



## Sri Lanka since the civil war

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In May 2009, Sri Lanka's long civil war came to an end, with the decisive military defeat of the Tamil Tigers (also known as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, or LTTE). Since then, President Mahinda Rajapakse and the Sri Lankan Freedom Party-led government have both secured re-election and consolidated their political ascendancy. Critics accuse the government of growing authoritarianism, with the judiciary, media and human rights advocates under attack. The authorities claim that major steps have been taken towards consolidating security and reconstructing the war-torn areas of the country, the north and east. Others argue that the record is much more mixed and that there remains a real prospect of renewed conflict in the medium- to long-term, not least because the government refuses to take steps to introduce devolved political arrangements that might benefit Tamil political groupings in the north and east of the country that previously supported a separate state. The north effectively remains under military control.

Sri Lanka's relationship with the rest of the world has been strongly shaped since May 2009 by allegations the army committed war crimes and crimes against humanity during the final phase of the civil war. A UN Panel of Experts reported in April 2011 that there were "credible allegations" of war crimes and crimes against humanity by both government and Tamil Tiger forces. The Sri Lankan government established a 'Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission' (LLRC), which published its final report in December 2011. The report has been criticised as inadequate, in particular because it has not encouraged meaningful action to bring perpetrators to justice. In March 2012, the UN Human Rights Council passed a resolution critical of the government and there remains a possibility that an international commission of inquiry might ultimately be established. The EU has blocked Sri Lanka's access to preferential trade arrangements to signal its dissatisfaction with the Sri Lankan government's human rights record. However, the Commonwealth has controversially agreed that Sri Lanka will host its next summit in 2013. The UK has not yet confirmed its attendance.

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### 1 Towards a dynastic dictatorship?

Since the end of the civil war in May 2009, President Mahinda Rajapakse and the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP)-led government have strengthened their already strong grip on the domestic political scene. Rajapakse was re-elected president with 58% of the vote in January 2010, with the vast majority of Sinhalese voters backing him.<sup>1</sup> His main challenger, ex-army chief of staff General Sarath Fonseka, won the majority of votes in minority Tamil and Muslim districts. He accused the government of rigging the election and raised the stakes by declaring his willingness to testify before an international war crimes investigation, should one be established to look into the tactics and actions of the security forces during the final months of the civil war. Within two weeks of the election he was arrested and taken into military custody. He later faced a series of court martial's on a range of charges and, following conviction, imprisoned.

The day after Fonseka's arrest, Rajapakse dissolved parliament and announced that legislative elections would be held in April 2010. In the elections, the SLFP, at the head of the ruling coalition, won 144 out of 225 seats – a decisive victory, but just short of the two-thirds majority needed to give it the power to amend the Constitution without having to appeal to opposition parties. The conduct of these elections was criticised by domestic and international observer groups, but most acknowledged that the vote itself had been generally free and fair. A senior SLFP politician, D.M. Jayaratne, was appointed Prime Minister.

In September 2009, following several opposition defections, the government was able to get a constitutional amendment removing presidential term limits through parliament, abolishing the Constitutional Council and giving the president powers to directly appoint officials to the judiciary, police and electoral bodies. For some, this signified Sri Lanka's slide into 'dynastic dictatorship' under the [Rajapakse family](#). The president's brother, Gotabaya, is Secretary of Defence; another brother, Basil, is Minister of Economic Development; a third brother, Chamal, is the Speaker of Parliament. International human rights groups have documented many cases of harassment and intimidation of journalists, human rights defenders and members of the political opposition over the last three years or so. Critics argue that Sri Lanka is increasingly characterised by the forms, but not the substance of democracy.

Since its re-election in 2010, the SLFP-led government has introduced measures which it claims are designed to stabilise the country and promote development, particularly in those areas that were heavily affected by the conflict, namely the north and east of the country. It initially lifted parts of the emergency laws that had been in operation during the civil war and then, in August 2011, announced that it would not be renewing the state of emergency that

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<sup>1</sup> His second term formally began in November 2010.

had been in effect for 30 years. However, critics argue that the government's claims and the reality on the ground are two different things entirely – noting, for example, that while the emergency laws had now been lifted, many of their provisions were simply reintroduced under the 1970 Prevention of Terrorism Act.

