

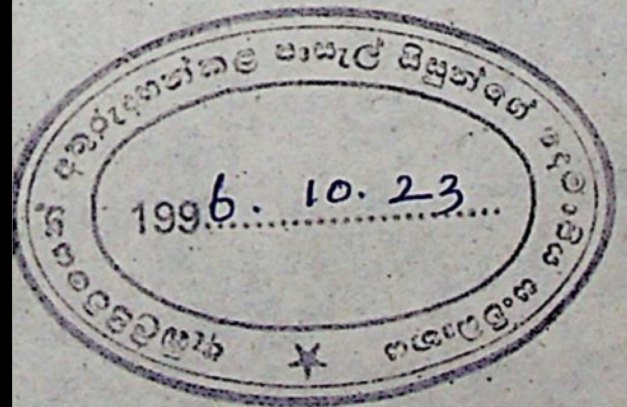
**RECORDS OF THE SECRETARY,
S. H. C. DE SILVA (1990-2018),
SUB-FONDS (ESC1)**

**EMBILIPITIYA DISAPPEARED SCHOOLCHILDREN'S
PARENTS' ORGANISATION (EDSCPO) FONDS**

Registered Post.

Our Reference: ECS/726

05th. December, 1995



Dear Sir,

ABDUCTION OF 31 SCHOOL CHILDREN FROM
EMBILIPITIYA CLUSTER OF SCHOOLS.

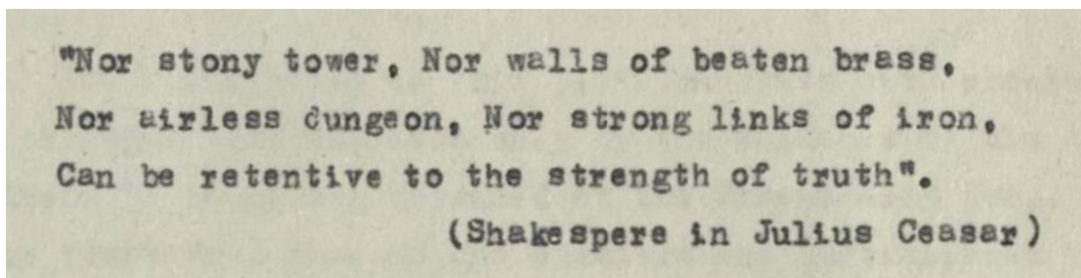
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“...Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong;
Therein, ye gods, you tyrants do defeat:
Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit...”

Cassius in Julius Caesar, Act I, Scene III

(Quoted by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO, in letters written by him about the abduction, torture and enforced disappearance of his son and other schoolchildren in Embilipitiya between August 1989 and January 1990.)



"Nor stony tower, Nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, Nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of truth".
(Shakespeare in Julius Caesar)

Correspondence, October 30, 1992
S. H. C. de Silva et al. to G. P. S. De Silva, Chief Justice
ESC1/CPD/N/1992/44

THE DISAPPEARED SCHOOLCHILDREN

The names of a majority of the disappeared schoolchildren from Embilipitiya are listed below in order to centre them in this document. This list is drawn from existing lists in the collection. However, according to the case details compiled by the *Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa Provinces (1994)*, the number of disappeared—comprising both schoolchildren and men—is higher. As noted in the first section of this finding aid, the lists in the collection specifically focus on the disappeared children of parents involved as members of the EDSCPO.

Apart from the circumstances leading up to their disappearance, very little is known about the schoolchildren since their individual biographies have not been recorded in detail.

	Name	School	Age	Date of abduction
1.	D. D. Rasika Kumara Wijetunga	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	17	06.11.1989
2.	N. A. Chamara Sudharsana Jayasena	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	15	11.11.1989
3.	Y. V. A. Susil Kumara	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	17	11.11.1989
4.	Y. V. A. Susantha	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	19	18.12.1989
5.	G. W. Ruwan Ratnaweera	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	16	16.11.1989
6.	S. H. Nilan Manelka de Silva	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	16	01.12.1989
7.	Rukman Indunil Paranavitharana	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	16	17.12.1989
8.	Nalin Kumara Gunaratne	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	19	26.12.1989
9.	Udesh Kavendra Sellahewa	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	16	30.12.1989
10.	S. P. Prasanna Handuwala	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	17	17.12.1989
11.	Palitha Laxsman Guruge	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	16	17.12.1989
12.	W. A. K. Mahindapala Wickramasinghe	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	04.01.1990
13.	H. P. B. Palitha	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	19	04.01.1990
14.	P. L. Aruna Piyasamantha	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	04.01.1990
15.	P. L. Wasantha Priyasamantha	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	16	04.01.1990
16.	K. K. D. Aloysius Stephen	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	08.10.1989
17.	H. U. Chaminda Roshan	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	24.12.1989
18.	G. A. Rohana	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	02.08.1989
19.	K. G. Anura Janapriya	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	17	25.12.1989
20.	B. H. Nimal Sisira Kumara	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	07.08.1989
21.	B. B. Sarath Chaminda Wijekoon Perera	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	17	10.10.1989
22.	Ranaweera Gamage Weerasinghe	Madhya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	18	20.11.1989
23.	K. P. Prabath Kumara	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	16	17.11.1989
24.	Dhammika Kumara Beragamaarachchi	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	16	17.11.1989
25.	H. H. Pradeep Wijesinghe	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	17	17.11.1989

RECORDS OF THE SECRETARY (S. H. C. DE SILVA), 1990-2018 (ESC1) SUB-FONDS
 EMBILIPITIYA DISAPPEARED SCHOOLCHILDREN'S PARENTS' ORGANISATION (EDSCPO) FONDS
 January 2022 (this finding aid will be updated as and when required. Please contact *historicaldialogue.lk* for the latest version.)

26.	Pradeep Indika Malwatte	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	16	20.11.1989
27.	P. H. D. Nihal	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	17	20.11.1989
28.	K. Piyasiri	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	18	10.01.1990
29.	H. K. Alfred Palitha Gamage	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	17	03.08.1989
30.	S. B. Sanath Priyantha	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	17	03.08.1989
31.	Jayasiri Hettigama	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	18	21.10.1989
32.	A. J. Gunasiri	Maha Vidyalaya Udagama, Emb.	19	04.11.1989
33.	H. D. S. Ajith Somaratne	Moraketiya Maha Vidyalaya, Emb.	17	27.12.1989
34.	Jagath Chaminda Kumara Dissanayaka	Halmillaketiya Maha Vidyalaya	17	19.10.1989
35.	Janaka Prasanna Jayawarna	Moderawana Maha Vidyalaya	17	18.12.1989
36.	Dayananda Ekanayaka	Moderawana Maha Vidyalaya	17	11.10.1989
37.	N. A. Wijesinghe	Tunkama Maha Vidyalaya	19	10.12.1989
38.	Kalanchige Karunasena	Tunkama Maha Vidyalaya	19	01.12.1989
39.	Lalith Upulshantha Rajapaksa	Ketagal Ara Vidyalaya	17	06.09.1989
40.	K. Rupasena	Konkatuwa Vidyalaya	18	02.08.1989
41.	W. A. Sarath	Konkatuwa Vidyalaya	17	18.08.1989
42.	K. G. Aruna	Dabarella Maha Vidyalaya	19	19.11.1989
43.	Priyantha Siribaddanage	Bahirawa Vidyalaya	17	13.12.1989
44.	W. A. Upatissa	Omalpe Vidyalaya, Kolonna	19	16.09.1989
45.	Mithrasena Nagodage	Theraduttaya Vidyalaya	17	16.10.1989
46.	N. Karunadasa	Omalpe Vidyalaya, Kolonna	22	26.12.1989
47.	G. W. Nimal Shantha Wijesekera	University of Sri Jayawardenapura	21	08.12.1989
48.	W. M. Thilakaratna Bandara	University of Moratuwa	24	20.08.1989

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ACRONYMS

CID	Criminal Investigation Department
EDSCPO	Embilipitiya Disappeared Schoolchildren's Parents' Organisation
HRTF	Human Rights Task Force
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
UNP	United National Party
WGEID	Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances
PRRA	People's Revolutionary Red Army

COLLECTION SUMMARY

FONDS	Embilipitiya Disappeared Schoolchildren's Parents' Organisation (EDSCPO)
SUB-FONDS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Records of the Secretary, S. H. C. de Silva (ESC1) 2. Records of the President, Shelton Handuwale (ESC2) (Inspected; unprocessed) 3. Records of the Treasurer, S. K. Gunaratne (ESC3) (Unidentified)
PROCESSED SUB-FONDS TITLE	Records of the Secretary, S. H. C. de Silva, 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds
DATES	n.d., 1990-2001, 2008, 2014-2015, 2017-2018
EXTENT AND MEDIUM	1421 items; paper
CREATOR	S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the Embilipitiya Disappeared Schoolchildren's Parents' Organisation (EDSCPO)
ACQUISITION INFORMATION	The physical records have not been acquired. The digitised collection—catalogued and digitally preserved—is stewarded by <i>Historicaldialogue.lk</i> under the terms and conditions of an agreement with the late Mr. S. H. C. de Silva.
ACCRUALS	No further accruals are expected for ESC1
CUSTODIAL HISTORY	This physical collection remains in the custody of the late Mr. S. H. C. de Silva's family. Mr. de Silva served as Secretary to the EDSCPO. The records were digitised at his residence over the course of three days. At no point were any records removed from Mr. de Silva's residence nor were they transported elsewhere for digitisation.
LANGUAGE(S)	Sinhala; English
PROCESSING	<p>Nigel Nugawela, Archivist</p> <p>Chamika Wijesuriya, Project Cataloguer</p>

1. HISTORICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1.1. A brief history of the Embilipitiya case

(**Note:** *The following narrative is drawn from information in court records, the records in the collection, official state accounts and other publications. It is not meant to be a conclusive and/or exhaustive account of the Embilipitiya case, but rather an introduction to the context in which the records were created, received, and maintained, and to some of the key events during the parents' decade-long struggle for justice.*)

The *Embilipitiya Disappeared Schoolchildren's Parents' Organisation* (EDSCPO) was established by a group of affected parents following the enforced disappearance of their children, who were between the ages of 15 and 19 years.¹ They were abducted from their homes and schools, detained without charge and many of them tortured by the 6th Artillery Regiment of the Sri Lankan Army at Sevana Army Camp in Embilipitiya.² The testimony of eyewitnesses, mainly parents and other children who were abducted and then released from detention, reveals how army personnel arrived at the dead of night, forcibly entered their homes, assaulted family members and then abducted their children.³

These specific abductions took place between August 1989 and January 1990. At the time, mainly in the Southern, Central, Sabaragamuwa and Western provinces, the second Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) insurrection was faltering after more than two years of bloody violence.⁴ The JVP and military reportedly killed thousands, the former targeting politicians,

¹ An enforced disappearance is "...considered to be the arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law." Article 2, International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, OHCHR, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/ced/pages/conventionced.aspx>, <accessed June 25, 2021>

² *Dayananda Lokugallappaththi and Eight Others v. the State* (Embilipitiya Abduction and Murder Case), Sri Lanka Law Reports, <https://www.lawnet.gov.lk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/067-SLLR-SLLR-2003-V-3-DAYANANDA-LOKUGALAPPATHTHI-AND-EIGHT-OTHERS-v.-THE-STATE-THE-EMBILIPITIYA.pdf>, p. 373, lines 281-291; 'Unresolved "disappearances" in the period 1987-1990: The case of Sevana Army Camp', Amnesty International, October 1991, AI Index ASA 37/18/91, pp. 3-4; The 6th Field Regiment of Sri Lanka Artillery was established on September 1, 1985 at Panagoda. See 'Sri Lanka Artillery', <https://alt.army.lk/gunner/6-sla>, <accessed on January 15, 2021>

³ "In cases where the inmates were reluctant to open the doors they broke open the doors and came in. In some cases they took away the abductees by force and in that process assaulted or caused physical harm and harassment to the parents and relatives of the abductees as well. In some cases children were taken away by deceitful means telling the parents and the relatives that they were being taken away for the purpose of recording a statement." *Dayananda Lokugallappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 374; Unresolved "disappearances" in the period 1987-1990: The case of Sevana Army Camp', Amnesty International, October 1991, AI Index ASA 37/18/91, p. 3

⁴ Moore, Mick. 'Thoroughly Modern Revolutionaries: The JVP in Sri Lanka.' *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no. 3 (1993): 593-642; Wickramasinghe, Nira. *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History of Contested Identities*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2006; Venugopal, Rajesh. "Sectarian Socialism: The Politics of Sri Lanka's Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)." *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2010): 567-602.

government supporters, police and military personnel.⁵ In response, several senior JVP leaders and a significant number of the movement's cadres were rounded up, arrested and many killed in the counter-insurgency operations of the state.⁶ The official operations, which were sanctioned by the *United National Party* (UNP) government,⁷ involved the police and multiple regiments of the military. As noted by the Court of Appeal in relation to the Embilipitiya case, "The Government of the day had stationed army camps all over the country with a view to crush the Southern insurrection immediately. One such camp namely Sevana camp was set up at Embilipitiya. That was a time when law and order had failed."⁸

In addition to official military and police operations, a number of paramilitary groups—such as the 'Black Cats', 'Green Tigers', 'Ukussa' and the 'PRRA'—were responsible for abductions, torture, enforced disappearances and killings.⁹ Godahewa Indradasa, a former senior state intelligence officer, confirms that political parties and vigilante groups received weapons from the Ministry of Defence—"...any group who possessed arms could take the law into their hands...Retribution was swift and brutal, and sometimes unfortunately at the cost of innocent people. The guilty simply vanished into the jungle."¹⁰ Rajan Hoole notes that the death squads "...were loosely linked through a hierarchy of government politicians, military co-ordinating officers and police officers."¹¹

In the district of Ratnapura, where Embilipitiya is located, the coordinating officer at the time of these enforced disappearances was Lieutenant Colonel Rohan Parakrama 'Parry' Liyanage, who had assumed command from Brigadier Lucky Algama.¹² Liyanage served as the commander of the 6th Artillery Regiment between 1988 and 1990.¹³ It was in the above context of the second

⁵ "By April 1990 the total number of people killed by the JVP and by the security forces numbered over 40,000. An average of ten people died every day in the second half of 1987. The number of people killed dramatically increased to an average of twenty a day in the next ten months. From December 1988 to December 1989 an average of a hundred died every day." Gunaratna, R. *Sri Lanka, a Lost Revolution? The Inside Story of the JVP*. Kandy, Sri Lanka: Institute of Fundamental Studies, 1990, p. 269

⁶ C. A. Chandraprema "...claims that 40,000 people to have lost their lives in these three years. According to him 8,000 were killed by the security forces from August 1987 to July 1989, and 15,000 from August 1989 to January 1990. He also records the JVP to have taken the lives of 17,000 people." Ibid.

⁷ "In July, Maj. Gen. Cecil Waidyaratne had been asked by President Premadasa to take over the security of Colombo. Gen. Waidyaratne had requested that he be given unadulterated control over the Ops Combine without any body being able to give direct orders to the Ops Combine without his mediation...After some delay and exchange of letters, this was achieved." Chandraprema, C. A. *Sri Lanka: The Years of Terror, The JVP Insurrection 1987-1989*. Colombo: Lakehouse Bookshop, 1991, pp. 299-303; Gunaratna, Rohan. *Sri Lanka, A Lost Revolution? The Inside Story of the JVP*. Kandy: Institute of Fundamental Studies, 1990, pp. 318-19, 337-8; Thomas A. Marks and Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Tej Pratap Singh Brar. 'Sri Lanka: State Response to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as an Illicit Power Structure', <https://cco.ndu.edu/News/Article/780214/chapter-9-sri-lanka-state-response-to-the-liberation-tigers-of-tamil-eelam-as-a/#footnote-396>, <accessed on June 25, 2021>

⁸ *Dayananda Lokugallappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 369

⁹ Manoharan, N. 'Counterterrorism Legislation in Sri Lanka: Evaluating Efficacy', *Policy Studies*, No. 28, Washington, D.C.: East-West Center, 2006, p. 39

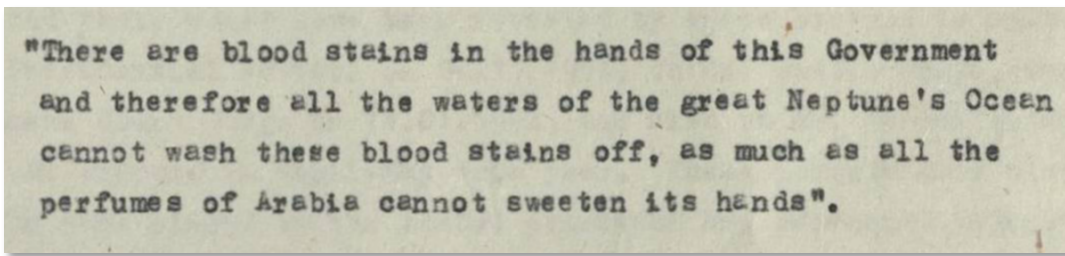
¹⁰ Indradasa, Godahewa. *Failed Revolts in Sri Lanka (1971 and 1987-1989), In-depth Analysis of a Senior Intelligence Officer*, Colombo: Self-published, 2012, p. 157

¹¹ Hoole, Rajan. 'The PRRA Killer's Diary: Ranil W, Rajitha R And The Left', Colombo Telegraph, February 28, 2014, <https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/the-prra-killers-diary-ranil-w-rajitha-r-and-the-left/>, <accessed on February 4, 2021>

¹² Brigadier R. P. Liyanage (Lieutenant Colonel at the time) commanded the 6th Artillery Field Regiment from September 1, 1988 to February 17, 1990. See 'Sri Lanka Artillery', <https://alt.army.lk/gunner/6-sla>, <accessed on January 15, 2021>

¹³ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, 10th August 1991 to 10th August 1992, pp. 23-24

insurrection that army personnel attached to the Regiment carried out investigations and detained individuals for interrogation.¹⁴



"There are blood stains in the hands of this Government and therefore all the waters of the great Neptune's Ocean cannot wash these blood stains off, as much as all the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten its hands".

