They led me for about ten minutes, I was barefoot and felt that I was walking on loose sand with my feet sinking down a bit. I felt as if we entered a building, someone tied my hands behind my back, and we walked down stairs, maybe about 40 steps that felt low. Inside the building the surface felt like cement, the stairs were rougher... (blindfold removed)... I saw a toilet in the corner of the

room and a raised cement platform, about 75 cm high, my height in length (about 170 cm) and 40 cm wide. The walls were rough cement walls without paint, there was blood on all of the walls. There were no windows, no furniture, the lighting came from outside the room through the iron bar door. The room was small, maybe 2 x 3-4 meters<sup>66</sup>”.

# UNKNOWN SITES- WOODEN DOORS

## VICTIM 13



“The room I was held in had no lights, it was quite small, about 3m x 2m; there was one window with vertical metal bars, a heavy, maybe wooden door, cement floor and walls and quite a high ceiling<sup>67</sup>”.

## VICTIM 14



“I saw that I was in a medium sized dark room – there were no electric lights or light bulbs. The roof was tiled and there was some light that came through the gaps in the roof. There were no windows in the room. There was a wooden bench, wires, wooden cricket wickets, and long plastic pipes filled with sand. There

were bloodstains on one of the walls. The room was very dusty. The door was wooden and it was open. There was a wooden bar across the middle of the door frame which was there the entire time I was held in this room<sup>68</sup>”.



## VICTIM 15



“The room that I was in was small and very dark. There were no windows and no lights. There was no furniture or anything for me to sleep on. There was no toilet or water tap in the room. The room was dirty with a bad smell of dog faeces. The walls were cement. I could not see much in the dark but it looked like the walls were a dirty colour with cobwebs. The floor was also cement. The roof was made of ‘sheets’, which were

tiles. The door of the room was made of one panel of wood. There was no lock on the inside of the door but I heard what sounded like a latch on the other side, which was pulled across and padlocked. Outside the wooden door there was a second door made of iron bars like a prison door<sup>69</sup>”. [Military Intelligence Case]

## VICTIM 16



“The room was fairly large, approximately 4 meters by 4 meters, it had no windows, but at the top of one wall it was clear that there used to be a window but it had

“The room was fairly large, approximately 4 meters by 4 meters, it had no windows, but at the top of one wall it was clear that there used to be a window but it had been blocked. It had no furniture; there were dim electric lights fixed in the ceiling and there were old blood spots on the wall. The door was wooden and it was locked<sup>70</sup>”.

The first site below was in the Kilinochchi area and the second probably in the Jaffna Peninsula but it’s not clear where the others are:

## VICTIM 17



“It was a small room with no windows. It looked as though it was used to question people. There was a metal door, and it locked from outside. The room was bloodstained on the floors and the wall and very smelly<sup>71</sup>”

# UNKNOWN SITES

## VICTIM 18



“The room was small and dark. There was a small window in a corner of the room covered by a piece of wood. The door was made out of metal and consisted of iron bars like a prison cell with an iron sheet behind so you could not see out of the door. There was a lock inside the room at the top of the door. At the bottom of the door there was a small gap so they

could push the food under<sup>72</sup>”. [Jaffna Peninsula]

The remaining sites are difficult to locate:

## VICTIM 19



“There was no window, only four small rectangle openings with a little bit of light coming through, high up on one of

the walls...The woman untied my hands and took me to the toilet, which was next to the room I had been held in. The toilet was a squat toilet and there was a tap and bucket near it...There were things in the room - thick batons, long plastic pipes and electrical cords against a wall and a small bench. This room made me feel that it was like a torture room. The walls had blood on them, a bloody hand print on the wall as though someone had been scraping the wall with their fingers<sup>73</sup>".

## VICTIM 20



"This room had no windows, no furniture and no toilet. There was no light but through the light of the door when it was opened I saw belts, batons, metal wires on the floor left side of the room. In the middle of the room was a thick rope hanging from a hook in the ceiling. Then I knew something bad was going to happen to me<sup>74</sup>".

## VICTIM 21



"The room where I was kept had no windows. It was dark. It had no light bulb. It was always very dark unless they opened the door. The door was made of metal. The smell in the room was terrible - it stank of urine and blood. There was no furniture in the room at all. When they took me to a bathroom I was blindfolded and when I walked I could feel something sandy. The toilet wasn't far - about 1 minute walk<sup>75</sup>".

# 4. TORTURE

The methods of physical torture documented in 2015 and 2016/17 are similar to previous years, namely: falaka, beating (normally with pipes and batons), whipping (often with cables and wires), kicking, punching, burning with cigarettes, branding with hot metal rods, asphyxiation in polythene bags soaked in petrol or chili powder, submerging heads in tubs of water, suspension, manacling and tying to chairs, and in some instances electrocution. In addition, rape and other forms of sexual violence and humiliation continue under the Sirisena regime. The methods of torture remain consistent and the severity of the torture is not diminishing in the cases the ITJP has studied for this report.

## THE NORMALISATION OF TORTURE

The one significant change since 2009 is the Sinhalese interrogators now speak much more Tamil than before and rarely rely on Muslim and Tamil

interpreters to ask questions on their behalf as they did at the end of the war. In addition, some Tamil victims have spent so long in detention that they now understand some Sinhala<sup>76</sup>. For example, this victim understood that his torturers were discussing whether he had received the "normal treatment" yet:

"When it was announced that I had not admitted to being in the LTTE, someone asked what kind of treatment I had had, to which the answer was 'normal'. One of the Sri Lanka Army officers asked if I had received any water treatment to which another replied that I had not. The two new Sri Lanka Army officers

then announced that they would administer some water treatment<sup>77</sup>".

The normalisation of the practice of torture by the perpetrators is clear from descriptions of the casual way in which the beatings are conducted, with the perpetrators walking in and out of the rooms, smoking, speaking on the phone<sup>78</sup> to others and laughing among themselves while the victim is being beaten unconscious.

“They were using Sinhala, Tamil and English to ask questions. I was only half conscious by now due to the pain. The four Sri Lanka Army officers were coming and going from this room, some were on the phone and I was still being beaten up by one of them who continued to ask me if I was in the LTTE. However, I could not answer as I did not know what to say and so he was pulling my hair and hitting my head hard on the table. Throughout this beating and each time there was a

new form of beating, the Sri Lanka Army officer would say “Kottiya” which means Tiger and LTTE and the others would laugh<sup>79</sup>”.

“While they threw and poured the chilli powder on me, all four men were joking and laughing speaking in Sinhala to each other<sup>80</sup>”.

“They were speaking in Sinhala and laughing with each other while they beat me. I passed out<sup>81</sup>”.

One witness described multiple interrogation teams questioning him in shifts, each trying to torture something new out of him:

“It was not the same group of men who tortured me each day – they seemed to work in shifts<sup>82</sup>”.

#### EQUIPMENT

Victims repeatedly describe being transported

from solitary confinement in their holding cells to larger rooms specifically equipped for torture.

“I saw plastic pipes, bottles filled with something, a tap with a hose attached, a plastic can or bottle filled with something<sup>83</sup>”.

“In the corner of the room there were wooden batons, PVC pipes, wires and nylon rope. I noticed a barrel full of water in the corner of the room. I think I saw some polythene bags next to the water barrel<sup>84</sup>”.

“I could see a window that was closed with wooden shutters, a table, wires, wooden sticks, blood marks on the wall. It looked like a torture room and it had a very nasty smell<sup>85</sup>”.

These torture rooms are common across all accounts and suggest there is nothing opportunistic or unsanctioned about the abuse. It also indicates that torture is routine and that commanders are fully aware of the torture rooms when they inspect the military sites they run.

#### DURATION

It is worth noting most victims experienced several if not most of the torture methods catalogued here and for weeks or months, in some cases right up until their release for money.

“These things went on for nearly a month and often but I did not sign anything. They continued to hit me, burn me with cigarettes, hit me with batons and hard plastic tubes, and attempted water drownings. There seemed to be no pattern to it... This went on right up to the day before I was released<sup>86</sup>”.

“I was tortured about 25 to 30 times

in addition to the experiences I have described which are the worst examples of the torture I suffered. I cannot remember the exact number of times that I was tortured in total or when because one day blended into another as I could not distinguish day and night as I was held in a dark room. Each time I was tortured it followed roughly the same pattern. One or two unarmed men, always the same ones, would come to my cell dressed in green army trousers and T-shirts and sometimes denim trousers and a T-shirt. If I was asleep when they came in, they would stamp on my genitals, my penis and my shoulders very hard with their shoes to wake me up<sup>87</sup>”.

“The torture I endured varied each time but included: holding my head under water in the barrel for a while until I could hardly breathe; pressing pliers down on my nails; punching me in the stomach and chest and on the back of my head. My hands were tied up to a rope that came down from the ceiling and I was beaten very hard with a belt and sticks from my legs up to and over my back. The pain was unbearable on each

occasion. I would shout out in pain and each time I would be told that however much I shouted out in pain, no one would come and help me and the only solution was to give them the answers<sup>88</sup>".

#### WOMEN TORTURERS

Women security force personnel continue to be involved in the torture of female detainees. This is a pattern observed in previous ITJP testimony and, in some cases in the past, it has also involved lesbian sexual abuse of women by female soldiers.

"The woman and the two men came into the room. The men were drunk. The woman told me to remove my clothes. I refused. The woman pushed me on to the floor and tried to pull off my clothes. She was scratching

me with her nails while doing this. When she had removed the clothes she left the room. Then one of the men hit me hard on my face and the other man was burning me with a metal rod. I was screaming with pain. They forced me onto my stomach and burnt me on my back with cigarettes and the metal rod. They slapped me very hard on my ears<sup>89</sup>".

The presence and participation of women security force personnel in torture raise questions about international assistance projects that assume the increased presence of Sinhala female security force officers will automatically serve as protection for Tamil women detainees.

## 5. SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Of 24 individuals interviewed from 2016/17, 18 described experiencing sexual violence. One additional man was too fragile to discuss his most recent sexual abuse, but he had already been subjected to anal rape previously in Joseph Camp<sup>90</sup>. This high level of sexual violence is in keeping with previous ITJP findings.

#### VERBAL ABUSE

Though ethnically derogatory language is quite usual throughout the torture and in the holding cells<sup>91</sup>, it is particularly prevalent during the sexual violations.

"They swore and used bad language in Sinhalese which I could understand<sup>92</sup>".

"They said things like 'you Tamil dogs, are you trying to fuck with the

Sinhalese, you will always be our slaves'. Both of these men repeatedly raped me and due to the pain I lost consciousness<sup>93</sup>".

"They sometimes shouted at me using filthy words in Sinhala and Tamil. They called me Tamil dog, Tamil cunt and Tamil cocksucker<sup>94</sup>".

The intent to humiliate and emasculate the Tamil community through male sexual violence is clear in the things the rapists say to their victims:

"He said in Tamil – the type of Tamil spoken by Sinhalese: 'You guys have come back to cause trouble and kill people'.... He grabbed

hold of my hands and I could feel he had military uniform on as it is made of a different material and it has distinctive buttons on the sleeves. He said, "I will do what I want – lets see what you can do about it – I will do this". He then removed his clothes so he was naked. He grabbed my head and pulled it towards his genitals. He was trying to force me to give him oral sex. I resisted totally and tried to move away. He then grabbed my head and smashed it onto



the concrete floor and forced me to lie force down.

He then took off my underwear and he raped me anally with his penis<sup>95</sup>”.

“I felt that this was his way of humiliating the community. It was very painful. He then turned me over and pulled my penis and testicles very hard in anger. ‘We will make sure that you will not create a future Tamil with this.’ I fainted as it was extremely torturous and painful<sup>96</sup>”.