General Fonseka was eventually released in May 2012 but forbidden from participating in politics for seven years. Fonseka has said that he will [stand again](#) in the 2016 elections. But the political opposition to the government is weak and divided. However, while their political ascendancy remained intact, 2012 was nonetheless a relatively uncomfortable year for the Rajapakses. In addition to the domestic and international challenges that it faced (see below), economic grievances increasingly surfaced. The economy had a [positive growth trajectory](#) during 2012, but the rate of growth slowed compared with previous years. There were strikes by students, university teachers, bus owners and electricity workers during the year as [fuel prices](#) and those for other key goods rose. Defence expenditure has continued to rise rapidly.

## **2 Pursuing or evading accountability for international crimes?**

The issue of war crimes and crimes against humanity allegedly committed by Sri Lankan security forces during the last phase of the civil war has complicated the SLFP-led government's relations with the rest of the world.<sup>2</sup> The UN first became engaged when it undertook an investigation that confirmed the authenticity of a video made public in July 2009 of soldiers apparently executing Tamil Tiger prisoners.<sup>3</sup> In March 2010 the UN Secretary-General, Ban ki-Moon, announced that he would create a panel of experts to assess whether there is enough evidence of war crimes and crimes against humanity by both sides to justify an international inquiry, should the Sri Lankan government not take steps itself to create a credible accountability process. The report was eventually [published](#) in April 2011. Efforts to agree the terms of a visit by the panel to Sri Lanka were unsuccessful. The report found that there were “credible allegations” of war crimes and crimes against humanity by both government and Tamil Tiger forces. Government shelling took a particularly heavy toll of civilians in the so-called ‘no-fire zone’, it said, and up to 40,000 people had been killed. It also stated that the LLRC failed “to satisfy key international standards of independence and impartiality.” The Secretary-General subsequently committed himself to monitoring the accountability measures being taken by the Sri Lankan Government as part of efforts to assess their credibility. On 12 September 2011, Ban ki-Moon formally transmitted the Panel of Experts report to the president of the Human Rights Council.<sup>4</sup>

The government established a ‘Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission’ (LLRC) in May 2010 to try and offset the growing international pressure. But it was viewed by many, including the US and EU, as having an excessively narrow mandate and lacking both genuinely independent commissioners and enforcement powers. Some suspected that the LLRC's primary purpose was really to deflect pressure to establish an international inquiry. Some international NGOs refused to cooperate with the LLRC. The LLRC published an

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that war crimes and crimes against humanity allegedly committed during the final phase of the civil war by the Tamil Tigers are also of serious concern, but this issue has been less controversial and does not involve relations with another member state of the UN. The EU, US and other Western countries have all banned the Tamil Tigers on the grounds that it is a terrorist organisation. The bans remain in force.

<sup>3</sup> Further video footage of alleged war crimes emerged in June 2011

<sup>4</sup> The UN's actions during the final months of the conflict were heavily criticised in some quarters. The Panel of Experts recommended to the Secretary-General that its performance should be reviewed. An internal review was duly commissioned. Its report was made public in November 2012; a link to the full text of the report is available in section 5 of this briefing.

interim report in November 2010. Its final report was [published](#) in December 2011. It concluded that government forces had not deliberately targeted civilians. The US government called the report incomplete, noting that it had not adequately addressed allegations that war crimes had been committed during the final months of the civil war and called for steps to be taken to remedy its weaknesses. The EU, including the UK government, took a similar position. With the issue looking likely to be discussed at the UN Human Rights Council (HRC), in February 2012 the Sri Lankan army announced its own commission of inquiry into alleged war crimes. In the following month, the HRC passed a US-sponsored [resolution](#) calling on the Sri Lankan government to properly address violations of International Humanitarian Law. The Sri Lankan government has claimed that it is implementing some of the LLRC's recommendations but says that it refuses to be bullied.