Correspondence, October 30, 1992.
S. H. C. de Silva et al. to G. P. S. De Silva, Chief Justice
ESC1/CPD/N/1992/44

Embilipitiya was identified by security forces as an area of JVP activity. In mid-August 1989, four police constables were killed in a landmine explosion in Embilipitiya.¹⁵ The *Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa Provinces* (hereinafter referred to as the *Commission of Inquiry*) noted that "Embilipitiya was one of the areas worst-affected by subversive activities. The Embilipitiya Paper Mill was burnt and several incidents of damage to public property have also been reported."¹⁶

There was also the issue of the student-led protests across a few schools. This included initial protests against the proposed reclamation of around 60 perches of the school grounds at Embilipitiya Central College to build a petrol station. There were also protests by students against the Principal of Embilipitiya Central College on the basis of allegations of corruption.¹⁷ According to another account, some of the other protests may have been animated by the prevailing political climate at the time: the opposition to the Indo-Lanka Accord and the alarmingly high number of disappearances of students within universities around the country.¹⁸ The incidence of protests at various schools was reportedly interpreted by the army to be an indication of the JVP's presence and influence in the village; although there was no credible evidence to support this view.¹⁹ Those involved in organising the protests were identified by the army and thereafter viewed with suspicion.²⁰ As noted by the *Commission of Inquiry*, a student who left the country for university was suspected of being a key organiser and instigator of the protests.²¹ In a ploy by the authorities to capture him, three of his brothers were abducted.²²

The targeting of the students by the army

The families of the disappeared students still do not know the exact reasons behind the abduction and detention of their children. It is alleged that the schoolchildren were targeted after

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 26; de Silva, Jani. *Globalisation, Terror and the Shaming of the Nation: Constructing Local Masculinities in a Sri Lankan Village*. Trafford, 2005, p. 192-3

¹⁵ Chandraprema, C. A. *Sri Lanka: The Years of Terror*. Op. cit., p. 280

¹⁶ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons in the Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa Provinces*, Volume II, Sessional Paper No. V, 1997, Department of Government Printing, p. 25

¹⁷ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit., p. 23; Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 50

¹⁸ de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., p. 119

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 193; See also Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26

²⁰ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

the Principal of the College, Dayananda Lokugalappaththi, provided a list of names to soldiers attached to the 6th Artillery Regiment.²³ This list comprised schoolchildren considered by Lokugalappaththi to be 'troublemakers'; although this was proven, as examined below, to be a personal vendetta.²⁴ Lokugalappaththi developed a 'close friendship' with Colonel Liyanage and certain soldiers of the 6th Artillery Regiment.²⁵ The parents of the schoolchildren alleged that Lokugalappaththi used his influence and proximity to the army to punish the students at his school and others within the cluster.²⁶ One account about the case notes that the list comprised students who stuck out within the student body, were allegedly involved in the student protests and who were perceived to be insubordinate.²⁷ As noted by the *Commission of Inquiry*, after Lokugalappaththi's appointment as Principal, he

...cultivated close relationships with politicians and army officers and also defrauded school funds and accepted bribes to admit children to school. Student opposition to his fraudulent activities grew in all the schools in cluster of which he was principal. To counter these protests Galappaththy backed by politicians evolved a plan to abduct and cause to disappear 7 or 8 outstanding students from each school. This was implemented with the active support of the Army personnel in the Sevana Army Camp.²⁸

There were incidents such as hooting at the principal and schoolyard brawls.²⁹ Notwithstanding the fact that the schoolchildren excelled in their studies and as talented athletes, which was underscored by the *Commission of Inquiry* in its report on the case,³⁰ their challenge to traditional figures of authority, and the resulting resentment, was assumed to be one of the key reasons for their abduction and detention.³¹ Another issue was the Principal's character and past record, which was scrutinised by the *Commission of Inquiry*:

It is evident from his past record that his integrity as a school principal had been questioned several times; however, we find that the Department of Education had failed to take expeditious and proper disciplinary action on these occasions.³²

The Court of Appeal highlights the testimony of witnesses regarding the Principal's conduct:

²³ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State* Op. cit., p. 405. See also pages 380, 382, 385, 388, 397 and 414 for testimony on the list.

²⁴ "Four or five students in this class are much too cocky. It is necessary to get rid of them. It (sic.) like a cancer." Quoted in the Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26

²⁵ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit., p. 24; "These are some of the evidence that was elicited from the prosecution witnesses at the trial which go to show not only the existence of very close relationship between the 1st accused-appellant and the army personnel of Sevana camp, but that he conspired with the men in uniform to engage in an illegal exercise of abducting the students." *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 380

²⁶ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 397

²⁷ de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., pp. 138-141; Jani de Silva notes that the list of students from Embilipitiya Central College was initially drawn up by the College's 'Disciplinary Committee' and read out at the meetings of the College's Parent-Teacher Association. See also *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., pp. 369-370.

²⁸ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 50

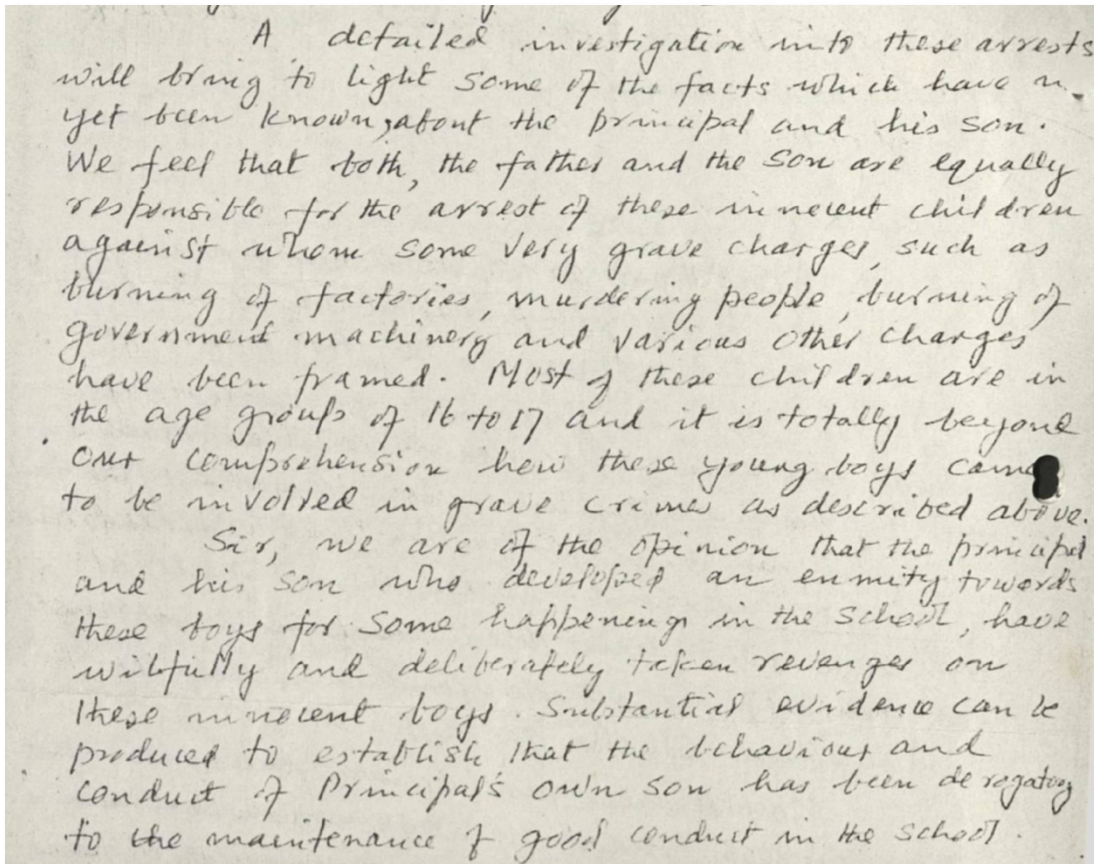
²⁹ de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., pp. 138-141.

³⁰ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 3

³¹ Ibid., p. 26; de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., pp. 138-141; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 397, pp. 369-370

³² Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 27

The 1st accused-appellant had supported the student agitation which in fact paved the way for him to come as the Principal of that school. Even after his coming there as the Principal the student unrest continued which made him to arm himself with a pistol and a hand bomb as well, as deposed to by witnesses.³³



A detailed investigation into these arrests will bring to light some of the facts which have not yet been known about the principal and his son. We feel that both, the father and the son are equally responsible for the arrest of these innocent children against whom some very grave charges, such as burning of factories, murdering people, burning of government machinery and various other charges have been framed. Most of these children are in the age group of 16 to 17 and it is totally beyond our comprehension how these young boys came to be involved in grave crimes as described above.

Sir, we are of the opinion that the principal and his son who developed an enmity towards these boys for some happenings in the school, have wilfully and deliberately taken revenge on these innocent boys. Substantial evidence can be produced to establish that the behaviour and conduct of Principal's own son has been derogatory to the maintenance of good conduct in the school.

Correspondence, December 2, 1990.

Affected parents to H. M. Sirisena Herath, Senior Superintendent of Police, Ratnapura Division
ESC1/CPD/N/1990/17

The records of the court proceedings, the report of the *Commission of Inquiry* and the testimony of the parents consistently underline Lokugalappaththi's personal animosity towards the students, the threats directed against them and a clear intention to abduct them, which was, as noted above, reportedly planned as a way in which to 'discipline' the students.³⁴ Lokugalappaththi even attempted to gain the support of the principals of other schools and the *gramasevaka* (village officer) in his nefarious plan.³⁵ However, the principals approached by Lokugalappaththi refused to support him and became alarmed by Lokugalappaththi's methods, particularly his consideration of extreme measures against the students.³⁶ Amongst the

³³ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., pp. 369

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370. Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26; Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, 10th August 1991 to 10th August 1992, p. 24-26

³⁵ "I have discussed a plan with Mahesh Danansuriya and Kodikara, 7 or 8 fellows will be abducted on the same day." Quoted in *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 380; See also de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., pp. 139-140

³⁶ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit. p. 24; Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26

disappeared were the children—students at Embilipitiya Central College—of three prominent principals in the area.³⁷

There was also the issue of personal disputes that led to the exacting of revenge. In a few cases, the students of parents who had disputes with Lokugalapaththi were threatened and scapegoated.³⁸ In the case of Chamara Jayasena, the *Commission of Inquiry*—based on testimony from his father, N. A. Jayasena, Principal of Tunkama Central College—notes,

Jayasena's father believes that the cause for his son's abduction and disappearance was student rivalry between his son and Chaminda Galapaththi the son of D. Galapaththi the Principal of Embilipitiya Madya Maha Vidyalaya coupled with the displeasure between himself and the said D. Galapaththi many years ago.³⁹