#### ALCOHOL

Victims describe the perpetrators of sexual violence often smelling of alcohol when they enter their dark cells at night:

“He smelled like he had smoked and had maybe drunk arrack

or some other form of alcohol<sup>97</sup>”.

“Most of the time I could smell alcohol on their breath and they seemed to be angry when they came back each time<sup>98</sup>”.

“It was clear that he was drunk as I could smell the alcohol on his breath<sup>99</sup>”.

“All three men smelt of alcohol and seemed drunk as they were swaying like drunk people do. They smelt disgusting when they came close up<sup>100</sup>”.

In two cases, victims describe being forced to drink alcohol before sexual violence. The administering of alcohol to suspected LTTE cadres has a special symbolic significance in terms of breaking them down because of the strict ban on drinking and smoking the LTTE imposed on its members.

“At some point while it was dark, two

men came into the cell and both had a bottle of alcohol. They gave the bottle to me forcing me to drink. They spoke in broken Tamil, saying, ‘drink it’. One of them inserted the bottle into my mouth, but I said no and they kicked me. Then I took the bottle and drank three times. It was brandy of some sort, I never normally drink alcohol so I am not sure. I vomited afterwards because the alcohol felt like burning inside<sup>101</sup>”.

“A man brought a bottle of alcohol into the room and another man forced me to drink the alcohol – by pushing the bottle into my mouth. I tried to resist drinking the alcohol by regurgitating it. The man would not allow me to do

this and forced the bottle in to my mouth for me to drink<sup>102</sup>”.

#### A.MALE VICTIMS

What is striking in all the evidence the ITJP has gathered is the very high prevalence of male sexual violence, including anal and oral rape, and 2016-17 is no exception.

The sexual abuse is happening inside known and unknown army camps and other detention sites perpetrated by men wearing either military uniforms and/or plain clothes.

Generally, the sexual violence takes place after some torture has already been perpetrated on the victim, but in one case it was a few hours after he arrived in the detention site and before he had even been questioned.

“This man came towards me and touched my face, my hands and tried to touch my penis but I resisted by using my hand to push his hand away. I had my clothes on – jeans and a shirt. He then held one of my hands and made me touch

his penis with it. I realised then that he was wearing jeans by what they felt like. As I touched his penis he pressed my hand so that it was holding his penis. His hand was on top of my hand and he forced me to masturbate him by moving my hand up and down his penis to rub it. While he was doing this he tried to take off my jeans but I pushed his hands away. I felt that my hand became a bit wet so I think that he ejaculated on my hand. I did not look at what was happening but looked towards the wall as it felt abhorrent. I managed to free my hand after about two to three minutes and I stepped back. He then kicked me to the floor before he left and locked the door. I fell down onto the floor

and began to cry. This incident made me feel very ashamed and guilty...<sup>103</sup>”.

#### DURING INTERROGATION

Some of the sexual violence but generally not the rape, occurs in the interrogation room as a part of the torture process:

“This time they also squeezed and beat my genitals. They also put a bag over my head which had petrol fumes, and they started beating me; I fainted. When I recovered consciousness I was back in the cell<sup>104</sup>”.

“On one occasion, they also put something that burned very badly on the tip of my penis. On two other occasions, they forced a pipe into my anus whilst I was chained from the ceiling<sup>105</sup>”.

“This man had a polythene bag with him and put his hands inside it and squeezed and twisted my penis. I felt as if I was dying because of the pain and shouted – ‘if you want to kill me – just kill me’. I wanted to try and move to see if he would release my penis as I was in so much pain. So I moved to the corner of the room but the man moved with me, still squeezing my penis. He continued to say ‘just sign it’ [a confession]. I refused to sign<sup>106</sup>”.

“One day near the beginning of this detention, when I was taking time to respond about my links with the LTTE, one man squeezed my testicles hard when I was only in

my underwear. I screamed, I could not breathe and the pain was unbearable<sup>107</sup>”.

There was one instance where a stranger came into the torture room and sexually abused the victim while he was still tied up after the torture.

“Later I heard the door being opened and a man came into the room. ..I was still tied to the bench and he touched my face and my back in an inappropriate manner, like a kind of massage, for ten to twelve minutes. I begged him not to touch me like this but he continued. Then he left the room and locked the door. I was left tied on the bench<sup>108</sup>”.

#### IN HOLDING CELLS

Most of the rape takes place in the holding cells at night rather than the larger interrogation rooms. This means there is no sense of respite for the torture victims

even when they are alone recovering from beatings and burnings.

Sometimes it is unknown men who come in and rape the victims in their cells at night after the torture:

“I was sitting on the floor when one man came into the cell, I had not seen him before. He was well-built, medium height and dark of complexion. He wore tracksuit shorts and banyan, which is a sleeveless undershirt, I don’t remember the colour, and slippers. He had short hair... He didn’t speak to me<sup>109</sup>”.

The incidents of sexual violence including rape often involve the interrogators and guards but also unknown men. The impression given is that detainees are available for anyone to abuse at night.

“At night, pairs of officers would come to my room and force me to have oral sex

with them. One of them on one night was my interrogator. Every night different men would come whom I didn’t know from the interrogations. All of them were in civil dress. I think on 4 nights I experienced sexual violence. The guard also sexually violated me – he was called by the other two officers to join in and one of the officers would stand in for him and do guard duty while he sexually abused me<sup>110</sup>”.

Victims describe their guards being involved in rape but in this case it was the man who delivered his food:

“He made me kneel down and grabbed me by the hair. He was forcing himself on me; putting his penis into my mouth. I pulled away, he forced himself back on me. He was

smoking while he did this pulling my hair to force himself on me. He ejaculated, then pushed me to one side. He then left. My throat started painful and strange and I vomited. I was exhausted, drained and I fell asleep on the floor of the cell. This man is the one who sometimes brings the food. He did this to me on many times throughout my detention. Whenever I saw him I got very fearful. I repeatedly begged him not to do this, but he didn’t listen, just forcing me in the same way<sup>111</sup>”.

Often the rapist has previously been involved in the torture; in this case the man had burned the victim with his cigarette in the torture room before later coming back to sexually abuse him in his cell:

“He took my underwear off, he touched my penis and he put his penis into his mouth. After I was struggling he forced his penis into his mouth. Then he penetrated his penis into my anus until I was severely bleeding. I don’t want to give more details because this is so upsetting for me to think about and I feel very ashamed<sup>112</sup>”.

However, the perpetrators do also work in pairs or groups of three which reveals that they have no fear of being caught by colleagues or sense of shame about the abuse they are perpetrating.

“One would hold me and forcefully open my mouth so the other one can insert his penis into my mouth...Another man came in the room,

he made kneel and then he held me from behind. The other man in front of me put his penis inside my mouth<sup>113</sup>".

In only one case did the perpetrators take their victim from his cell to another room and lock him in before raping him:

"Two men (the same each time but not the men who took me from my home) came to my room about 3 to 4 times and took me from the small room to another small room without furniture. The room had a light and electricity. They would shut and lock the door. One of the officers wore Sri Lanka Army trousers and a civilian T-shirt and had short hair. The other man wore civilian clothes<sup>114</sup>".

#### ORAL RAPE

In most cases the victim is ordered to give oral sex to the perpetrator but there have been instances in 2016 when the reverse occurred:

"He tied my hands and my legs at the ankles with rope and put some Sellotape over my mouth. He made me lie down and pulled my underwear down to my ankles. I tried shouting through the tape and showed with my body that I didn't want him to hurt me. He kneeled in front of me and pulled me over half way on my side with his one hand around my waist and he put his other hand around my penis and starting sucking it. I lost consciousness so I don't know for how long he did it. When I woke up my underwear were down at my ankles, my legs and hands untied and the tape

removed and he must have taken it all with him because it wasn't in the room. I felt guilty and ashamed about what had happened to me, I blamed myself I could not stop him, and I felt it was better to die than to live. The foreskin on my penis had been damaged and it was bleeding in that area. It was painful<sup>115</sup>".

"This time he forcibly masturbated me three times, he put his hand around my penis and did this. I had terrible burning sensation in my penis and it felt as if it was bleeding, but it wasn't. This time he also raped me by penetrating his penis into my anus<sup>116</sup>".

#### RAPE WITH OBJECTS

In several cases there is anal rape with objects such as metal rods, often when the victim has refused to perform oral sex:

"The man who sexually abused me came once or twice a week until the end of my detention and continued to force himself on me. Twice when I didn't satisfy him, he forced an "S-Lon" pipe into my anus<sup>117</sup>".

"Two came together and sexually assaulted me. They raped me anally by inserting a metal pipe in my anus on 3 to 4 occasions. I bled extensively at the time after I had been raped and then got an infection. The men also urinated on me and forced me to drink the urine. It was sickening. The pain was

unbelievable. I felt extremely ashamed and dirty<sup>118</sup>".

Again in the following case one of the rapists had been part of the interrogation and torture process but returned at night to abuse the victim in his holding cell with another man unknown to the victim. When the perpetrator failed to make the victim give him oral sex, they anally raped him with a rod.

"One day, after the third or fourth time I had been tortured in the big room, I was anally raped in the small room. When it was very dark two men came into the small room but I could still see. They were both wearing dark denim trousers and t-shirts but I don't remember the colour of the t-shirts. I recognised one of the men as he had been in the big torture room before and had participated in my previous torture... The man

who I recognised had the zip of his trousers undone. The other man I did not recognise had a metal pole and I thought that I would be beaten with this. They were very aggressive. I was on the floor curled up when they came in. Both of the men shouted at me and pulled me onto my knees. The man I recognised then urinated on me and tried to put his penis in my mouth. I clenched my teeth and did not open my mouth. I would have rather died than let him put his penis in my mouth. They then turned me over so I was face down on the floor, they pulled my underwear down and separated my legs. I



could not move. They then anally raped me, I think with the metal pole that they had brought in but I could not see. They inserted the pole into my anus three or four times. I do not know which of the men did this. It was so forceful that my anus bled as a result. It was unbearably painful and my anus bled immediately. I thought that I was going to die<sup>119</sup>".

#### **MULTIPLE INCIDENTS OF RAPE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

Many victims describe being subjected to anal and oral rape in multiple incidents, like this man who had already been anally raped three nights earlier:

"He made me sit up and he rubbed his penis on my face, I turned my head and he slapped me on my head, then he

ordered me to suck his penis. He hit my cheek with his fist and he grabbed my hair and pushed it against the wall until I opened my mouth and he put in his penis. While his penis was inside my mouth I started to choke and making vomiting sounds, he took out his penis and he ejaculated on my face<sup>120</sup>".

For some victims the abuse ran into multiple incidents over weeks if not months:

"The sexual abuse happened about 12-13 times but it was perpetrated by the same five men, I'm sure there were five men, short hair, well-built and muscular, some of them were tall. Sometimes the abuser wanted me to suck his penis but I refused and he kicked me and slapped me. Mostly

they motioned me with hand signals and on a few occasions the abuser said something in Sinhala but I didn't understand. The men who sexually assaulted me I never saw in the interrogation room. I was raped three times by the same man in one incident, he penetrated his penis into my anus. I feel it is too painful for me to tell you the details of this incident<sup>121</sup>".

In one particularly cruel case the interrogator/translator came to visit the young victim in his cell on the second night of his detention with another unknown man, pretending to be concerned about his torture injuries and tricking him into undressing so they could see his legs. This psychological torture played on the victim's yearning for kindness. Once they had tricked the victim into partially undressing they then raped him:

"He then forcefully inserted his penis into my mouth. When I tried to evade, they slapped. The man who held me, then changed with interrogator X and came and did the same, he pushed his penis into my mouth. Then they told me to be on all four on the floor, they pulled down my underpants... The man I didn't know restrained me, and interrogator X pushed his penis inside my anus and raped me. It caused severe pain so I tried to move away, they both slapped and beat me, it was unbearably painful and really disgusting<sup>122</sup>".