In August 2010 the EU revoked Sri Lankan access to its Generalised System of Preferences plus (GSP+) scheme, under which the EU provided additional preferences (beyond standard GSP treatment) to 'economically vulnerable' developing countries on the grounds that Sri Lanka's human rights record had been poor. The Sri Lankan government refused to take steps to address EU concerns. The revocation remains in force.

There has also been controversy over the Commonwealth's decision to invite Sri Lanka to host the next Commonwealth summit in 2013. The Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, has threatened to boycott the 2013 summit if it does not do more to ensure accountability for human rights abuses during the final phase of the conflict. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Kamallesh Sharma, has asked Canada to [reconsider](#). However, Sharma has recently [criticised](#) a move in the Sri Lankan Parliament to impeach the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (see below). The British government has not yet confirmed the UK's attendance (see also below) but Australia has given strong indications that it will be attending.

### **3 Is genuine devolution on the cards?**

Critics like the International Crisis Group also argued that the north (and, to some extent, the east) remained effectively under military control, including through the operation of 'high security zones', with NGOs needing permits to work there; and that Sinhalese people are being encouraged to move into these areas, with the goal of changing the demographic balance of forces there. The government asserts that there have been continuing efforts to revive the Tamil Tigers, with diaspora interests to the fore, which means that it cannot afford to relax its guard. However, in October 2012, the LTTE's current leader Selvarasa Pathmanathan was released from detention. He is wanted by India in connection with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

In local elections in March and July 2011, opposition parties defeated the SLFP. The Tamil National Alliance (TNA), which has renounced independence in favour of campaigning for greater federalism, won a large majority of the local councils in the north and east.<sup>5</sup> In August 2011 there was renewed low-level violence between Tamils and the security forces in these areas. The TNA also withdrew from talks with the government about future autonomy arrangements, which prompted the latter to establish a [parliamentary select committee](#) to propose a way forward within six months. Sceptics claimed that this tactic has been deployed before and amounted to the government kicking the process into the 'long grass'.

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<sup>5</sup> In local elections elsewhere, with the important exception of the capital, Colombo, the ruling UFP swept the board.

Talks between the government and the TNA did resume in September 2011. This followed international pressure on both parties to return to the negotiating table. But they collapsed again in January 2012 and have not been revived since then. Despite efforts to draw it in, the TNA has declined to participate in the parliamentary committee process on the grounds that it lacks credibility.

Some analysts believe that the government was always really just going through the motions, in particular to pacify India. In recent months, TNA suspicions of the government's intentions with regard to devolution have been heightened by the proposed '[Divineguma Bill](#)' by the Ministry of Economic Development under Basil Rajapakse. Officially, the Bill rationalises and reinforces a number of community development initiatives. But opponents view it as a deliberate attempt to by-pass Provincial Councils and centralizing more power in the hands of the Rajapakse family. They also note that brother Gotabaya has been openly calling for the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution, which establishes the Provincial Councils, to be [scrapped](#). There has been talk of holding a referendum on the issue.

The Divineguma Bill has brought the government into conflict with the Supreme Court, which in November [ruled](#), amongst other things, that the Bill must be approved by all Provincial Councils before being tabled in Parliament and should also be subject to a popular referendum. Parliament is now, with the encouragement of the government, seeking the [impeachment](#) of the Chief Justice on a number of grounds that critics view as politically-motivated. The official ground is abuse of power. There has been widespread international condemnation. At home, journalists have been threatened and harassed in connection with their reporting on the matter.