In the case of Nalin Kumara Gunarante, the Commission of Inquiry—based on the testimony of his father, S. K. Gunaratne—notes,

...Guneratne placed before this Commission as evidence of animus on the part of Galapaththi a personal animosity vs. him Guneratne (father of Nalin) for scolding Galapaththi in questioning another student at Embilipitiya M. M. V. who was found with fire crackers in this (sic.) bags in the school bus from Sevanagala Sugar Corporation to Embilipitiya had sought to obtain a confession implicating Nalin in that incident.⁴⁰

The disputes and rivalries between Lokugalapaththi's son (a student at Embilipitiya Central College) and the other schoolchildren also included the infamous love letter incident⁴¹ and, separately, a dispute at a cricket match on December 17, 1989, where Chaminda Lokugalapaththi and his friends threatened to 'necklace' their rivals from Udugama with tyres.⁴² Later, on the same day of the cricket match, three students from Udugama involved in the dispute were abducted.^{43,44}

In 1992, following investigations conducted by the *Criminal Investigation Department* (CID), the Government, when it reported to the *Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances* (WGEID), confirmed that 'personal motives' were the reason behind the detention of the schoolchildren.⁴⁵ Major General Cecil Waidyaratne, the 12th Commander of the Army, reiterated the latter in his responses to the *habeas corpus* applications.⁴⁶ He further stated that Sevana Army

³⁷ The principals were members of the EDSCPO: Sujatha Kalugampitiya (Principal of Moraketiya Vidyalaya) Shelton Haduwale (Principal of Konkatuwa Central College) and N. A. Jayasena (Principal of Tunkama Central College)

³⁸ de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., p. 144

³⁹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 50

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 45

⁴¹ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit. p. 24

⁴² Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 26; Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit. p. 24-5; 'Necklacing' is a reference to the brutal way in which the JVP, military and armed paramilitary groups often showcased bodies in order to instil fear within society at the time. As a method of extrajudicial killing and torture, it was used in many other contexts, such as South Africa.

⁴³ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit. p. 24

⁴⁴ See the list of disappeared schoolchildren at the beginning of this finding aid, pp. 2-3

⁴⁵ Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, Addendum: Report on the visit to Sri Lanka by three members of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (5-15 October 1992), Commission on Human Rights, Forty-ninth session, December 30, 1992, E/CN.4/1993/25/Add.1, pp. 21-2.

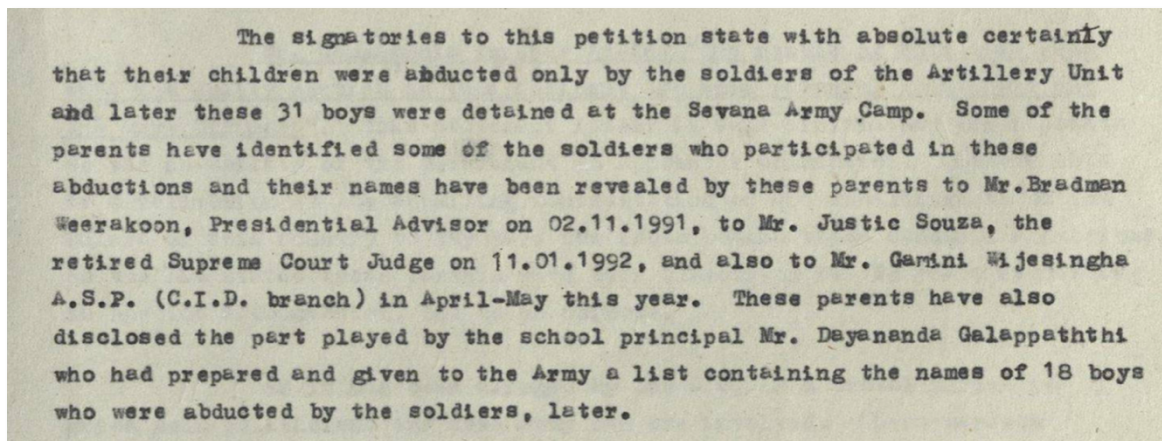
Retrieved from United Nations Digital Library, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/158410?ln=en>; See also de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., p. 145

⁴⁶ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 21

Camp was not an official detention centre and that the schoolchildren were never in the custody of the army.⁴⁷ However, Major General Waidyaratne's responses with regard to the latter were described as "untenable" by the *Commission of Inquiry* after its assessment of the extant evidence, specifically the Expenses Register maintained at the camp, which proved that witnesses to the schoolchildren's detention were also held as detainees at the camp.⁴⁸

The principal's list

The court records, specifically the testimonies of witnesses, point to the existence of a list.⁴⁹ One particular case is Maithri Leslie Silva's testimony in which he describes a list provided by Lokugalappaththi with some names typed and others handwritten.⁵⁰ Silva further testified that the list included his name, the names of his friends and that he noticed some names had been cut off.⁵¹ Principal Kalugampitiya's testimony established that Lokugalappaththi had requested a list of students' names from her school.⁵² Principal Kalugampitiya, however, did not comply with this request. Furthermore, the judgement of the High Court observed that the 1st defendant (Dayananda Lokugalappaththi) never denied the charge that he provided a list of names⁵³ and that the 4th defendant (W. J. D. Epa) did not respond to the allegation that he received a list of names from the 1st defendant.⁵⁴ In light of this, the High Court arrived at the reasonable conclusion that a list of names had been provided by the 1st defendant to the 4th defendant.⁵⁵



The signatories to this petition state with absolute certainty that their children were abducted only by the soldiers of the Artillery Unit and later these 31 boys were detained at the Sevana Army Camp. Some of the parents have identified some of the soldiers who participated in these abductions and their names have been revealed by these parents to Mr. Bradman Weerakoon, Presidential Advisor on 02.11.1991, to Mr. Justice Souza, the retired Supreme Court Judge on 11.01.1992, and also to Mr. Gemini Wijesingha A.S.P. (C.I.D. branch) in April-May this year. These parents have also disclosed the part played by the school principal Mr. Dayananda Galappaththi who had prepared and given to the Army a list containing the names of 18 boys who were abducted by the soldiers, later.

Correspondence, October 30, 1992.
S. H. C. de Silva to G. P. S. De Silva, Chief Justice
ESC1/CPD/N/1992/44

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 24

⁴⁹ The author was unable to confirm whether the original list was recovered and entered as evidence in the legal proceedings. See also Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit. p. 25

⁵⁰ Final Judgement, High Court of Ratnapura, Case No.: 121/94, 1999.02.10, p. 46

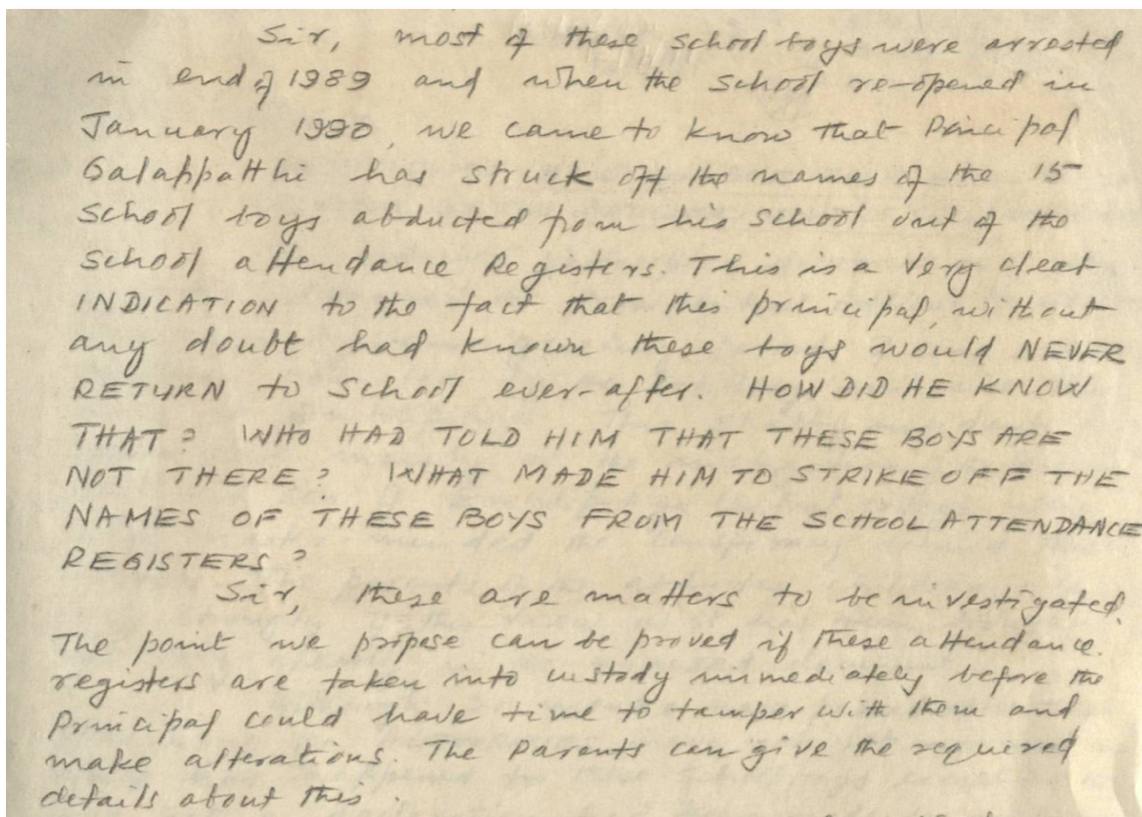
⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² High Court of Ratnapura, Case No: 121/94, 1999.02.10, p. 18; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op cit., p. 382

⁵³ Ibid., p. 57-8

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 59

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 60



Sir, most of these school boys were arrested in end of 1989 and when the school re-opened in January 1990, we came to know that Principal Galappathi has struck off the names of the 15 school boys abducted from his school out of the school attendance registers. This is a very clear INDICATION to the fact that this principal, without any doubt had known these boys would NEVER RETURN to school ever-after. HOW DID HE KNOW THAT? WHO HAD TOLD HIM THAT THESE BOYS ARE NOT THERE? WHAT MADE HIM TO STRIKE OFF THE NAMES OF THESE BOYS FROM THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE REGISTERS?