#### **LONG TERM TRAUMA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DAMAGE**

Several male survivors describe long term physical problems - and huge psychological damage - arising from the rapes they experienced:

"The GP has prescribed me with Anusol as I had bleeding and infection from my anus from the anal rape I suffered... I have also been prescribed Lactulose for assisting with bowel movements<sup>123</sup>".

"Even today, when I pass urine, I bleed<sup>124</sup>".

#### **B. FEMALES**

All three of the women interviewed for this report were raped.

One woman held in Joseph Camp described a female military officer escorting a male officer into her cell at night. He was not one of the men who had interrogated and tortured her. He burned her with his cigarette and then violently ripped her clothes off and raped her, leaving her with scratch marks on her breasts and chest. This occurred the day before her release.

A second woman held by military intelligence was so traumatised relating her rape that the interview had to be stopped as she sobbed uncontrollably

and appeared to be hyperventilating. She too had been raped the day before her release. For the third -very young- woman the sexual violence began during the torture sessions with the interrogator ripping her shirt and bra and squeezing her breasts hard and trying to put his hand down her trousers. Sinhalese women soldiers were present and seemed to enjoy the Tamil woman's torment.

"The two women standing in the room were laughing when he was touching me<sup>125</sup>".

When she signed the confession document the man who had beaten her stood behind her and touched her breasts in a sexual manner:

"I tried to move my body so that he could not touch them but I couldn't. I felt disgusted and was crying<sup>126</sup>".

Later in her cell she was raped by 3 men. After the incident she was left with a bite mark on her breast and scratches on her back.



## 6. INTERROGATION

### A. THE QUESTIONS

#### (I) REGROUPING THE LTTE

The interrogations in 2016/17 focused on corroborating the mythology perpetuated by the security forces that the LTTE is regrouping. There is no evidence to suggest the LTTE is actually regrouping, but the mythical threat helps to justify a large military occupation with its concomitant economic interests in the north east of Sri Lanka eight years after the end of the war<sup>127</sup>.

“He asked if I had been helping the LTTE and whether I was helping those

trying to regroup the LTTE<sup>128</sup>”.

“The man said, ‘You guys want to reactivate the LTTE which is why you are back’<sup>129</sup>”.

“The man said, ‘Your brother is involved in reviving the LTTE and you act like you don’t know’<sup>130</sup>”.

“He asked me if I was intending to bring back the LTTE with the help of the Tamils and the LTTE organisations abroad...He then asked if my aim was to reform the LTTE again and if I was going to talk about Tamil Eelam and separation again. I

denied this. He said that they needed to destroy people like me to handle the situation<sup>131</sup>”.

There’s an assumption that funds and inspiration for regrouping the LTTE come from abroad:

“They asked me if I was a member of the LTTE in London, and whether I was trying to regroup the LTTE in London with others, and whether I had plans to regroup LTTE in Sri Lanka<sup>132</sup>”.

“He said I was starting something in France and that the LTTE in France had sent me back. I kept saying no but they were very adamant about this

allegation saying they had evidence and that so many LTTE leaders were abroad. He said that the problem now is the people outside the country<sup>133</sup>”.

There is also an abiding interest in the Tamil diaspora’s links to the protests that are occurring in the north of Sri Lanka. This victim from 2016 was asked who instigated protests in Sri Lanka:

“They wanted to know who gave instructions for Tamils to protest in the North when foreign leaders and UN officials came<sup>134</sup>”.

#### (II) MOPPING UP

The security forces are still involved in a mopping up operation against those considered to be remnants of the LTTE, especially those who worked undercover for the organisation outside the Vanni and were hiding in other cities or abroad. Testimony shows the security forces continue to hunt down LTTE members.

“There was a small table, a chair, a typewriter and photographs on

the wall of LTTE fighters. I knew they were LTTE fighters as they had LTTE uniforms on. The faces of the LTTE fighters had been circled in a red marker pen and a cross put next to them<sup>135</sup>”.

It also emerges from testimony<sup>136</sup> that a sophisticated information management system exists where previous interrogation records are being stored and which are made available to new teams during subsequent interrogations, indicating a high degree of central coordination and intelligence data management. One witness was asked about his sibling (also tortured) who had escaped by paying a bribe after the war; his interrogators said they had proof that his sibling had been detained and bribed his way out and escaped.

#### (III) TRACKING THE MONEY

Since 2009 the security forces have shown avid interest in the hidden monetary assets and weapons of the LTTE. Now they are also focused on foreign funds for charity work coming into the country from the diaspora:

“They asked how many people like me were still hiding.

They said that I was working to re-start the LTTE again. I denied that I was in LTTE, and I said that I was openly working and was not in hiding. They mentioned two names and asked if I recognised them. I replied that I had never heard those names, which was the truth. They asked if I knew where LTTE jewellery, maps or arms were hidden? I said I did not know anything about that. They asked if I knew about foreign money coming into the country to support the LTTE. They also asked if I knew anything about the diaspora sending money to support the LTTE. They told me that they knew that I would collect

money for widows and disabled people from the diaspora. I denied that I was collecting this money. I was also asked about collecting the names of the disappeared. I denied any involvement<sup>137</sup>”.

## B. SECURING “CONFESSIONS” THROUGH TORTURE

Every case results in a confession signed by the victim, which they are not able or allowed to read. The documents to be signed are either blank pages or are written in Sinhala, a language the victim does not know:

“I signed six to seven pages of the Sinhala written documents. I do not know what they said as they were not translated to me and I did not ask, as I thought if I asked questions they would beat me up again<sup>138</sup>”.

“Then they took my fingerprints and asked me to sign a blank piece of paper<sup>139</sup>”.

To say these confessions are signed under duress is an understatement; this is a typical demand:

“If you don’t sign the sheet we will kill you!<sup>140</sup>”

Torture occurs before and after the signing of the confession document. The information gathering can seem perfunctory as the interrogators often already know about the victim’s LTTE links and just want them to confirm it.

Sometimes the victims are tortured to the point that they cannot actually answer the interrogator’s questions:

“He said that I should admit that I was trying to regroup the LTTE. I did not say anything at all as I was in such terrible pain that I could not speak<sup>141</sup>”.

On other occasions, the interrogators don’t speak Tamil well enough to ask anything complex:

“It was not really an interrogation about a specific issue, they asked about the name of my wife and my child, etc. Their Tamil was not so good so their questions were simple<sup>142</sup>”.

Several victims also describe being asked questions that were more like statements or contained no questions at all:

“When they were beating me they did not ask me any questions but spoke to the men outside the room in Sinhala<sup>143</sup>”.

“I think they lowered my head into the water more than 10 times, maybe 11 or 12 times. The questions were this day more like statements; they accused me of being a member of the LTTE and having contacts to LTTE members abroad and told me to admit this<sup>144</sup>”.

“While he was beating me, he was making statements that I had come here and thought I could regroup the LTTE again. He asked if I thought I was a big person to come here, support the LTTE and regroup it. He was swearing at me a lot. He called me ‘Tamil Parachi’ and ‘Vesai’ (prostitute) repeatedly. He was also saying other words in broken Tamil that I did not understand but I knew they were bad words from the way he was saying them<sup>145</sup>”.

“The next days, the two usual people came and took me back to the interrogation room. They did not ask many questions, they just started beating me with wooden sticks. I asked what they wanted with me. The interrogator

repeated the main allegations, so I said ‘either I agree to your allegations or you can kill me now’. He repeated that I was an LTTE member who had come to regroup the LTTE and I said ‘yes I am’. After some time, they stopped the beating<sup>146</sup>”.

## C. VERBAL ABUSE

Interrogators use a great deal of degrading language and abuse during the torture:

“The beating continued more than 10 minutes all over my body, he was shouting, ‘why can’t you tell the truth’ and he used bad words like ‘motherfucker’ and ‘son-of-a-bitch’<sup>147</sup>”.

Much of the abuse focuses on ethnicity, as has been common in the past<sup>148</sup>. One interrogator said:

“So you need a separate country?<sup>149</sup>” as he tortured a victim.

Another victim reported being told he didn’t belong in Sri Lanka:

“They talked in a bad way about Tamils, telling us we came from somewhere else and that we didn’t belong in Sri Lanka<sup>150</sup>”.

“They also said that Sri Lanka belonged to the Sinhalese and not the Tamils<sup>151</sup>”.

“As they were dragging me along they were using derogatory language and swear words towards me in Tamil, they were saying ‘Erangadi Para Thamilici’ which means ‘Get down Tamil’, referring to someone of the lowest caste in Sri Lanka. They also called me ‘Parachi’ which also refers

to someone of the lowest caste in Sri Lanka<sup>152</sup>".

"If anyone saw me looking out of my cell they would come over, point at me and pretend to shoot me, shout something in Sinhala and except for the word Tiger I would not understand anything. They would also say something in broken Tamil about Tamils and shake the door and then leave<sup>153</sup>".

## D. FINGERPRINTING

The practice of fingerprinting the victims is one of many factors that suggests the unlawful detention and torture is sanctioned by the wider security force structure rather than the

covert opportunistic practice of a few "rotten apples".

Recent testimony suggests the Sri Lankan authorities are now using biometric fingerprinting technology in their torture sites: this technology was only introduced for passports in Sri Lanka in August 2015<sup>154</sup>.

"They pushed me down into a chair and one of them photographed me and I was fingerprinted. They had ink and pressed my thumb down in it and then put my fingerprint on a blank piece of paper. They also had an electronic biometric fingerprinting device and took my fingerprint with that too. They spoke in Sinhala to each other<sup>155</sup>".

"The same day they took my fingerprints. One man wearing white rubber gloves pushed first one of my hands on to black box with a glass surface. When

I put my hand on it there was light underneath<sup>156</sup>".

"The man with a moustache took my fingerprints with an inkpad. He took the prints of all ten fingers and both of my hands. A man that was clean-shaven took photos of me - my body and face in different angles. I was dressed only in my underwear at this time<sup>157</sup>".

"After a few hours two men I had not seen before came into the room in civilian clothes and brought a machine with them. They pressed my right thumb onto the machine and applied ink to both of my palms and fingers, starting with my right and then my left palm and pressed them onto a piece of blank paper<sup>158</sup>".

# 7. SURVEILLANCE AND INFORMANTS

What emerges from witness testimony is the continued use of informants and plain clothes intelligence officers, often with cameras, to surveil the Tamil population in the north and east and around the globe at diaspora events.

Several victims believe they were abducted because of their participation in commemorations in northern Sri Lanka to mark the end of the civil war (18 May) in both 2015 and 2016 and also Heroes Day (27 November) in 2015 and 2016. The fact that these Tamil remembrance events were allowed to occur at all was hailed by the international community as a sign of progress on the part of the Government; this is obviously not the case, if some of those who participate are at risk of torture as a result.

## VILLAGE INFORMANTS

The Sri Lankan security forces run a large network of informants in the Vanni in particular. This is a particularly

pernicious practice as it heightens the suspicions and divisions within the Tamil community. A victim detained in 2015 described being asked to work for the intelligence services as a paid informant. He explained how he had been betrayed by another Tamil in his village:

"They have a system of using informants in the area and people are given small favours in exchange for information... The CID<sup>159</sup> asked me to work for them as an informant - they said they would release me and pay me to be an informant. They told me that I knew places with weapons, where the LTTE hid money. They told me things from 2009

that were true, for example, that I had worked with the LTTE doctors to help with bandage dressing of wounded cadres in certain areas. I know that one of the cadres I helped with bandage dressing was working with the CID at XXX and I used to see him roaming around<sup>160</sup>".

## PROTESTS

Victims tortured in 2016-17 say they were asked about recent protests they had attended in Sri Lanka and told there were photographs of them present.