Seeking the prior approval of all Provincial Councils for the Bill has been complicated by the fact that, while new Provincial Council elections were held in September 2012 across virtually the whole of the country, the one exception was the Tamil-majority north, where they were postponed until September 2013 on the grounds that conditions there were not ripe. The government won these elections. An alliance with Muslim politicians enabled the government to retain control over the [eastern Provincial Council](#). The government continues actively to look for ways to get around the impediments imposed by the Supreme Court's ruling on the Divineguma Bill.<sup>6</sup>

The International Crisis Group had this to say in a [recent report](#) on the government's record on devolution and its relations with the Tamil majority in the north:

The Sri Lankan government's refusal to negotiate seriously with Tamil leaders or otherwise address legitimate Tamil and Muslim grievances is increasing ethnic tensions and damaging prospects for lasting peace. The administration, led by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mahinda Rajapaksa, has refused to honour agreements with the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), broken promises to world leaders and not implemented constitutional provisions for minimal devolution of power to Tamil-speaking areas of the north and east. Militarisation and discriminatory economic development in Tamil and Muslim areas are breeding anger and increasing pressure on moderate Tamil leaders. Tamil political parties need to remain patient and keep to their moderate course, while reaching out more directly to Muslims, Upcountry Tamils and Sinhalese. International actors should press the government more effectively for speedy establishment of an elected provincial council and full restoration of civilian

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<sup>6</sup> "Govt avoids referendum on Divineguma Bill", *Daily Mirror* (Sri Lanka), 20 December 2012

government in the north, while insisting that it commence serious negotiations with elected Tamil representatives from the north and east.<sup>7</sup>

In November, anti-terrorism police detained four university students in Jaffna for commemorating Tamil Tiger fighters who died during the civil war. They have not been charged but instead have been sent to a 'rehabilitation centre'. The authorities have said that they were detained because they organised an event in honour of a banned organisation.<sup>8</sup>

#### **4 Selected recent statements by the UK Government**

##### **HC Deb 19 December 2012 c791-2W**

**Mr Jim Cunningham:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs if he will consider not attending the 2013 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Colombo following human rights concerns in Sri Lanka. [134144]

**Alistair Burt:** It is too early to confirm UK attendance at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (CHOGM) in Colombo in 2013. Ahead of the meeting, we will look to Sri Lanka, as any other CHOGM host, to demonstrate its commitment to upholding the Commonwealth values of good governance and respect for human rights. The British Government and wider international community regularly raises its concerns about human rights with the Government of Sri Lanka. These include issues of media freedom and the need to address longstanding issues of accountability and reconciliation after the war.

**Mr Jim Cunningham:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what recent discussions he has had with his Sri Lankan counterparts on the 2013 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting. [134145]

**Alistair Burt:** The British Government has had numerous meetings with the Sri Lankan Government about the 2013 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (CHOGM). These meetings have been both at ministerial and official level. I most recently discussed CHOGM formally with Sri Lankan External Affairs Minister Peiris in September, and it was also discussed in a meeting between officials from the British high commission in Colombo and Sri Lankan Deputy External Affairs Minister Perera last month.

##### **HC Deb 19 December 2012 c793-4W**

**Mr Jim Cunningham:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what recent assessment he has made of the government of Sri Lanka's commitment to the principles enshrined in the Harare Commonwealth Declaration. [134143]

**Alistair Burt:** The Harare Commonwealth Declaration of 1991 reaffirms the Commonwealth's commitment to fundamental principles, including democracy, the rule of law and good governance. We look to Sri Lanka, as with all Commonwealth members, to demonstrate its commitment to upholding these values. The British

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<sup>7</sup> [Sri Lanka: Tamil Politics and the Quest for a Political Solution](#), Asia Report N°239, 20 Nov 2012, Executive Summary

<sup>8</sup> "Rights group wants Tamil students charged or freed", *Associated Press*, 20 December 2012

Government and wider international community regularly raises its concerns about human rights with the Government of Sri Lanka.