Sir, these are matters to be investigated. The point we propose can be proved if these attendance registers are taken into custody immediately before the Principal could have time to tamper with them and make alterations. The Parents can give the required details about this.

Correspondence, September 10, 1991.

S. H. C. de Silva to A. S. Seneviratne, DIG, Sri Lanka Police
ESC1/CPD/N/1991/37

The number of disappeared schoolchildren

According to the records of the EDSCPO, 46 schoolchildren and 2 university students were abducted from their homes or schools and disappeared in the Embilipitiya area—22 schoolchildren from Embilipitiya Central College and the rest from other surrounding schools in the area, including Udagama Central College, Moraketiya College and Tunkama Central College. However, there is a discrepancy in the total number of the disappeared in the records (from 31 and 32 to 46 and 48) since the EDSCPO focussed on the detention, torture and disappearance of the children of parents active in the Organisation and who were willing to institute legal proceedings. As noted by the EDSCPO, "...a total of 48 students have been abducted from the Embilipitiya area. These 48 included two university students as well. But since only 31 parents got together to form this parents Association initially and carried out this agitation, this incident came to be popularly known as 31 student-abductions."⁵⁶

On the issue of numbers, the *Commission of Inquiry* recorded a higher number of abductions and disappearances—a total of 53 school children within and around the Embilipitiya area.⁵⁷ In terms of other cases, there were individuals between the ages of 20 and 49 who were forcibly disappeared.⁵⁸ The *Commission of Inquiry* recorded 11 such cases of disappeared persons that were relevant to the investigation into the disappearance of the schoolchildren.⁵⁹ In total, the

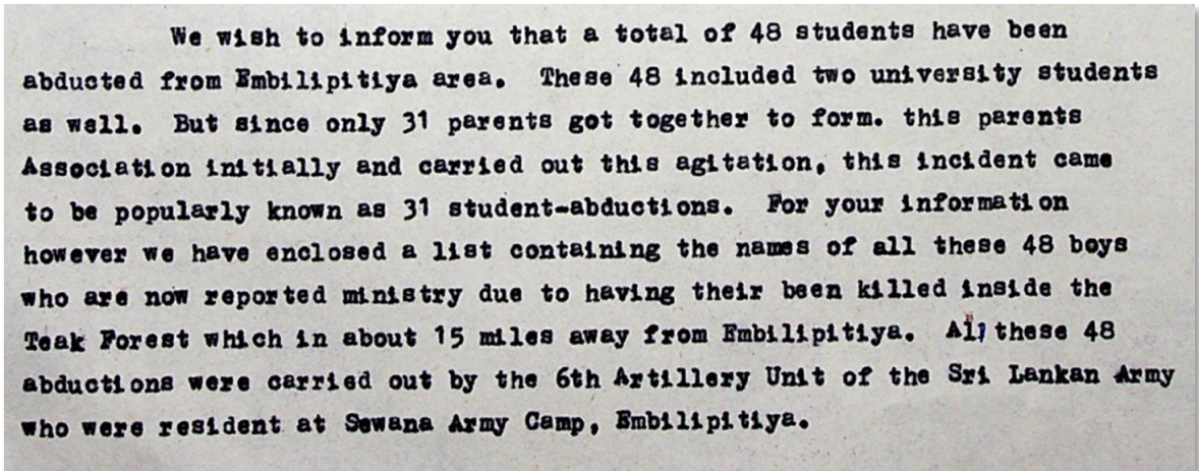
⁵⁶ Records of the Secretary (ESC1), Foreign correspondence, ESC1/CPD/F/1996/23

⁵⁷ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 3

⁵⁸ 'Unresolved "disappearances"', *Amnesty International*, October 1991, AI Index ASA 37/18/91

⁵⁹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 3

Commission of Inquiry investigated and documented 64 cases of disappearances in the Embilipitiya area.⁶⁰



We wish to inform you that a total of 48 students have been abducted from Embilipitiya area. These 48 included two university students as well. But since only 31 parents got together to form. this parents Association initially and carried out this agitation, this incident came to be popularly known as 31 student-abductions. For your information however we have enclosed a list containing the names of all these 48 boys who are now reported ministry due to having their been killed inside the Teak Forest which in about 15 miles away from Embilipitiya. All these 48 abductions were carried out by the 6th Artillery Unit of the Sri Lankan Army who were resident at Sewana Army Camp, Embilipitiya.

Correspondence, May 14, 1996
S. H. C. de Silva et al. to a Canadian diplomat
ESC1/CPD/F/1996/22

Detention and torture

The correspondence, newspaper clippings, court records and other published accounts provide details about the detention and torture of the schoolchildren.⁶¹ The final judgement of the High Court of Ratnapura notes that the evidence pointed to the existence of an 'abattoir' at the camp—a special room allocated for the torture of detainees⁶² This was, in other accounts, disturbingly called the 'mas kadé' (meat shop).⁶³ For example, the *Commission of Inquiry*, commenting on the connection between Lokugalappaththi and the army, reproduced a statement allegedly made by him during a telephone conversation and heard by the mother of a disappeared schoolchild: "Hello Mr. Sena,..Where did you go last night...Did you find them?.....Did you take them to the 'mas kade?' (meat stall, meaning torture room).....I will come that way this evening".⁶⁴

The detainees were reportedly taken to Sevana Army Camp and chained together.⁶⁵ During their detention, they were interrogated and tortured.⁶⁶ According to one account, this was standard practice at the camp and all detainees were put through it.⁶⁷ There were three soldiers identified as the key figures managing the detainees and who were responsible for their torture: Jaliya Epa, Vajira Chamarasinghe and S. A. Senaratne.⁶⁸ The torture methods reportedly involved

⁶⁰ Ibid., Schedule "C", pp. 62-77

⁶¹ High Court of Ratnapura, Case No: 121/94, 1999.02.10, p. 441; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op cit., p. 373, lines 281-291; 'Unresolved "disappearances" in the period 1987-1990: The case of Sevana Army Camp', *Amnesty International*, October 1991, AI Index ASA 37/18/91, pp. 3-4

⁶² High Court of Ratnapura, Case No: 121/94, 1999.02.10, p. 441

⁶³ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 27

⁶⁴ Ibid. For roughly the same quotation with slight variations, see *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op cit., p. 380: "Hello Mr. Senaratne, did you go anywhere last night? Did you find the stuff? Did you take the stuff to the beef stall? Did you bring Mahindapala? I will come to the camp in the evening".

⁶⁵ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op cit., p. 377; de Silva, Jani. Op cit., p. 199

⁶⁶ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op cit., p. 373, lines 281-291

⁶⁷ de Silva, Jani. Op cit., pp. 198-200; 'Unresolved "disappearances" in the period 1987-1990'. Op. cit., pp. 3-4

⁶⁸ de Silva, Jani. Op cit., p. 191

being stripped naked, tied to a bench, burnt with an iron rod, beaten with wooden hammers and then having one's entire head repeatedly immersed in a bag of chillie powder.⁶⁹ A survivor's eyewitness statement details what he discovered when asked by the soldiers to clean the 'mas kadé': instruments of torture (swords, irons rods and knives) and pieces of human flesh.⁷⁰ The eyewitness also revealed that he saw some of the schoolchildren crawling and being brought out of the room, battered and bruised, a few with infected wounds and severe head injuries, and others "lifeless".⁷¹

The disappearance of the schoolchildren

Many of the parents, terrified about what may have happened to their children, waited outside the camp gate for updates from the authorities, some even repeatedly visiting day after day over several months.⁷² In one case, a student was voluntarily produced numerous times, released to his parents for medical treatment, and then later abducted.⁷³ The *Commission of Inquiry* makes the following observations about abductions during that time,

That "abduction" rather than "arrest" was the preferred method of operation, is a clear indication that physical elimination of the persons taken-in was not ruled out. Given, additionally the unrecorded nature of the initial abduction and detention the temptation to adopt 'elimination' as a practice was inevitable.⁷⁴

It was after the 25th of January 1990 that the parents were forced to confront the very real possibility that their children would never be returned to them. According to one parent, the 6th Artillery Regiment moved out of Sevana Army Camp without releasing the detained schoolchildren or notifying the parents.⁷⁵ It was reported that the Regiment had returned to the Panagoda Cantonment, which is its regimental headquarters.⁷⁶

Between 1989 and 1992, the affected parents provided statements about the disappearance of their children on eight different occasions to the Police and to officials attached to the Ministry of Defence.⁷⁷ Some of these statements were not retrievable when requested by the *Commission of Inquiry*, which noted in its report, "...where the complaint is against the Army, ("Security Force") the Police did not records (sic.) the disappearance, or recorded it in general terms as having occurred at the hands of unknown persons..."⁷⁸ At the time, some of the families of the disappeared schoolchildren felt that they would never be able secure justice given that the perpetrators were the very officials tasked with maintaining law and order.⁷⁹ Furthermore, in

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 200-201

⁷⁰ Sworn translation of a statement made by an eyewitness, Colombo District Court, ESC1/CPD/N/1992/2, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² HCA 492/92 Chief Magistrate's Inquiry – Petitioner's Written Submission, dated March 14, 1995. ESC1/CPD/N/1995/127, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

⁷³ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 42

⁷⁴ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. I, p. 32

⁷⁵ Interview with parent in Embilipitiya, January 2020.