"They specifically said they knew I had attended the Hero's



Day Celebration, the protest regarding XX [redacted to protect witness], and the protest in Keppapulavu. They told me they had photographs of me attending the protests. They did not show me the photographs. They were saying I was trying to resurrect LTTE<sup>161</sup>”.

The interrogators also asked about participation in protests abroad, indicating that these events are still watched closely.

“In detention, the interrogators asked me about the protests and Remembrance Day events I had participated in while in the UK. They said: ‘you took part in War Heroes’ day in 20XX [year redacted] - which I had. I think they

might have had some intelligence about this<sup>162</sup>”.

#### COMMEMORATIONS

One torture victim recognised one of his abductors as a plain clothes officer who was present at one of the commemoration events he had attended:

“I took part in the May 18 remembrance events in Mullivaikal in 2015 and also in 2016. There was a heavy presence of military intelligence and other security agents including CID in civilian clothes. After attending this commemoration in 2016 I began to receive threats on the phone, warning me not to take part in such events or I would be killed and buried<sup>163</sup>”.

#### PHOTOGRAPHED ABROAD

Families were shown photographs during 2016 of their children attending protest events abroad:

“My mother said that she had not seen me since I had been detained. They then showed her photos of me participating in various TGTE activities, including protests, in the UK<sup>164</sup>”.

“Much of the questioning centred around me and my activities, how I had escaped from detention and ended up in the UK. They showed her photos of me taking part in TGTE activities in the UK. Then she was asked whether I was following my father in reviving the LTTE<sup>165</sup>”.

Victims in detention have also been told there were photographs of them attending protest events abroad, indicating that this kind of activity abroad still poses a significant risk for anyone likely to visit or be returned to Sri Lanka.

“This man also said that even in X {European country redacted for witness protection} I had attended protests against the Sri Lankan government and they had photographic evidence of this. I was very scared. Again he asked me who was in charge in X country and who was sending people like me to instigate protests. His line of questioning was that I was part of an international Tiger network... Also I was shown some photos of people protesting abroad including people protesting in front of the Sri Lankan embassy in XX country. I was asked to look at the pictures and identify the individuals. I said that I did not know them. One of the men then stubbed a lit

cigarette on my back and arm<sup>166</sup>”.

“He produced a laptop which had photos of me at protests against the Sri Lankan Government in London and my face was circled on the photographs. He also showed me a video on You Tube of me at diaspora events in the UK. He said that these photographs and videos were evidence that I had come to regroup the LTTE<sup>167</sup>”.

“They told me they had photographs of me attending the protests. They did not show me the photographs. They were saying I was trying to resurrect the LTTE<sup>168</sup>”.

#### FACEBOOK

Social media sites are also being tracked by the Sri Lankan intelligence as this man discovered to his cost while in detention:

“The man said, ‘Don’t lie, we know you have been involved with LTTE activities abroad and that is why you travel abroad’. I denied this and then the man said, ‘Even on your Facebook account we can see that you are connected to many people abroad who are LTTE members and supporters, so clearly, you are in communication and in touch with them’. I explained that they were just friends and I had no idea about their LTTE connections - many of them sent me friend requests and I accepted innocently<sup>169</sup>”.



## 8. RELEASE

### REPORTING DISAPPEARANCES

Increasingly, a number of families<sup>170</sup> appear to be reporting disappearances to the Human Rights Commission Sri Lanka (HRCSL). This is the case in 2015 too<sup>171</sup>. Families appear to resort to paying ransoms through intermediaries to the security forces when attempts to locate their disappeared husbands or sons through official sources fail.

“Before I left Sri Lanka my uncle told me that my parents had made a complaint to the Human Rights Commission Sri Lanka (HRCSL) in Vavuniya and to the local priest. They also

sought help from a local MP, I don’t know whom. None of this helped. Only after that did they decide to pay a bribe to get me out of detention<sup>172</sup>”.

Some victim’s families seem to have had no problem registering complaints with the HRCSL though this didn’t result in the victims being released:

“He [relative] went to the HRCSL Colombo office on the same day and they accepted the complaint. The HRCSL instructed the police to accept the case<sup>173</sup>”.

“When I was abducted my mother went to the Human Rights Commission to

complain about my disappearance. I do not know what happened as a result of this<sup>174</sup>”.

Others said their family members experienced obstacles in reporting cases to the HRCSL who referred them to the police:

“They went to the Human Rights Commission in Colombo. They said they can’t take the complaint immediately unless the police take some action and they would have to wait some time. They said I was not a minor and might reappear. They were reluctant to take the complaint because we were Tamil<sup>175</sup>”.

“My family went to the Sri Lankan Human Rights Commission to file a complaint as they felt that the fact that the police had come to our home was harassment and intimidation. The Human Rights Commission asked my father to give them confirmation via a police report to show that he had filed an official complaint of harassment and intimidation with the police before they could act. So my father went to XXX [location redacted for witness protection] police station to lodge a complaint. A policeman looked up and called the telephone number that someone from CID in Colombo had called my mother from to investigate what had happened. Within a short while the policeman at

XXX police station was addressing the man on the phone as a more senior officer. Once the conversation was over, the policeman in XXX station told my father that no complaint could be filed as the matter was being dealt with at a higher level. So my father did not make a complaint and no complaint has been filed with the Human Rights Commission<sup>176</sup>”.

“My family went to the government Human Rights Office to register that I have been taken by the Sri Lanka Army and that the Sri Lanka Army are coming to the family home and asking where I am. I do not know when they did this. However, the Human Rights Office said they could not register this without a police

report, which my family do not have. So this has not been registered<sup>177</sup>”.

### RELEASE MODUS OPERANDI

The releases in 2016-17 follow a standard practice, in keeping with hundreds of cases documented in previous years. Victims are given their clothes back and told to dress; in some cases they are so physically injured that they have to be assisted in dressing and walking to the release vehicle. They are never told that they are being released; in two Joseph Camp cases, the victim was tormented by being told he was being transferred to another notorious torture site, the 4th floor:

“One day, the man who regularly abused me came with one other person, brought some clothes and asked me to dress. I was physically in no state to do this. The other man dressed me. I was crying and asked them where they were going to take me.

The other man, who spoke in Tamil, said I was being taken to the 4th floor. He was fair-skinned, clean-shaven and also in civilian clothes. I was sobbing as he handcuffed me behind my back. I was blindfolded and a hood was put on top of that. I couldn't walk properly, and I was helped in either side as they walked me for about ten minutes<sup>178</sup>".

"They told me in an aggressive manner that that were taking me to the Fourth Floor. I was petrified as I thought they would torture me even more there and I would be killed<sup>179</sup>".

Victims are normally blindfolded or hooded. They often have their hands tied, but not always and this is probably because there is little risk of them attempting escape after so much torture has left them debilitated. The victims are put in vehicles and driven out of the detention site to a remote spot where they are pushed out of the vehicle. Most are convinced they are about to be executed:

"I was terrified that they were taking me to a remote location to kill me and dump my body<sup>180</sup>".

"I had heard before I was taken here many times by many people that sometimes people who are in detention never come back. So I refused to go because I thought they were trying to take me to kill me somewhere. I was shouting and crying<sup>181</sup>".

"On the journey I was pleading; I was very frightened; I was aware of people having being

executed. One of the men said in broken Tamil that I must remain silent for my own good<sup>183</sup>".

"I started to scream loudly and cry when the van stopped as I thought that I was about to be shot<sup>183</sup>".

"I thought I was being taken out to be shot so I cried that I had a child and asked them to let me go<sup>184</sup>".

"I thought they were going to kill me because that is what happens to people who are abducted, not only during the war or immediately after but also recently<sup>185</sup>".

"One of the men with me spoke in Tamil saying that 'we are going to let you off'. I thought they meant they would finish me off<sup>186</sup>".

At the release, the victim is made to walk towards another vehicle. Only when they see a relative is in the approaching vehicle do they understand they are being released. The relative is generally with another man who is the intermediary who brokered the release.

"We were sitting there in the vehicle and they told me to get out and walk towards the other vehicle in front. I had no idea who was in that vehicle. I feared that the men in our vehicle were going to shoot me from behind. As I approached the vehicle in front I could see my cousin standing in front of it. I walked up to him. I started to scream and cry. He said: 'don't cry now, just get into the back of the vehicle'<sup>187</sup>".

For the victims it is an emotional moment when they see their family member and realize they are being released:

"When I saw my uncle I felt I was given back my life<sup>188</sup>".

"The moment I saw my father is indescribable, it was like life had come back. I hugged him and started crying<sup>189</sup>".

"I cried my eyes out as soon as I saw him and I put my head on his shoulder<sup>190</sup>".

"I felt like I was alive again<sup>191</sup>".

#### CHANGING VEHICLES

In 3 cases the perpetrators changed vehicles on the release journey. It is not clear why this was done.

"After a while, the vehicle stopped and I was put into another vehicle. They untied my hands, removed the bag over my head, gave me back my clothes and told me to put them on<sup>192</sup>".

In one case, a man was led out of Joseph Camp by a guard with his face covered

and then taken out on the back of a bicycle; in another, a prisoner escaped the same site hidden in a water tanker.

#### SOLICITING MONEY

In several cases, security officials involved in interrogation or guarding victims approach them for contact details of their relatives in order to broker their release for money. There is even bargaining over the size of ransom, as in this case:

"The Tamil interrogator said, 'we know that you know where the money is buried, you can do whatever you want with the money, but we need 30 lakhs from you'. I replied to him that I'm not that rich to be able to give them 30 lakhs, then he

told me, ‘spare us your stories, tell me whom I should contact to get the money’. I gave the number of my father-in-law and they left the room... My father-in-law told me that someone had called to demand 30 lakhs to get me released and he had told them he could only pay 2 lakhs, they bargained and in the end, he paid 4 lakhs<sup>193</sup>”.

“After some time later the translator came into the room and asked me where my uncle lived, the

one who bribed me out...They asked for his phone number but I told them only my father knew the phone number. He said, ‘We’ll talk to your uncle and sort you out’<sup>194</sup>”.

Victims have been threatened with death or having their case escalated if their families don’t pay the ransom for their release.

“She said in broken Tamil that if I remained, I would be murdered. She said that they had murdered other people that they had held here. I begged the woman to try and get me out of this place. The woman said that she would do it but she needed money. The woman asked me for my mother or father’s phone number. I tried to remember the numbers and eventually managed to remember<sup>195</sup>”.

“At some point one man came and told me to give him the phone number of my family and that my family should pay money to get for my release. He said that if my family didn’t pay any money they would make a big deal out of the incident and turn it onto a big terrorism case<sup>196</sup>”.

**MONEY CHANGES HANDS AT HANDOVER**

In 8 cases, the victim recalls money actually changing hands in front of him at the handover spot:

“The man with my uncle gave this man a parcel and then he got back into the van<sup>197</sup>”.

“The man who was with my father handed over a bag to the man standing on my right hand side. I did not know what was in the bag at that point, but later my father told me that it was

money that they had used as a bribe to facilitate my release<sup>198</sup>”.

“My father handed over a bag to one of the men who had been in the van<sup>199</sup>”.

“The man with my uncle handed over a small parcel<sup>200</sup>”.

“He then took something in a plastic bag and got out and gave it to someone in that other vehicle<sup>201</sup>”.

This is a standard pattern observed from our first report<sup>202</sup>. In some cases the transfer of cash is done before the victim is even untied:

“I then saw my uncle get out of the other van with a plastic bag in his hand. My uncle handed over the bag to the man who was talking to the man in the passenger seat in my van<sup>203</sup>”.

“Two of the men got

out and went over to the other van and spoke to the people there. Then they came back with a small parcel and transferred me to that van<sup>204</sup>”.

“This man gave the man who spoke in broken Tamil a bag, wrapped like a parcel. I did not see what was in this. As soon as the parcel had been handed over they untied me<sup>205</sup>”.