The UK, in conjunction with the EU Heads of Mission, released a statement on 5 December. This statement expressed our concern about recent developments in Sri Lanka surrounding the rule of law and individual freedoms. We continue to press the Sri Lankan Government to ensure the protection of the independence of the judiciary and the fundamental rights of all citizens. The statement can be found at:

[http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sri\\_lanka/documents/press\\_corner/20121205\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sri_lanka/documents/press_corner/20121205_en.pdf)

#### **18 December 2012 : Column 769-70W**

**Mike Gapes:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what recent assessment he has made of the Government of Sri Lanka's commitment to upholding Commonwealth values of (a) good governance, (b) human rights and (c) the rule of law. [133469]

**Alistair Burt:** As host of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 2013, we look to Sri Lanka to demonstrate its commitment to upholding the Commonwealth values of good governance and respect for human rights. We continue to have concerns about human rights in Sri Lanka, including the rule of law and individual freedoms. The concerns of the UK and the wider international community on human rights are regularly relayed to the Government of Sri Lanka, most recently in the 1 November Universal Periodic Review at the Human Rights Council. I will reiterate these concerns when I next visit Sri Lanka.

The UK, in conjunction with the European Union Heads of Mission, released a statement on 5 December. This statement expressed our concern about recent developments in Sri Lanka surrounding the rule of law and individual freedoms. We continue to press the Sri Lankan Government to ensure the protection of the independence of the judiciary and the fundamental rights of all citizens. The statement can be found at:

[http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sri\\_lanka/documents/press\\_corner/20121205\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sri_lanka/documents/press_corner/20121205_en.pdf)

**Robert Halfon:** To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what recent reports he has received of attacks on Jaffna university

students by the military in Sri Lanka; what recent assessment he has made of the exercise of the right to freedom of expression in Sri Lanka; what steps he is taking to promote the demilitarisation of the Northern Province of Sri Lanka; and if he will discuss with his Sri Lankan counterpart the attacks on Jaffna university students by the military and the subsequent arrest and detention of students by the Sri Lankan Terrorist Investigation Department. [133518]

**Alistair Burt:** We are aware of the recent attacks on students at Jaffna university. Our high commission continues to monitor any developments. We have raised concerns about the continued detention of the four students with the Sri Lankan authorities.

We also regularly urge the Sri Lankan Government to improve the human rights situation for vulnerable groups, to investigate incidents that happen, and prosecute those responsible. The UK, in conjunction with the EU Heads of Mission, released a statement on 5 December. This statement expressed our concern about recent developments in Sri Lanka surrounding the rule of law and individual freedoms. We

continue to press the Sri Lankan Government to ensure the protection of the fundamental rights of all citizens, including students. The statement can be found at:

[http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sri\\_lanka/documents/press\\_corner/20121205\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/sri_lanka/documents/press_corner/20121205_en.pdf)

**Mike Gapes, Contribution to debate on Arms Exports, HC Deb 13 December 2012 c145WH**

[...] A few years ago, during the civil war in Sri Lanka, an arms embargo was put in place and yet when there was a ceasefire, that embargo was not maintained—this was under the previous Government—and the Sri Lankan Government bought all kinds of things, including ammunition, small arms, components and a huge amount of hardware that was used by their armed forces. That ceasefire broke down after 2002, and in 2009 we saw scenes of absolute carnage and brutality when the Sri Lankan armed forces decided to eliminate the Tamil Tigers. I am not here to speak for or defend the Tamil Tigers, but it is clear that there is strong case for the Sri Lankan Government to participate in a proper independent international inquiry into the war crimes that were carried out. Many of those crimes were carried out using weaponry that had been imported from around the world. Officials in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office were unable to tell us whether UK-supplied ammunition, components or weapons were used by Sri Lankan Government forces, but I suspect that they were.

**HC Deb 4 December 2012 c752W**

Ian Mearns: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs What assessment he has made of the report of the Secretary General's internal review panel on UN action in Sri Lanka published in November 2012; and if he will make a statement. [131118]

Alistair Burt: We welcome the UN Secretary-General's review panel report on UN actions in Sri Lanka and support the UN's attempts to identify lessons, to help it respond effectively to future challenges.

We continue to look to the Government of Sri Lanka to fully and transparently investigate alleged grave breaches of international humanitarian law highlighted in the April 2011 Secretary-General's panel of experts report.

**HL Deb 7 November 2012 cWA217**

*Asked by Lord Kennedy of Southwark*

To ask Her Majesty's Government what assessment they have made of the impact of the report of the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission in Sri Lanka.[HL2821]

Lord Wallace of Saltaire: The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, my honourable friend the Member for North East Bedfordshire (Mr Burt), delivered a Written Ministerial Statement on 12 January (*Official Report*, col. 20-21WS) to give our views on the Sri Lankan Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission's (LLRC) report.