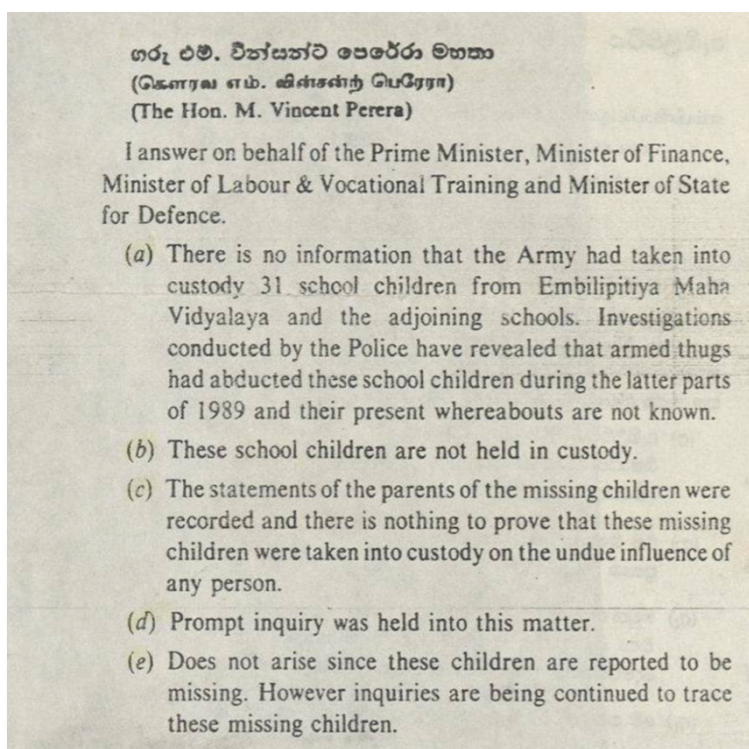
⁷⁶ de Siva, Jani. Op. cit. p. 188

⁷⁷ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., pp. 18-19

⁷⁸ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 9; In 2002, the Court of Appeal, based on the testimony of the parents, noted that "...the police did not want to record their complaints...even in cases where the police took down their statements, deliberately they had omitted to record vital matters they spoke of to the police." See *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op cit., p. 371

⁷⁹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II. Op. cit., p. 6

October 1990 and in February 1992, representatives of the UNP government denied that the Army had taken the schoolchildren into custody and instead pointed the finger at 'armed thugs'.⁸⁰



Correspondence, February 7, 1992
Nimal Siripala de Silva writing to EDSCPO and appending a copy of the
Hansard pertaining to the answers provided by M. Vincent Perera to de Silva's
questions
ESC1/CPD/N/1992/19

In June 1992, Senior DIG Premadasa Udugampola, former head of the Bureau of Special Operations, who was widely feared due to his brutal reputation in the counter-insurgency operations against the JVP,⁸¹ was interviewed (referred to as the 'Udugampola Analysis') by *Ravaya* about the Embilipitiya case.⁸² In the interview, DIG Udugampola assigned responsibility to army soldiers leading the 'Black Cats' paramilitary group and to regional politicians, who, according to him, handed over 'liquidation lists' to the group.⁸³ He also stated that the schoolchildren had no connection to the JVP. Perhaps the most disturbing point in Udugampola's exposition was the allegation that three of the schoolchildren may have died during torture and, on account of this, a decision may have been made by both the army officers and the politicians

⁸⁰ Vincent Perera answering on behalf of the Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of Labour and Vocational Training, and Minister of State for Defence. Hansard, February 5, 1992, p. 513. ESC1/CPD/N/1992/19, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds,

⁸¹ Mark Fineman. "Death Squads Tear at Fabric of Sri Lanka", Los Angeles Times, October 29, 1989, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-10-29-mn-480-story.html>, <accessed on April 15, 2021>; "Government Files Charges Against Ex-Policeman, Newspaper Editor", Associated Press, April 9, 1992, <https://apnews.com/article/9b2e663ce377ed4b6738ba69a2fc7ceb>, <accessed on April 15, 2021>; Shekhar Gupta, "Dead men talking", The Print, May 21, 2019, <https://theprint.in/opinion/dead-men-talking/238391/>, <accessed on April 15, 2021>

⁸² DIG Udugampola's interview was published by *Ravaya* on June 14, 1992. An English translation of the main points of the interview is part of a scrapbook in the collection (ESC1). The interview was preceded by others that appeared in the *Sunday Times* and *Aththa*. These articles reported on DIG Udugampola's revelations about government-backed death squads.

⁸³ "Secrets of Embilipitiya Student Murders Revealed by Udugampola!", *Ravaya*, June 14, 1992.

involved to execute the entire group so that there were no witnesses to what happened inside the camp.⁸⁴⁸⁵

Teak Forest and Sooriyakanda

According to a Sunday Times article published on the May 8, 1994, the evidence collected during the investigations by authorities revealed that the children may have been killed and their remains burnt at a place called 'Teak Forest', along the Udawalawe-Tanamalwila Road and 24 kilometres from Embilipitiya.⁸⁶ The article quotes Tilak Marapana (Attorney-General between 1992 and 1994), who further stated that the "...the Sooriyakanda finds have no connection to the Embilipitiya student killings..."⁸⁷ Sooriyakanda, roughly 46 kilometres from Embilipitiya, was the site of a mass grave discovered in January 1994.⁸⁸ An exact count of the number of bodies was never confirmed, but it was estimated to be over 300.⁸⁹ At the time, there was speculation that the schoolchildren from Embilipitiya may have been buried at the site along with the remains of other children killed within the district during that period. However, this was never proven since forensic investigations halted after a few years.⁹⁰ In reference to Sooriyakanda, Justice J. F. A. Soza made the following comments, "...there is no acceptable proof that the bones are the remains of the 32 missing schoolboys. The place of burial of the schoolboys is rumoured to be Tekke Kele (Teak jungle) which is very much closer to the Sevana Camp where the schoolboys were detained than Sooriyakanda."⁹¹

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Upon returning to Sri Lanka after a period in exile, Udugampola withdrew his allegations. "On 8 July 1993 he filed a further affidavit in the Colombo High Court withdrawing his earlier allegations. The next day the Attorney General withdrew the charges of criminal defamation against him and later also withdrew the cases against the newspapers which had published the allegations. None of Premadasa Udugampola's allegations of death squad killings were investigated by the state..." AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN SRI LANKA, ARTICLE 19, October 1994, <<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/475418a40.pdf>>, pp. 40-41, <accessed on September 15, 2021>.

⁸⁶ 'Embilipitiya killings: AG to file action soon', *The Sunday Times*, May 8, 1994. A copy of this news article (ESC1/NC/1994/4) is part of the collection, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Molly Moore and John Ward Anderson, SRI LANKA UNEARTH'S OLD FEARS OF ABUSES AGAINST CIVILIANS, *The Washington Post*, January 11, 1994, <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/01/11/sri-lanka-unearths-old-fears-of-abuses-against-civilians/46e81a8c-f6ec-4199-a551-b5a1a6476596/>>, accessed on July 23, 2021.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Bala, M. "Transitional Justice and the Right to Know: Investigating Sri Lanka's Mass Graves" in Fonseka, B. (ed.) *Transitional Justice in Sri Lanka—Moving Beyond Promises*, Centre for Policy Alternatives: Colombo, 2017, pp. 258-9

⁹¹ Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, 10th August 1993 to 10th August 1994, 13th August 1994, p. 18

The above is a statement issued to Sunday Times of 8-5-1994, by the former Attorney-General on Embilipitiya Student abductions and the subsequent killings. According to him he knows who abducted our children, he also knows that they are missing, he also knows that they were taken to a place called the Teak Forest where they had been killed and burnt, but the most surprising thing he does not know is who killed these school boys, who were abducted and later detained inside the Sevana Army Camp. If according to him the abductors are known and if these abductors were properly questioned could it have not been known who killed them? This horrendous massacre of school-boys took place inside the Teak Forest which is situated about 15 miles away from Embilipitiya, along the Uda-Welawa - Tanamalwila Road, on 26th January 1990.

A notation by S. H. C. de Silva on a photocopy of a news article
The Sunday Times, May 8, 1994
ESC1/NC/1994/4

Dear Sir, ESC /418

Further to our earlier representatives and statements which you were good enough to investigate, we have after our own inquiries found evidence which could show that our school boys or some of them were in fact killed and burnt at a site we are able to point out.

We have witnesses who will testify to the fact of seeing the soldiers from the Sevana Camp ^{bring} burning the dead bodies of some young school boys and burning them at the site using some tyres they had brought along with them. He had seen 42 such bodies being disposed of in this manner.

We have now seen this particular site and we can point it out. We are certain that this piece of evidence will be useful if the Government Analyst and the Judicial Medical Officer could also be requested to assist in identifying the remnants of the burnt bodies that are at this site.