**SUMS PAID**

The sums paid in 2016 varied from 2 lakh Sri Lankan rupees (US \$1,316<sup>206</sup>) for release from detention to 50 lakhs (US \$32,907) for release and smuggling to Europe. However in some cases families do not tell victims the sums they have paid for fear of distressing them because they have been forced to borrow money, sell their gold and last remaining land and possessions.

**INTERMEDIARIES**

Half (12) of the families paid bribes to the security forces through the Eelam People’s Democratic Party (EPDP) which is a pro-government Tamil militia<sup>207</sup>.

This is consistent with previous ITJP findings. 3 families said they paid money to the CID, though it’s not clear if they mean military as well as police intelligence. In 7 cases the victim did not know who was paid for their release. In one case the family paid a Sinhalese man.

**TOLD TO LEAVE**

Seven of the 2016-17 victims said they had been warned to leave the country:

“He told me: ‘If you are caught again, you will be killed. It’s entirely up to you if you stay in this country, how you behave now’<sup>208</sup>”.

“I don’t want to see you again. if we see you, we will kill you. Run away and escape<sup>209</sup>”.



“He told me that if anyone asked or if I was arrested again, I had to say that I escaped myself<sup>210</sup>”.

“My uncle told me I must leave Kilinochchi straight away, that night, and that I needed to leave the country. He told me the EPDP man had told him that the authorities would use any excuse to arrest me again and that I needed to leave the country<sup>211</sup>”.

“The EPDP man told my uncle that he should ensure that he sent me out of the country as if I was caught again it would be difficult to get me released<sup>212</sup>”.

“He had bribed the CID to get me out of detention. He said that he had arranged the bribe through a middleman who was a shopkeeper and was well known as acting as a middleman with the CID. He paid him 10 Lakhs to get me released. My uncle had to sell his lorry to get the money to pay the bribe. I wanted to know more information, for example, who the middle man was – if he was a Tamil or Sinhalese, but my uncle said that it was a big deal that I had got out and that I should just leave the country and that I would be in danger if I did not. He said even if I was sent to rehabilitation, it was likely that the military establishment would kill me<sup>213</sup>”.

# 9. ALLEGED PERPETRATORS

## A. PERPETRATOR UNITS<sup>214</sup>

**Military Intelligence<sup>215</sup>:**  
4

**CID<sup>216</sup>:**  
6

**TID<sup>217</sup>:**  
5

**Military uniforms only<sup>218</sup>:**  
2

**Mixture of camouflage army uniforms and plain clothes<sup>219</sup>:**  
6

**Plain clothes only<sup>220</sup>:**  
1

## B. SENIOR OFFICERS PRESENT

Eight witnesses believe senior officers saw them in detention in 2016. Another [held in Joseph Camp] said his interrogators switched to English when they realised he understood some Sinhala, which indicates some seniority<sup>221</sup>. The presence of senior officers is

consistent with witness testimony from the ITJP’s 2015 cases<sup>222</sup>. This indicates the ongoing violations are not merely opportunistic organised crime within the low ranks of the security forces. This man was held in Joseph Camp:

“There were two other men I had not seen before in the room wearing denim trousers and t-shirts. They looked senior but there was nothing that I could see to confirm this – i.e. on their clothing<sup>223</sup>”.

Two Joseph Camp witnesses cite the name Perera but it’s an extremely common Sri Lankan name, though in one instance a ‘Perera’ was said by a witness to be a high-ranking officer who had been contacted by EPDP to secure his release.

Another Joseph Camp witness described a military intelligence officer with three stars on his uniform which may denote a Brigadier.

“There were three people in the room who introduced themselves as CID / Intelligence. One was in army uniform with three stars on his shoulder, another wearing an army T-Shirt<sup>224</sup>”.



A different witness believed to have been held in Joseph Camp said she saw an officer with 2 stars:

“One man was in green camouflage SLA uniform with two silver stars on his shoulder, another was wearing a white t-shirt and the third man had a green t-shirt<sup>225</sup>”.

#### TURNING TO FACE WALL – JOSEPH CAMP

In three of the Joseph Camp cases the victims gave identical descriptions of an important commander coming in to the room and being ordered to turn and face the wall. The fact that the officers hide their faces from the detainees is in itself interesting and suggests a sensitivity about being identified. The ITJP has said in its past publications that it has photographs of alleged

perpetrators active in Joseph Camp that have been shown to victims who identified some of their alleged rapists and torturers.

“Once my hood was removed the man who had dragged me down to this cell told me to turn and face the back wall, because periyavar (“the big man”) is coming. I turned and faced the wall. I then heard somebody enter the room (I did not see who it was) and at the same time I heard the chairs being pushed back. The four men spoke together in Sinhala<sup>226</sup>”.

[Joseph Camp Case]

“On the third day, this routine happened again, with one slight difference; in the intelligence officers’ room there was a man who was of a higher rank, as the others were

referring to him as “mahattaya”. I could not see him, as I had been made to kneel facing the wall this time. He would talk in Sinhala and then I would be asked something in broken Tamil by one of the others. It was the same line of questioning and accusations; about working against government and seeking to revive the LTTE<sup>227</sup>”.

[Joseph Camp Case]

“He then said that I would be tortured more. Both of the men were talking among themselves but I only heard the words “Mathaia” (big guy). The woman pulled me by the hair and took me to a corner of the room and held my head against the wall, facing it. While I was facing the wall another man came

in but I could not see who it was as I was facing the wall. This man spoke in broken Tamil. I heard him say the word ‘army’ and then Perera or something like that. He then told me that if I told them where the money was hidden they would let me go<sup>228</sup>”.

[Believed to be a Joseph Camp case]

The fact that senior officials have entered the torture rooms indicates that torture is sanctioned and systematic and is security force policy:

“Sometimes there were new interrogation officers, on one occasion I think there was a high ranking person asking the questions, I could tell by his tone and way of speaking that he might be high level. He asked what organization

in the UK I worked for and why I had come back to Sri Lanka after so many years. As soon as this man entered the interrogation room, he collected information from the other man who had interrogated me before, and he responded in a submissive manner<sup>229</sup>”.

“I saw the door to the room open and a third man came into the room in Sri Lanka Army uniform with a light green rope cord on his shoulder. He was the only one to have a light green cord on his uniform. This man was very tall and well built. He may have been the boss because he was the only one to have the light green cord and because he was angrier than the other men but

I don’t know. This man grabbed my tied hands and pushed me down onto the floor and then he raised my tied hands a bit up pressing my back down with his foot. He spoke to me in broken Tamil. He said ‘I know that you were a fighter for the LTTE in the last stages of the war but you did not surrender and did not go for rehabilitation’. He said ‘I know you know where the weapons are hidden and now you are working with TNA to start the conflict again and re-group the LTTE’.

... [LATER WHEN VICTIM SIGNS A CONFESSION]...

As I fell down to the floor they pressed their feet onto my back and lifted my left arm up and brought the papers to my right hand and then asked me to sign.

One of these men had a silver star on both shoulders of his Sri Lanka Army uniform<sup>230</sup>".

"One of the men, whom I think was more senior as he

was so smart and the others called him Sir, was wearing an army white t-shirt, white shorts, white socks and white trainers. He was also wearing a green badge. I did not hear anyone referred to by name<sup>231</sup>".

The following senior officer interrogated and then tortured the victim, burning him with cigarettes, including while the victim was also in the process of being branded with a hot metal rod on his back:

"...there was another Sri Lankan Army officer dressed in a green army uniform. On one side of his uniform, at the top of his chest, there were coloured square boxes. Below this there was a gold medal attached to his uniform. I think he was an officer as the other men were respectful towards him. I remember someone saying the name Gunaratna at

some point and so one of the men must have been called that<sup>232</sup>".

Later the same officer twice raped the victim in his cell. Afterwards the victim told another officer about the sexual abuse but this person just laughed at him.

# 10 . HUMAN SMUGGLING

Some victims fled by boat from Mannar but several left through the international airport in Colombo with the help of "agents" or human smugglers. Witness testimony suggests that the agents are often Muslims and referred to only by one name.

Victims have often described being hidden by Muslims before they travel abroad. This man was grateful for the kindness he received:

"I was instructed to follow a Muslim man who helped me to clean the wounds and he helped me cleaning myself and he gave me some medicine. I will never forget this man and his family, they treated me so well, I was smelling very

foul and in such bad condition<sup>233</sup>".

## A. CORRUPTION AT AIRPORT

Eight victims describe being told to go through specific counters for immigration at Colombo Airport during 2016/17, indicating corruption amongst immigration officials remains fairly rampant:

"After checking in, X's [name redacted] man, the agent, who had travelled with me, told me to go to one particular immigration counter, and follow instructions closely; I was not to speak with him. At the counter, nothing was asked, and it was clear to me everything had

been arranged. I did not question any of this as this man was my lifeline out of the country<sup>234</sup>".

"We went to the counter that he had arranged before and the man at the counter scanned Y's passport but not mine. He just stamped my passport<sup>235</sup>".

“He told me not to be afraid, that we would go to a counter where the men ‘who were arranged by us sit’. We went to the check-in counter and collected our boarding passes. I copied what he did at all times<sup>236</sup>”.

“Once we were in Colombo airport Z gave me specific instructions about which immigration desk office I should go to. He said I should go the third counter of the immigration desk and that he had already sent a message to the immigration officer at that

desk containing my details and that I would not face any problems during departure. I went to the immigration desk that Z said with my own passport and I went through with no problems<sup>237</sup>”.

“He told me to wait to go to a specific counter and gave me my passport and ticket. When I got to this counter, which I think was immigration, I gave the officer dressed in a white uniform my ticket and passport. At this point Mr X [the agent] came to the counter too and smiled and spoke to the officer<sup>238</sup>”.

#### LAST COUNTER

“He took me to Colombo airport. He told me to go to counter 11 at the immigration at the airport. I went there and I gave the

passport to the man – he gave it back to me. I carried on. The Muslim agent was also there but he had asked me to pretend we didn’t know each other<sup>239</sup>”.

“The EPDP man told me everything was sorted and I should go to the final counter – the one furthest away from me. There were about 10 counters. I filled the form and went there. The EDPD man left when I went to the counter. I showed my passport and ticket to that bearded Immigration officer. He asked my name to check my identity and the reason for coming to SL and said I shouldn’t come to this country with this passport again unless I have a British passport or I will have problems. He said this in English<sup>240</sup>”.

## B. SMUGGLING ROUTES

The smuggling routes seem to be constantly changing. In 2015 and 2016 a new smuggling route surfaced traveling via Iran to Turkey and then by rubber dingy boats to Greece:

“I flew from Colombo to Tehran, then drove for two days, and then walked for almost two months to Greece, where the police captured me. The Greek authorities registered me and let me go. I walked with five Syrian families, I helped them carry their small children and they brought me with them everywhere sharing food with me. I arrived in Switzerland<sup>241</sup>”.

Some of the journeys are terrifying and render these recent torture victims traumatised all over again.