In July the Sri Lankan Government released an LLRC action plan containing a number of steps which, if implemented, would usefully address some of the LLRC

recommendations. We now look to the Sri Lankan Government to implement the action plan and to take the further action on reconciliation, accountability and political settlement, as set out in the March 2012 Human Rights Council resolution.

**HC Deb 22 October 2012 c747W**

Steve Baker: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what recent assessment he has made of the treatment and situation of Tamils returned to Sri Lanka by the UK in the last year. [123301]

Alistair Burt: The Foreign and Commonwealth Office monitors the human rights situation in Sri Lanka and our high commission maintains an oversight of the returns process. The UK does not monitor unsuccessful asylum seekers who have returned to their country of origin as they are, by definition, foreign nationals who have been found as a matter of law not to need the UK's protection and who had no legal basis of stay in the UK.

The UK takes its international responsibilities seriously and fully complies with all of its international obligations under the 1951 United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees and the European convention on human rights. The British Government also regularly urges the Sri Lankan Government to improve the human rights situation for vulnerable groups and to investigate incidents that happen and prosecute those responsible.

Where asylum seekers can demonstrate they face a real risk of persecution or ill-treatment on return to Sri Lanka, they are granted protection in the UK. Returns are enforced only if it is safe to do so and the UK Border Agency is satisfied that the individual has no international protection needs. All decisions have a right of appeal where they are evaluated by the independent Tribunal Service for Immigration and Asylum. The European Court of Human Rights has endorsed our policy that not all Tamil asylum seekers are in need of international protection.

**HC Deb 22 October 2012 c734W**

Mr Buckland: To ask the Secretary of State for International Development what recent discussions she has had with her Sri Lankan counterparts on the Sri Lankan military's involvement in civil society roles in the north and east of that country. [123900]

Mr Duncan: The Secretary of State for International Development, my right hon. Friend the Member for Putney (Justine Greening), has not had any recent discussions with her Sri Lankan counterparts on the Sri Lankan military's involvement in civil society roles in the north and east of that country. The UK high commission in Colombo raises this issue regularly with the Government. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Under-Secretary of State also raised this issue with the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister in September.

Mr Buckland: To ask the Secretary of State for International Development what recent discussions she has had with the United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs on the IDP Resettlement Programme in Sri Lanka. [123901]

Mr Duncan: The Secretary of State for International Development, my right hon. Friend the Member for Putney (Justine Greening), has not had any recent discussions with the United Nations Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) on

the Internally Displaced People's (IDP) resettlement programme in Sri Lanka. The UK high commission in Colombo is in regular discussion with UNOCHA. Most recently, the high commissioner attended the UNOCHA briefing on this issue in October.

## 5 Further reading

Library Research Paper 09/51 (5 June 2009), [War and peace in Sri Lanka](#)

Library Standard Note SN50225 (19 November 2009), [Sri Lanka six months on](#)

[Speeches and statements](#) by President Rajapakse (official website)

[National Report by the Sri Lankan government as part of the UN Human Rights Council's universal periodic review process](#), 10 August 2012

[The outcome of the review has not yet been published. See also the related [Compilation of UN information](#)]

[Groundviews](#) (Sri Lankan citizen journalism website)

Amnesty International, "[When will they get justice? Failures of Sri Lanka's Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission](#)" (September 2011)

Transparency International Sri Lanka [website](#)

[The country is currently 79<sup>th</sup> out of 176 in its Global Corruption Perception Index]

International Crisis Group [reports on Sri Lanka](#)

[Its most recent report is: [Sri Lanka: Tamil Politics and the Quest for a Political Solution](#), Asia Report N°239, 20 Nov 2012. See also its [monthly reports](#) on recent developments]

[Report of the Secretary-General's internal review panel on UN action in Sri Lanka](#), November 2012