Correspondence, October 19, 1992.
EDSCPO writing to Gamini Wijesinghe, ASP, Criminal Investigation Department
ESC1/CPD/N/1992/49

Legal proceedings begin in 1992

The EDSCPO received advice from a number of local and international authorities on its legal recourse, which included the HRTF's recommendation to immediately institute legal proceedings against the perpetrators.⁹² The WGEID made the following comments about the case in October 1992,

In 1992, the Human Rights Task Force conducted an investigation into this case. Subsequent to the investigation, the principal and seven members of the army, including one high-ranking official, were identified as those allegedly responsible. None of them has been brought to trial, arrested, held as suspect or questioned. The Working Group was told by the Government that as a matter of strategy in the case, the principal had not been arrested in order to question the high-ranking military officer first. The officer, however, had not been arrested or even questioned because he had been sent to the conflict in north...The principal, though briefly removed from his post on charges of accepting bribes, is now reinstated and is said to be in line for promotion.⁹³

20 parents initiated legal proceedings by filing *habeas corpus* applications, which were taken up at the Magistrate's Court in 1992. The *Commission of Inquiry* notes that applications were filed in the Court of Appeal and that the latter "directed the Chief Magistrate, Colombo, to record evidence and come to a finding in respect of all these Applications."⁹⁴ The final report of the *Commission of Inquiry* also lists the findings of the Magistrate wherein the responsibility of the respondents in relation to the applications was decided.⁹⁵

In 1994, based on the strength of evidence collected, the Attorney-General filed indictments against nine accused persons under the Code of Criminal Procedure Act No. 15 of 1979 (as amended) at the High Court of Ratnapura (121/94).⁹⁷ The nine persons accused included Dayananda Lokugalappaththi, Chaminda Lokugalappaththi, Lieutenant Colonel Rohan Liyanage and six soldiers attached to the Sixth Artillery Regiment.⁹⁸ The charges, a total of eighty, ranged from the "wrongful confinement of a named person for a period exceeding 10 days" to the "conspiracy to abet the abduction of a person in order that he may be murdered or be put in

⁹² Annual Report of the Chairman of the Human Rights Task Force, Op. cit. p. 27

⁹³ Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, Addendum, E/CN.4/1993/25/Add.1, Op. cit., p. 22

⁹⁴ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 13

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 14

⁹⁶ In a letter to the EDSCPO, Justice Soza of the HRTF notes the following: "When the sixteen cases are called in court you could appoint one lawyer for all the cases. The next step would be to argue the cases at the Court of Appeal. The Court of Appeal will order the cases to be inquired into by the Magistrate of Embilipitiya. The Magistrate of Embilipitiya will records all the available evidence and submit his report to the Court of Appeal. The Court of Appeal will then make its order on the basis of what the magistrate has reported and any submissions made during the argument." Correspondence, February 12, 1993, ESC1/CPD/N/1993/192, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 9; "The indictment proceedings have resulted in consequence of investigations conducted by the Criminal Investigation Department and the Honourable Attorney General finally giving his mind to bear on the same." Ibid., p. 4

⁹⁸ The nine accused persons: 1) D. Lokugalappatti (Principal of EMV; first accused), 2) Chaminda Lokugalappatti (son of first accused, student at the time; second accused), 3) R. P. Liyanage (Lieutenant Colonel; third accused), 4) W. J. D. Epa (Captain; fourth accused), 5) Gavesh Ginige (Lieutenant; fifth accused), 6) Vajira Chamarasinghe (Lieutenant; sixth accused), 7) S. A. Senaratne (Private; seventh accused), 8) Kariyawasam Upul Chandana (Private; eighth accused) and 9) E. J. Kumarasinghe (Private; ninth accused).

danger of being murdered.”⁹⁹ As the *Commission of Inquiry* notes, “the charges are framed variously in terms of conspiracy to abet and in terms of acting with a common intention.”¹⁰⁰

A major factor in the institution of legal proceedings was the direction issued by the *Human Rights Task Force* (HRTF)—headed by Justice J. F. A. Soza—to the CID, which was credited as a factor in the commencement of investigations.¹⁰¹ The HRTF’s subsequent reports were critical of the lack of action. In September 1993, Justice Soza made the following comment regarding the case:

Still no action. The Police have recorded statements and prepared their dossier in the case. The dossier has been sent to the Attorney-General who is said to be considering it. This is a case where eye witnesses are available—the parents who saw the children being taken at different times and two persons who had been taken along with some of the schoolboys and detained some days at the Sevana Camp and later released. The boys are missing, there are witnesses who identified the men who took them and there are two witnesses who were detained along with the schoolboys at the Sevana Camp who identified the persons responsible for the taking and the detention. This evidence in my view is cogent enough for a case to be filed. The habeas corpus cases filed by the parents will be aborted when the respondents say they do not have the boys. The habeas corpus cases cannot absolve the state from responsibility.

The witnesses included parents who were abducted, detained and later released. The HRTF noted that these parents are “...eye-witnesses to the arrest and detention” of the schoolchildren.¹⁰² One particular case was K. K. D. Aloysius’s father, K. K. D. Stephen, who was detained at Sevana Army Camp at the same time as his son.¹⁰³ The *Commission of Inquiry* notes, “A Special feature of this case is Stephen’s allegation that the Food Register of Sevana Army Camp contains K. K. D. Aloysius’s name and that the officials used to get Stephen to sign against Aloysius’s name right until Stephen was released on 01.01.90 along with 30 other detainees.”¹⁰⁴

There were other schoolchildren who were detained and released after agreeing to sign a confession.¹⁰⁵ Despite being warned not to divulge any information by the camp authorities, many of these children courageously came forward a few years later as witnesses and gave testimony during the legal proceedings.¹⁰⁶

Equally important were the reports and resulting pressure exerted by *Amnesty International*, the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights* and the WGEID.¹⁰⁷ The HRTF’s own investigation and report were critical in pushing for accountability. As the *Commission of Inquiry* notes, “...only the HRTE (*sic.*) had recorded a statement regarding the incident. Even then up to now the parents

⁹⁹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 9

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 20

¹⁰² Annual Report, Human Rights Task Force, 10 August 1993 to 10 August 1994, Chairman, Human Rights Task Force, 13 August 1994, p. 14

¹⁰³ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 30

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., p. 205

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

have had no intimation from any source, official or otherwise, state or non-state, as to the fate that may have befallen their children."¹⁰⁸

Some of the parents of the other disappeared schoolchildren decided not to pursue legal action. One reason highlighted was that they could not afford the legal fees, and the other was that they feared the same fate would befall the other members of their family: "We thought it better to save at least the others in the family."¹⁰⁹¹¹⁰ This 'fear psychosis' was very much present in the village until and even after the defeat of the UNP in the 1994 parliamentary and presidential elections. The other published accounts about the case explore different factors that may have prevented the families from initiating legal action. For example, some families had relatives who were active personnel in the armed forces and feared they would face reprisals.¹¹¹ In some cases, they felt it was a futile exercise given that those who perpetrated the disappearances and those who protected the perpetrators were still in power or active within the state structure.¹¹² There was, therefore, a clear lack faith in the state's ability and willingness to deliver justice. The other factor was the hope that the children were still alive and would be released later.¹¹³

Convictions and appeals

On February 10, 1999, seven out of the nine accused were convicted by the High Court of Ratnapura and sentenced to five and ten years of rigorous imprisonment (the sentences ran concurrently).¹¹⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Rohan Liyanage and Chaminda Lokugalappaththi were acquitted due to a lack of evidence implicating them in the specific charges.¹¹⁵ According to a news report, no charges of murder were brought forward since the bodies of the schoolchildren were never located.¹¹⁶ The Court found that there was an intention to murder or dispose of the abductees.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the prosecution, through circumstantial evidence, was able to establish that the abductees had been tortured and thereafter disposed.¹¹⁸ To date, the exact fate of all the disappeared schoolchildren and men is still unknown.

On January 4, 2002, an appeal by the seven accused was dismissed (with variations resulting in previous convictions and sentences for specific counts being set aside) for six of the accused-appellants by Justices P. H. K. Kulatilaka and R. Fernando in the Court of Appeal.¹¹⁹ The seventh accused-appellant—E. J. Kumarasinghe—was acquitted of all charges after consideration of the

¹⁰⁸ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 3

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 5

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 7; See also Watkins, Jonathan D. 'The State, Conflict and the Individual: The Effect of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) Insurrections in Sri Lanka on the Mental Welfare of a Population', *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 21, no. 3 (2005): 216-229

¹¹¹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 6; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 401

¹¹² Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 28

¹¹³ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 401; See also de Silva, Jani. Op. cit., p. 133 about the "social blow" of an abduction for many middle-class families.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 367-368

¹¹⁵ High Court of Ratnapura, Case No.: 121/94, 1999.02.10, p. 647; Pinto-Jayawardena, K. *Post-war Justice in Sri Lanka: Rule of Law, the Criminal Justice System and Commissions of Inquiry*. International Commission of Jurists (2010), p. 55; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 367

¹¹⁶ Kishali Pinto Jayawardene, 'Where the mills of justice did grind', *The Sunday Times*, January 6th, 2002, <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/020106/news5.html#5LABEL3>, <accessed on March 5th, 2021>; *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., pp. 366-8

¹¹⁷ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., pp. 367-8

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 373

¹¹⁹ *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., pp. 419-20

evidence, the observations of the trial judge and the submissions of the senior counsel representing the accused.¹²⁰

A year later, at the Supreme Court, a bench comprising Chief Justice Sarath Silva, Justice Asoka de Silva and Justice T. B. Weerasuriya dismissed a subsequent appeal by the six accused and upheld the convictions on February 14, 2003.¹²¹ However, the Court directed that the period during which the accused “were in custody should be taken into account as having served as part of the sentence.”¹²²

Establishing the truth, and demanding measures of redress

Over thirty years later, many of the affected families still want to know what exactly happened to their children. As an affected parent stressed, “I only know my son’s date of birth. I don’t know his date of death. I don’t know why they took him. I don’t know how they killed him. I don’t know where they burnt his body. The commissions exist to give us these answers. But they haven’t.”¹²³

In addition to the demand for the truth, many of the families were plunged into economic hardship and continue to be traumatised by the enforced disappearance of their children.¹²⁴ The provision of compensation, the allocation of state land for cultivation, the recruitment of affected families’ unemployed children into state employment schemes and the provision of other forms of relief were all recommendations put forward by the *Commission of Inquiry*.¹²⁵

Justice does not simply mean the punishment of offenders, and therefore (sic.), the penal aspect constitutes only a part of the problem. The question of how to “mete out justice to affected persons” should be looked at from a broader perspective...Disappeared persons have left thousands of dependents—old parents, spouses (some were pregnant at the time of disappearance), and children—and their economic and emotional rehabilitation is of crucial importance both to their own families and to the stability of society.¹²⁶

Many of these recommendations continue to be relevant measures of redress that may, even today, offer some relief to the affected families.