One man described a hair raising journey by boat to Rameshawaren in India, a 12 hour journey to Chennai, a flight to

Mumbai, then Jet air to Paris. Finally he was smuggled into the UK in the boot of a car that travelled on Eurostar:

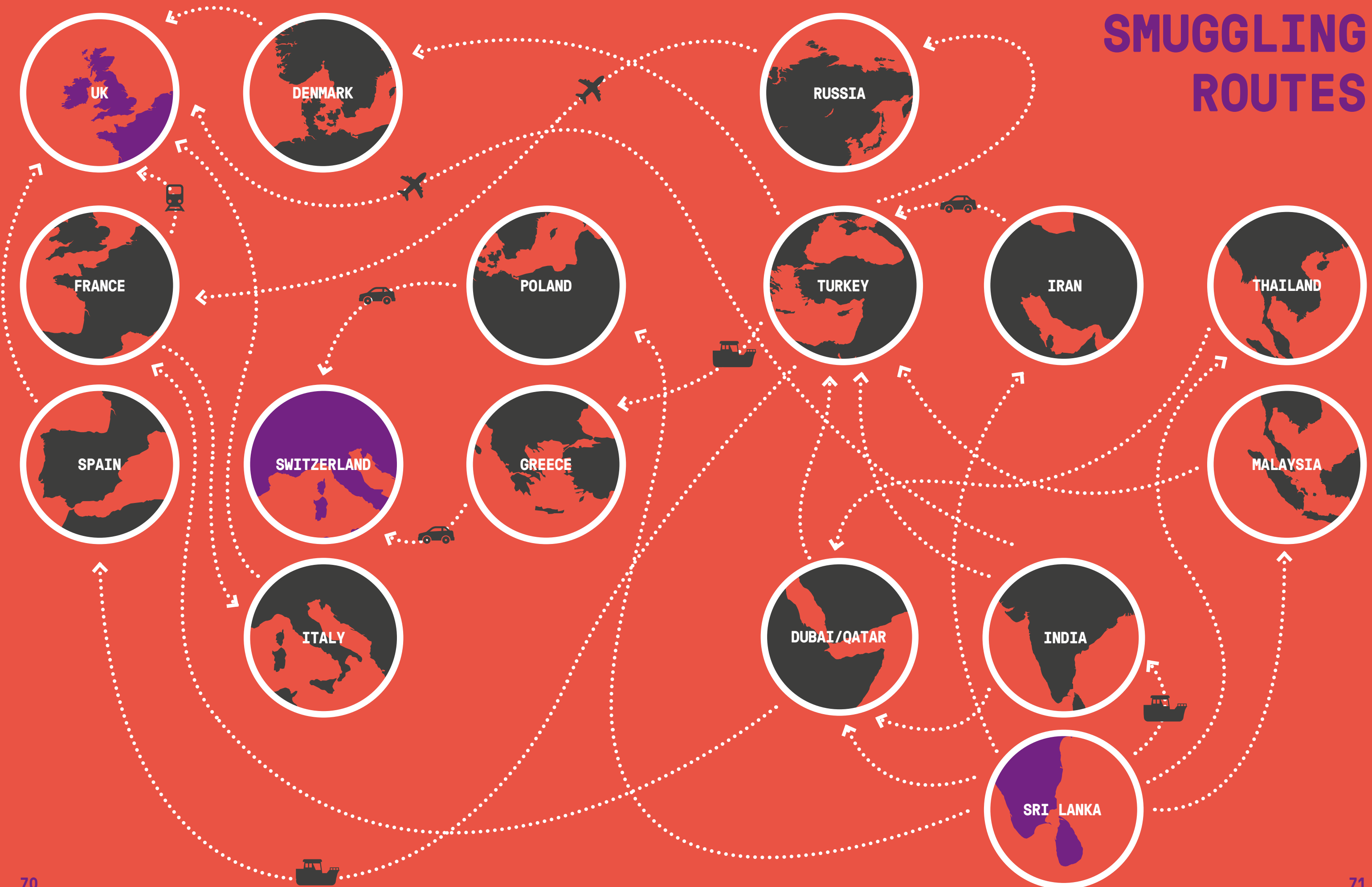
“They told me to lie down and put plastic bags and food items on top of me. They did not tell me where we were going and they did not give me any identity documents such as a passport... We began to drive around 10.00 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. I had no idea where we were going. Around 7.00 a.m. – 8.00 a.m. the journey ended. A large built Tamil Indian man opened the boot and let me out of the car. He said that we were in Coventry I had arrived in the UK via a Eurostar freight train hidden in a car<sup>242</sup>”.

In some cases the smuggling journey takes months and involves long periods locked in rooms alone. For example, one torture victim flew from

Colombo to an Arab country where he was locked in a building for 20 days alone before being taken to unknown airport<sup>243</sup>. He took a flight to Europe where he again stayed in a room<sup>244</sup> until he was taken by car to a railway station where he was arrested at immigration because the identity card given by the smuggler was forged. On release, the smuggler collected him and locked him in a room alone for another month, delivering food once a day. He was then moved to another room for 1.5 months until one night the agent put him in a car with a couple and a teenage boy:

“The driver collected the passports of the other two passengers but not from me, as I did not have

# SMUGGLING ROUTES





one. He took these passports out of the car to the immigration desk in Calais, France. I did not see exactly what he showed the immigration officials as I stayed in the car. The car passed through immigration with no problems. We drove onto a car ferry. We all stayed in the car for the whole journey. No one spoke to me on the journey. They spoke to each other but I don't know in what language. They looked like they were Sri Lankan but they spoke in a different language that I did not recognise. Their complexion was fairer than mine. After one or one and a half hours by ferry we arrived in the UK. The driver went to immigration but we did not leave the car. He then drove the car to a petrol station, dropped me there and called my uncle<sup>245</sup>".

The practice of families smuggling Tamil asylum seekers into the UK in cars across the channel has been noted in the past.

# 11. AFTERMATH

## A. REPRISALS

Family members in Sri Lanka remain under surveillance and the intelligence services ask them where the victim has gone, claiming they have escaped. This seems to be more about keeping the families silent and tracking the victims abroad, rather than investigating an escape which the security services themselves facilitated.

"About one and a half months after I landed in the UK I spoke to my father on the telephone and he said that men dressed in civilian clothes often came to their home asking for me. They introduced themselves as CID. They told my parents that they should

tell them if they heard from me. My father told them that he had no contact with me and that he did not know where I was<sup>246</sup>".

Fear of reprisals sometimes drives victims' family members into hiding:

"My elder brother has gone into hiding in Sri Lanka as the authorities are looking for me, my family fears that they may take him instead<sup>247</sup>".

"They said that they would come back again and if she did not tell them where I was they would kill her as well. My mother was scared that the men would

come back and so she moved house<sup>248</sup>".

In some cases victims' family members have been detained and questioned in army camps after they fled. The families are reluctant to say much on the phone about what happened during questioning<sup>249</sup>.

"My sister was crying when she told me about this and she worried that the authorities could monitor the phone conversation so she didn't want to provide more details. I'm worried they may have mistreated my father during the questioning<sup>250</sup>".

## B. TRAUMA

### SUICIDE ATTEMPTS

The levels of trauma amongst recent torture victims from Sri Lanka, many of whom have attempted suicide, are alarming. Most of those we interviewed describe having contemplated suicide at some point. Typically the trigger is reprisals against relatives or being rejected for asylum.

For some the desire to kill themselves starts while in detention in Sri Lanka but they are unable to find anything with which to kill themselves:

“When I was detained in 2016 I looked in the room to see if there was something I could kill myself with - like wires but there were not<sup>251</sup>”.

“I lay down on my side and did not move, I wanted to

die; I couldn't bear more torture. I hit my head twice against the wall with the intention to die<sup>252</sup>”.

“Being in solitary confinement in this new cell for so long made everything worse - I could not speak to anyone and I was alone. The world had seemed to have gone dark. I was in severe pain and I could not walk. The wounds were still open which meant I could not lie down and sleep - especially on my back<sup>253</sup>”.

On release many victims describe themselves as suicidal<sup>254</sup> and/or self harming<sup>255</sup>. They must cope with the physical pain<sup>256</sup> after torture as well as the mental trauma and, on top of this, often find themselves alone in a foreign country. All the victims we interview describe flashbacks triggered by for example something as innocent as cigarette smoke<sup>257</sup> or the sound of boots on hard ground.

Two of the 2016-17 torture cases tried to kill themselves almost immediately on arrival in the UK; one had to be hospitalized from the airport. It is worth noting this is hardly the action of economic migrants desperate to reach Europe to secure a better life:

“About a week after I arrived I attempted suicide by trying to kill myself with a knife but my brother in law and sister intervened and stopped me. That evening they took me to the emergency department of XXX Hospital<sup>258</sup>”.

“At that time I was suffering from a bad mental breakdown and my father was very worried. I had attempted suicide once and was shouting out all the time ‘let me die’. (on release) ... On arrival in the UK I also felt unwell mentally

- I was thinking about the torture I had endured; the state of people left behind; what had happened to my mother. It was all too much to bear and so I took all of the paracetamol tablets because I wanted to kill myself. Later I started vomiting and my sister noticed that the paracetamol packet was empty. I do not recollect what happened after this but I understand that an ambulance was called and I was hospitalised<sup>259</sup>”.

Being placed briefly in immigration detention on arrival in the UK also exacerbated the suicidal feelings for this victim:

“Sometimes I feel suicidal. I feel sometimes I should harm myself. When I arrived in UK, I was put in detention and there I was thinking of ending my life and in

there I wanted to harm myself with a broken piece of glass. I told the doctor in detention I felt suicidal and I am mentally very bad. Now although I take sleeping pills my sleep is often disturbed by nightmares. I sense the urine smell from the detention in Sri Lanka ... I suffer from flashbacks, I have nightmares, and I hear voices and sounds of boots, I hear some Sinhala words, and I can sometimes smell burned flesh<sup>260</sup>”.

### MEDICATION

All the victims describe suffering from insomnia and many are on anti depressants, painkillers and sleeping pills which don't work effectively:

“I find social relations difficult because I have a fear that blocks me from trusting people. I somehow

still feel my life is still in danger. I often have nightmares about the sexual assaults and the torture and during the day, all of a sudden, I have intrusive memories of the sexual assaults. I attempted suicide on 2 July 2016. I did this as I was unable to bear the pain left on my body by the torture I have endured... I get nightmares about the torture I suffered of being hit and beaten by the officers. I also have nightmares most nights that they will come with guns to kill me. I find it very hard to cope with these

nightmares and I can't sleep well when I have them. As a result I can only sleep for three to four hours. The day that I attempted suicide I had had nightmares... Whenever I think of it I feel pain all over my body, I sweat and I get headaches and feel dizzy. I also feel like trying to commit suicide<sup>261</sup>".

"I think about the torture I suffered a lot and I am on depression medication, prescribed by my GP... I also have nightmares and when I think about what happened to me at night, I get sweaty

and get up as I can't sleep. When I hear vehicle noises and footsteps I get scared<sup>262</sup>".

"I feel very angry, hurt and sad about what has happened to me. I think about what happened to me all the time and sometimes I ask myself whether it is worth living. I have felt suicidal in the past and have contemplated suicide but the last few weeks I have felt a bit better. I have no direction in life<sup>263</sup>".

Tragically, one victim said after testifying to the ITJP he eventually felt better because he wasn't judged negatively for having been a victim of sexual violence:

"This time I feel a bit relieved that I have told you because you don't look at me differently<sup>264</sup>".

For others just recollecting the torture can be extremely disorienting but they have to do it in order to file asylum applications:

"I think about the torture I suffered a lot and then I cry a lot. If I sit and think about what happened to me for a long time I do not know where I am anymore. I have cried and become distressed while telling this story to the investigator. I have felt suicidal and I thought about killing myself in Sri Lanka after I escaped<sup>265</sup>".

The asylum application process is retraumatising and slow, leaving the victim in limbo, unable to work, unable to access support services effectively or reunite with loved ones.

## 12 . CONCLUSION

The UN Investigation into Sri Lanka<sup>266</sup> described the modus operandi of "white van" abductions and established that "incidents of sexual violence were not isolated acts but part of a deliberate policy to inflict torture" by the security forces. Nothing has been done by the new Government to break this culture of impunity, even when a torture site first identified by the ITJP was corroborated by a visiting WGEID team<sup>267</sup>. After two and a half years in office, the Government's failure to investigate past allegations makes it complicit in the continuation of the violations<sup>268</sup>.

There has also been no attempt to vet public officials despite the commitment in UNHRC Resolution 30/1 to do this<sup>269</sup>. Instead, the Government has rewarded alleged torturers and officials allegedly implicated in war crimes. As the ITJP's reports show, alleged perpetrators have been

sent abroad as diplomats and members of delegations to UN committees<sup>270</sup>.

The ITJP evidence base is built on hundreds of detailed witness statements, through which the ITJP has now identified several alleged perpetrators (direct and in positions of command responsibility) and torture sites, but there is still regrettably no credible witness protection mechanism for witnesses and victims inside or outside the country to testify, be it to a truth commission or court<sup>271</sup>. The evidence base has been amplified by insider witnesses who confirm the modus operandi and methodology as well as identity of many of the torturers.

The Government has excused its failure to investigate until now saying it is waiting for the special court to be set up. However, it is now clear the Prime Minister and President have no intention of establishing a hybrid

court as the Foreign Minister originally promised in Geneva in September 2015. The President has reassured the security forces in person and in public that not one of them will be charged with human rights violations, which reinforces the culture of impunity. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has made it clear another domestic mechanism will not have the trust of victims after so many have failed to deliver justice. Furthermore, the limitations in the current criminal justice system render it incapable at this point of delivering justice for serious crimes.

# 13. RECOMMENDATIONS

## A. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION

Immediately establish an independent credible investigation body staffed by international investigators, using best comparative experiences including CICIG in Guatemala, to assist the Hybrid Court and the Sri Lankan Government in investigations of past and current human rights violations and abuses as well as serious international crimes. This body should in the course of their investigations identify alleged perpetrators and share such names with the vetting and screening authority to be established,(see recommendation 2).

### 2. VETTING AND SCREENING AUTHORITY

Establish an independent credible civilian body to carry out vetting and screening of public employees and security

officials identified as alleged perpetrators of human rights violations and abuses as well as serious international crimes in order to promote justice and accountability, as set out in HRC Resolution 30/1 in October 2015.

### 3. WITNESS PROTECTION

Strengthen the witness protection legislation, as agreed to in Resolution 30/1, to align with international standards and immediately suspend those members of the witness protection National Authority against whom there are allegations of wrongdoing or interference pending an inquiry, and replace them with independent figures who have been properly vetted and screened for their involvement in human rights violations and abuses as well as serious international crimes, and who have demonstrated their commitment to human rights.

### 4. PREVENTION OF TERRORISM Policy Framework

The current policy framework for the Prevention of Terrorism published by the Government of Sri Lanka does not conform with human rights standards and norms and perpetuates the

discriminatory and abusive application of counter-terrorism laws that have been used in the past to target mainly the Tamil population<sup>272</sup>. If Sri Lanka is to replace the Prevention of Terrorism Act with a human rights compliant framework (as committed to by President Sirisena) for countering terrorism, Parliament must ensure that substantial revisions are made to the “Policy and Legal Framework Relating to the Proposed Counter Terrorism Act of Sri Lanka” during the drafting process and to ensure that the process is open and participatory, taking account of civil society voices and input.

### 5. TESTIFYING FROM ABROAD

Amend the rules for witnesses who would like to testify from abroad, either through video or other means such as letters rogatory, in order to ensure that key witnesses abroad do not have to enter a Sri Lankan embassy to give evidence and can instead testify to courts and commissions through the aforesaid mechanisms, that do not expose them and their families in Sri Lanka to reprisals.

## B. SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

### GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA

1. Open Joseph Camp to regular Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka (HRCSL) and ICRC spot inspection.
2. Government to share TID detention records for 2016 in the Edward Julian Case with the HRCSL which should account for the whereabouts and current status of all detained, ascertaining if suspects have been tortured with their remit including victims now abroad.
3. Military and police to provide a list of locations to HRCSL of all biometric fingerprinting machines used by security forces.
4. Investigate the EPDP’s role in extortion of money from families of detainees.
5. Investigate corruption at Colombo Airport immigration by installing live surveillance cameras.

### UNITED NATIONS BODIES

1. UNCAT to initiate an Article 20 investigation into Joseph Camp; Government to grant access. Victims abroad also to be interviewed.
2. WGEID to interview all these recent victims of abduction and enforced disappearance in Sri Lanka

who survived and have now fled the country.

3. UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Nils Melzer, to review all case files from ITJP (where witnesses given written consent) on Sirisena-era torture and issue a statement or report.
4. OHCHR to examine statements (where witnesses provide written consent) from the ITJP and reflect them in its next report to the UNHRC in March 2018.
5. Donors to rethink the SSR process in Sri Lanka, ensuring a torture prevention, mental health component and anti police force corruption element is included.



## TORTURE METHODS GLOSSARY: BASED ON 2016/17 TESTIMONY



### SOFTENING UP THE FIRST NIGHT

“During the night they would come in and out, sometimes throwing water on my face and banging the wooden door loudly, I think to stop me from sleeping”.

“Someone several times opened the door and threw water on me, I think to prevent me from sleeping”.

“Throughout the night they banged the door every now or and splashed water on me to keep me awake”.

“I heard people banging on the door about two or three times. They were shouting but I could not make out what they were saying. No one came inside but water was thrown in at some point”.



### SLAPPING EARS

“They were slapping me on my ears, with hard blows. After some time my right ear started to bleed”.

“They talked to themselves, laughed and would hit me on my ears. This was extremely painful as the air went into my ears”.



### BEATING & WHIPPING

“I was slapped on my cheeks and also hit with batons. I was kicked when I was lying on the floor. The pain was unbearable. My body swelled up and bled a lot. As a result of these beatings I became unable to walk and I had to be dragged from my small room to the big torture room”.

“They would beat me with folded electric cords on the back of my calves and thighs”.

“My hands were still tied back and then my feet were tied together. I was struck hard with wooden sticks. I could not see who was hitting me but I think that two men must have been striking me with one stick each due to the sequence of the strikes. I was shouting that I could not bear it. I said that it was better that they kill me. They did not pay any attention to me and continued to hit me. I cannot recollect what they saying except for “tell us, tell us”.



### PETROL BAG

“Someone tied a wet polythene bag which smelt of petrol over my head. I experienced a burning sensation in my eyes and nose, cheeks – it was unbearable. I tried to shake my head to get the bag off my head but I could not”.

“When the bag was back on my head I could not breathe and I was overwhelmed by the smell of petrol; my eyes and my whole face were burning. The Sri Lanka Army officer held the bag tight at the back of my neck. I kept struggling unsuccessfully to get the bag off my face. I then fell off the table and then lost consciousness”.

“As he was moving the bag down over my head he said in broken Tamil, “we are going to torture you more. If you don’t tell the truth now I will tie the bag around your neck”. I felt sick and that I was loosing consciousness”.

“While I was still hanging upside down, they covered my face with a plastic shopping bag and tied it around my neck. It caused me to almost suffocate and they continued to beat me and when I was out of breath and my body shaking and thrashing they released the bag and then tied it again. I can’t remember what happened after this. I fell unconscious”.



### PLIERS

“The man then pulled out a pair of pliers and pulled off my nail from my right small toe, which bled. It was an excruciating pain. I thought he was going to pull all my nails out and so I said: ‘OK if you bring it (confession document) I will sign it’”.

“At some point an Sri Lanka Army officer tried to pull the nail on the little finger on my right hand off with pliers. I tried to pull my hand away

to protect my nail. This made him angry and he hit my hand many times with the pliers. It began to bleed and the top of my finger was subsequently removed after leaving the torture facility as it became infected”.



### PLANKS

“They brought two long wooden planks. They both hit me very hard with the planks on my arms and back for a long time. Both planks eventually broke”.



### CRICKET WICKET

“I was beaten on the bare soles of my feet with a wooden cricket wicket. It was extremely painful”.



### DEATH THREATS

“He stared at me and said tonight and then put two fingers to his head making a shooting sign”.

“They verbally threatened me that if you don’t tell the truth we will keep you and kill you”.

“He said that I had better tell the truth or the interrogator would beat me and kill me.”



### PLUMBING PIPES

“When the men beat me they would do it for long periods and very hard with the batons and plastic tubes, mainly on my back and the back of my thighs. I was frightened that they would break my back and kill me”.

“Two of the men hit me with a strong plastic heavy pipe that is used to supply water. This beating went on for about 15 to 20 minutes. While I was being beaten they saying: tell me about LTTE, admit that you are an LTTE member – always in broken Tamil. The pain was so much that I was praying that I would die as I could not stand it any more. Eventually I passed out”.

“They used something like an “S-Lon” pipe and both started thrashing me on the back, legs and hands, striking me many times. I have never been beaten so severely. The pain was unbearable. I started screaming and crying. One blow was on the head and I lost consciousness and can’t remember what happened next”.



#### FALAKA

“They beat me with an iron rod and with wooden sticks on my legs and on the soles of the feet. This felt like electricity passing through your body; it is an indescribable pain. I became disorientated and after some time I didn’t really know what was happening”.

“He asked me to lie on the bench face down. This Sri Lanka Army officer then beat me on the soles of my feet. Before he beat me he said “Kottiya” which means Tiger and LTTE. The pain was so excruciating and I was screaming so much that after he had beaten me about three to four times I fell off the bench onto the floor”.

“They tied me face down to the table and started beating the soles of my feet with wooden poles. At this point I screamed and begged them to stop. I said to the man who asked questions, ‘Anna please leave me or finish me off’”.

“The interrogation officers made me lie flat face down on the table and tied my hands behind and my legs tied to the table. They did not ask any questions but just started beating me on the soles of my feet”.



#### STICK WITH WIRES

“One carried a stick with spiked wire around it”.

“The flat metal stick I was beaten with was 4-5 cms wide, about a meter long and made from metal wires woven tightly

together. I have never seen anything like it so I thought it must be purpose built for torture. Blood was oozing out.”



#### CHILLI

“One of the men then poured the contents of this tin onto my penis. It smelt of chilli powder and was red and so I think it was chilli powder. I could not stand in one place as it was burning so much and so I was transferring my weight from foot to foot. The same two men then took some of the chilli powder and threw it in my eyes”.

“They put chili powder in a polythene bag and tied it across my neck and my eyes and my whole face were burning in an absolutely unbearable pain. They were behaving like animals. They continued to beat me with the wire and pipe. The pain was unbearable. I passed out”.

“One of them remarked ‘if you can’t see or tell you don’t need eyes’. They brought some chilli powder, pushed me down, kicked me and put the chilli powder all over my body including my eyes. The pain was excruciating. It was so bad it was possibly worse than death”.



#### HANDCUFFING

“My two arms were handcuffed together at the back, one from above and the other from below which was extremely painful”.



#### CIGARETTE BURNS

“The woman lifted up the blouse I was wearing, exposing my back and then pressed burning cigarettes into my back. I was screaming in pain”.

“Two of the men then took my jeans off and another took off my torn shirt. I had never recovered my bra. I was left only in my panties. One of the men then lit up a cigarette and burnt me on my right breast, on my lower back, in between my thighs and on my bottom as the other two men restrained me”.

“They burned me with cigarettes on my chest and on my back in a very slow and deliberate manner telling me to admit to their allegations. I continued denying them. I begged them to leave me, pleaded with them not to burn me, and I cried”.



#### BRANDING

“They kept pressing the hot iron rods on my back but it felt like my whole body was burning. I was screaming and crying for them to stop. They talking among themselves in Sinhalese and were laughing. Finally they said jokingly in Tamil, that the marks are similar to the stripes of a tiger. I was screaming and crying”.

“They started burning me with hot iron rods on the side of my body under my arm, chest and on my thigh. The burning sensation was unbearable and I admitted to all their accusations. They told me to sign a blank piece of paper, which I did”.

“Each time they burnt me I felt that I was having an electric shock in my head. These wounds blistered and

later burst and some liquid came out. When I came out of detention my clothes would stick to my back”.

“I was then burned on my back and my legs with a heated metal pipe. The pain was unbearable. I was screaming loudly. I begged them to kill me in one go as I did not want to experience this any more”.

“They used a burning hot iron rod on my back. I could feel that my skin was burning, the pain was unbearable. They did this several times. This and all of the other torture that I suffered took me to the limits of human endurance. I do not think that they asked me any questions on this day”.



#### WATER

“They brought a round barrel of water and lowered my head into the water. They kept telling me ‘so you need a separate country’”.

“While I was suspended in mid air, one of the other men came and held my body and moved it down head first into the bucket

of water. I was screaming that I was going to tell the truth. I felt that I was close to death. I was taken down and the four Sri Lanka Army officers were talking among themselves and laughing”.

“One of them had his hand on the back of my head and pushed my head into the water. I was struggling to breathe. I can’t remember much of this, but I think they did it three times at least, and said each time ‘admit it’”.

“He suddenly put my face into the water barrel and held it under the water. I could not breathe and just when I felt like I was dead he would lift my head out”.

“One of the soldiers then threw the long rope that was tied to my legs over a bar in the ceiling so that it was hanging down the other side and he was holding the other end. He said that if I did not tell the truth I would die now”.



CHAINED TO RAILINGS

“Behind the seated men were two metal chains hanging down from a metal girder that was somehow attached to the ceiling. Each of my arms was fastened with handcuffs to the chains. My feet remained on the ground. One man in a green T-shirt said in broken Tamil ‘tell me about yourself’”.

“Every time I would be tied up to the railings on the ceiling. Sometimes my hands were crossed and otherwise I was tied with my arms separated. When I was suspended like this I was beaten all over my body really really hard with batons, heavy pipes and wires. They would also twist my wrists...”.

“One of the men handcuffed me to a metal bar on the ceiling. I could just about touch the floor with my toes but I could not fully put my feet down”.



ELECTRICITY

“One of the men said that I was lying. Another took an electric piece of machinery and put it on my back. I could see the cord plugged into the socket but I did not see the machinery itself. On impact I had an electric shock throughout my entire body, which became immobilised. I felt my nerves and bones come out of my body and back in. It made me disoriented and completely helpless. Death would have been better than the amount of pain I was in”.



DENIAL OF TOILET FACILITIES

“I never asked to go to the toilet because every time I asked for something I got beaten. I mainly passed urine involuntarily during the beatings. Also once during the beating I passed stool”.

ENDNOTES

1 2016 report and UNCAT submission.

2 Not including 3 family members reported tortured.

3 Including 2 sexual slavery cases; excluding one illegal detention case without any torture.

4 This is calculated thus: 11 people in 2016 heard multiple prisoners screaming (assuming a minimum of 2 others detained at the same time as our witness then it comes to 22 extra people) and one person heard one other individual screaming (1 extra person); then 3 family members were detained in 2016. In 2015 victims heard at least 5 others screaming. 22 +1+3 +57 +5 = 88. W190 from 2015: “Several times during the night heard screaming and sometimes heard crying and someone saying “Amma” (mother). I could not tell if it was male or female. The screaming was the same kind of screaming I would make when tortured and at the time concluded that there were others at this place being tortured”. W214 from 2015: “I could hear noises through the walls of people screaming”. W217 from 2015: “I heard crying and screaming in Tamil of people, both male and female, but I never saw them”.

5 W102 in 2015: “The walls were green but in places covered in something red so I thought it might be blood”.

W120 in 2015: “There was a very bad smell of blood and toilet”. W132 in 2015: described being kept in a room with bloodstains on wall. W142 in 2015: could see and smell dried blood on the floor and splattered on a couple of walls. He could tell it was dried blood from experiences in the war in the Vanni.

W196 in 2015: “I could see on the walls blood splattered”.

6 W254,W240,W202,W244,W205,W231,W233,W220,W197. One Joseph Camp victim said a part of the site appeared to have been repainted recently.

7 10 reported torture in 2017, 13 in 2016, 7 in 2015 and for 4 we do not have details yet.

8 W239, W232’s relative, W221, W247’s relative: “said she had been subjected to “unspeakable torture” ... but I don’t know what the detail of this is. I have not spoken to her since”.

9 W221 held in Joseph Camp.

10 W231

11 W240 held in Joseph Camp.

12 W249 held in Joseph Camp.

13 W252

14 W235 held in Joseph Camp.

15 W244

16 W205

17 W200

18 W199

19 W223

20 W244

21 W231

22 W197

23 W227

24 W242

25 W240

26 W202

27 W205

28 W244

29 W249

30 W260

31 W197

32 W244

33 W202

34 Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment on his mission to Sri Lanka, A/ HRC/34/54/Add.2

35 W203

36 Media reports alleged the stash included: 4 Claymore mines, 3 parcels containing around 12kgs of TNT, 2 packets of 9mm ammo (100 bullets) and 2 battery packs used to detonate the clay-more mines. Discovery of Lethal Weapons in the North, 31 March 2016, The Asian Tribune, <http://www.asiantribune.com/node/88780>

37 Security Crackdown, Lanka Daily Mirror, 7 May 2009, <http://www.dailymirror.lk/109157/Security-crack-down#sthash.NET6CfeR.dpu>

38 Mahinda Rajapaksa Says Suicide Jacket Is New, And People Must Know The Truth, Colombo Telegraph, April 03, 2016, <https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/mahinda-rajapaksa-says-suicide-jacket-is-new-and-people-must-know-the-truth/>







clothes CID to XXX [redacted] army camp for questioning for one day – he was released in the evening. They beat him and told him to warn me not to give any interviews in the UK. My mother went to the Human Rights Commission in XXX [redacted] on the day my brother was taken away and they referred her to their office in XXX. When she went there, the staff told her she needed to make a police complaint before they could take the case. She went to the police station XXX and here the police told her she should go home and that my brother would be released in due time”.		
172	W200	
173	W202	
174	W263	
175	W197	
176	W223	
177	W215	
178	W235	
179	W249	
180	W244	
181	W205	
182	W241	
183	W242	
184	W240	
185	W243	
186	W233	
187	W220	
188	W205	
189	W202	
190	W221	
191	W263	
192	W203,W223 and W235	
193	W199	
194	W206	
195	W260	
196	W228	
197	W242	
198	W252	
199	W244	
200	W241	
201	W220	
202	An Unfinished War: Torture and Sexual Violence in Sri Lanka, 2009–2014, by Yasmin Sooka, The Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales (BHRC) and The International Truth & Justice Project, Sri Lanka. <a href="http://www.stop-torture.com">http://www.stop-torture.com</a>	
203	W231	
204	W206	
205	W263	
206	For example W252	
207	This 2015 victim describes how it works with the EPDP: “Once again, my father had to bribe through the EPDP to secure his release. It was commonly known that the EPDP could do this; that they were benefitting from this situation, but we had to be pragmatic as it was the best avenue, however distasteful. This time, arrangements were made to send my brother abroad”.	
208	W235	
209	W221	
210	W199	
211	W254	
212	W231	
213	W223	
214	Sri Lankans commonly refer to both military and police intelligence officers as CID which makes precise identification difficult.	
215	W233 (mixture of uniforms and plain clothes), W220,W254,241.	
216	Witnesses said the officers told them they were from CID: W244, W243, W206, W202,W197,W260.	
217	W221, W249,W235, W248, W200	
218	W242,W239	
219	W231, W252, W263, W203, W199, W240:”The three men who detained and tortured me at Joseph Camp in 2016 wore civilian clothes: black jeans and light blue shirts. They were unarmed. The man who brought me food wore a brown army uniform and was not armed. No one wore any insignia/ badges”.	
220	W205	
221	W200	
222	“2015 - Seniority: In three cases the interrogators appeared to include senior officers. One man remembered a large framed picture of a man shaking hands with Mahinda Rajapaksa on the wall and a group of people surrounding him; one of whom was in the interrogation room. A second victim described one of his interrogators as high-ranking, judging by the way other officers treated him. A third victim was told a senior officer was coming to see him and he described seeing Sinhala writing on the shoulders of his uniform”, Chart on 2015 and 2016 cases submitted to UNCAT 2016, <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/ITJP-Chart-2015-and-2016-cases.pdf">http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/ITJP-Chart-2015-and-2016-cases.pdf</a> .	
223	W249	
224	W241	
225	W242	
226	W240	
227	W241	
228	w242	
229	w197	
230	w203	
231	w231	
232	W263	
233	W243	
234	W233	
235	W244	
236	W200	
237	W223	

238	W263	it is blurred”.
239	W243	257 W260: “When I smell cigarette smoke it triggers memories of what happened to me. I sometimes feel hopeless”.
240	W197	258 W260
241	W227	259 W244
242	w221	260 W197
243	“I asked the agent where we were going and he threatened me verbally not to ask any more questions. The agent said if you keep on asking questions I will cut you into pieces”.	261 W205
244	“I asked the agent where I was now and he verbally threatened me saying if I kept on asking questions he would send me back to Sri Lanka”.	262 W231
245	W205	263 W223
246	W260	264 W200
247	W249	265 W249
248	W263	266 OISL, 2015, para 591.
249	“She did not tell me much about what happened – she just said hothing happened’. I think she is hiding what happened to her and I am worried”.	267 ITJP Press Release: Trincomalee Secret Torture Site: <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/20.11.15-Press-Release-TJJP-on-Trincomalee-Secret-Site-2.pdf">http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/20.11.15-Press-Release-TJJP-on-Trincomalee-Secret-Site-2.pdf</a>
250	W200	268 ITJP Submission to CEDAW, 2017, <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/reports/submission-to-cedaw">http://www.itjpsl.com/reports/submission-to-cedaw</a>
251	W249	269 In November 2016 the Government of Sri Lanka sent Sisira Mendis - an alleged perpetrator named in a UN report - to Geneva as part of its delegation to the Committee Against Torture. As he was brought out of retirement by the Sirisena Government and given a very senior intelligence job, he should have been subjected to vetting. Other highly problematic appointments by the Sirisena Government include: Suhada Gamlath, Yasantha Kodegoda and Nandana Munasinghe to the Witness Protection National Authority; General Jagath Jayasuriya as Ambassador to Brazil and other Latin American countries; General Jegath Dias as Chief of Army Staff.
252	W199	
253	W244	
254	“As soon as I think about the torture I suffered I re-live it and feel that I am better off dead that alive. I feel suicidal as “I can't do anything to save my children and my wife. Because of me my family is suffering”.	270 For example: <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/The-case-against-Sisira-Mendis-final.pdf">http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/The-case-against-Sisira-Mendis-final.pdf</a> and <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/ITJP_joseph_camp_press_releases_ENG.pdf">http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/ITJP_joseph_camp_press_releases_ENG.pdf</a> and <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/Target-perpetrators-not-victims-press-release.pdf">http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/press/Target-perpetrators-not-victims-press-release.pdf</a> and <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/Sri-Lanka-Witness-Protection-Report.pdf">http://www.itjpsl.com/assets/Sri-Lanka-Witness-Protection-Report.pdf</a> .
255	W228 is self harming.	271 See ITJP report on witness protection, Putting the Wolves to Guard the Sheep (2017) at <a href="http://www.itjpsl.com/reports/witness-protection">http://www.itjpsl.com/reports/witness-protection</a>
272	THE POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK RELATING TO THE PROPOSED COUNTER TERRORISM ACT OF SRI LANKA: A REVIEW OF COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS, 13 June 2017, <a href="http://www.fhr.org.za/index.php/latest_news/policy-and-legal-framework-relating-proposed-counter-terrorism-act-sri-lanka/">http://www.fhr.org.za/index.php/latest_news/policy-and-legal-framework-relating-proposed-counter-terrorism-act-sri-lanka/</a>	