¹²⁰ Ibid., lines 99-105, p. 368

¹²¹ Wasantha Ramanayake, ‘SC dismisses Embilipitiya appeal’, *Daily News*, February 15th, 2003, <http://archives.dailynews.lk/2003/02/15/new23.html>, <accessed on January 27, 2021>; “The appeal court judgment was affirmed by the Supreme Court declining to grant special leave to appeal, with however the direction that the period in which the accused were in custody after conviction pending the determination of the appeal should be taken into account as having been served as part of the sentence.” Pinto-Jayawardena, K. *Post-war Justice in Sri Lanka*. Op. cit., p. 55, footnote 160

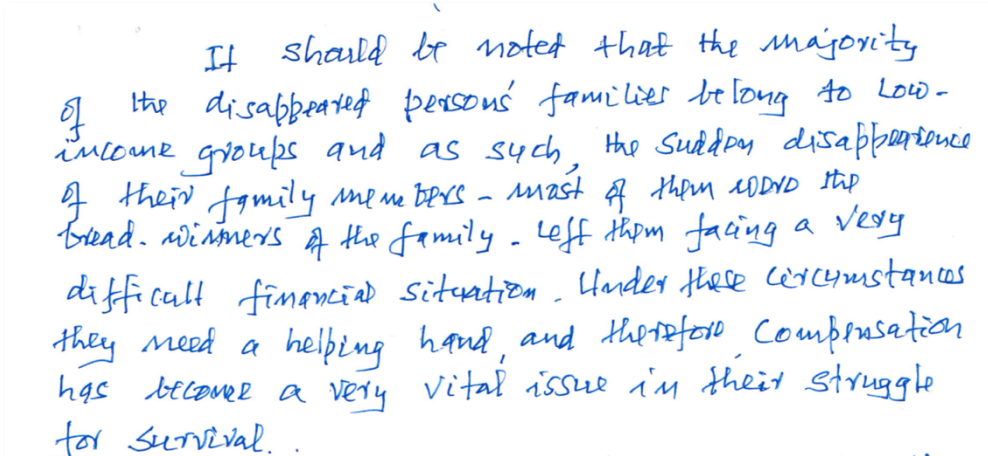
¹²² *Dayananda Lokugalappaththi and Eight Others v. the State*. Op. cit., p. 420

¹²³ Interview with affected parent, Embilipitiya, January 2020.

¹²⁴ In its recording of individual case details, the *Commission of Inquiry* noted the psychosocial impacts on the parents and siblings of the disappeared schoolchildren. See Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*. Op cit., pp. 62-77

¹²⁵ Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Vol. II, Op. cit., pp. 84-97

¹²⁶ Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Vol. I, Op. cit., p. xvi



Letter written by S. H. C. de Silva in 2018 and handed over to *Historicaldialogue.lk*

In 2017, S. H. C. de Silva penned a letter to the government inquiring about the possibility of allocating a specific block of land on which a memorial could be built for the affected parents to hold ceremonies in memory of their disappeared children.¹²⁷

1.2. The activities of the EDSCPO

(Note: The following notes were made by the Archivist during the processing of records in this specific collection. These should not be construed as the entire history or as the full range of activities of the EDSCPO. The range of activities could become more complex and/or expansive following the processing of the other sub-fonds.)

According to the records in the collection and published accounts, the EDSCPO was established by the parents somewhere between 1991 and 1992.¹²⁸ However, the affected parents were able to organise themselves into a group immediately after the disappearance of their children and begin planning their activism, filing complaints at police stations, and meeting key officials to find out what happened to their children.¹²⁹ No records could be located in this collection as to the official registration of the EDSCPO.

One of the key activities of the EDSCPO was the decade-long letter-writing campaign, which was an activity or ‘agitation’—as described by the parents—to bring the enforced disappearance of their children to wider attention in the hope that the resulting pressure and scrutiny would force the government and relevant authorities to act on their demands for truth and justice. Between 700-800 letters were written by the EDSCPO to local and international actors, many of whom played important roles in pushing for accountability and further amplifying the demands of the affected parents (see Scope and Content, Section 3).

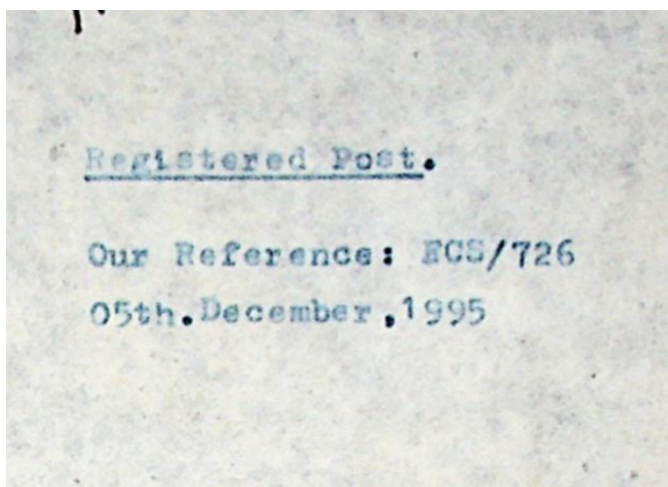
Much of the correspondence has a reference number on the top-right-hand corner of the first page. The number was used in the filing of the correspondence, but also served a purpose in terms of keeping count to emphasise the labour of the EDSCPO in its activism (“this is the 548th letter

¹²⁷ Correspondence, September 27, 2017, ESC1/CPD/N/2017/1, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

¹²⁸ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Vol. II, Op. cit., p. 3

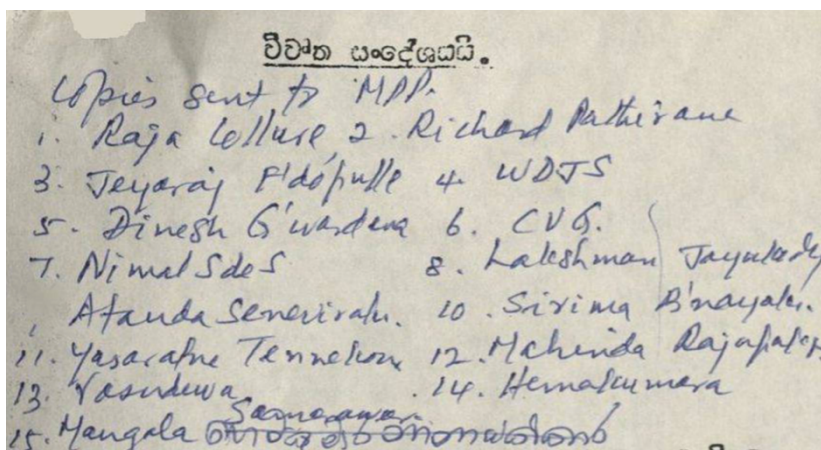
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 18-20

written about our schoolchildren’),¹³⁰ which in many instances went unanswered. The absence of responses by various actors and institutions was often referred to by the Secretary in subsequent correspondence and to underscore the tides of impunity confronted by the families.



Correspondence, December 5, 1995
 Example of reference number used in EDSCPO correspondence
 ESC1/CPD/F/1995/15

The EDSCPO was relentless in its campaign and wrote letters to individuals and institutions that had a duty to, at the very least, respond to and acknowledge the affected families, as organs and representatives of the state. The EDSCPO also engaged with non-governmental organisations and other actors in a position to exert pressure on the state and highlight the latter’s obligations to the families. Many letters were written to politicians, the Inspector General of Police, successive Commanders of the Army, religious organisations, human rights organisations and prominent personalities. As a result of the parents’ letter-writing campaign, international pressure from *Amnesty International* and the WGEID proved to be vital in pushing for investigations during the early 1990s.¹³¹



Correspondence
 Notation by S. H. C. de Silva listing out the recipients of a letter
 ESC1/CPD/N/1993/33

¹³⁰ Correspondence, December 18, 1993, ESC1/CPD/N/1993/17, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

¹³¹ Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry*, Op. cit., p. 20

The content of the correspondence reveals that the parents met with politicians, state authorities, diplomatic missions, local police officials, fact-finding missions led by various international organisations, and other organisations in the country. For example, in 1991, the parents met Bradman Weerakoon, then Presidential Adviser on International Relations, and several politicians in order to put forward their grievances and demand for investigations. During a fact-finding mission in October 1992, members of *Amnesty International* and, separately, members of the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights* met with the parents of the disappeared schoolchildren. They made submissions to both organisations about the case, their plight, and the struggle to search for answers about what happened to their children. The EDSCPO also held internal meetings with the other affected parents in order to discuss the legal proceedings and various developments in the case. The minutes of these meetings, if extant, were not found in this particular collection (ESC1).



This seal/stamp was used by the EDSCPO in most of its correspondence to inscribe the date of creation and provenance

The other key activity was the collection of newspaper articles. For over a decade, the Secretary to the EDSCPO collected Sinhala and English daily and weekend newspapers and perused them for any news articles about the case. All relevant articles were clipped and filed or pasted on the pages of scrapbooks with relevant sections highlighted in red ink. Whilst the newspaper clippings were collected to document major national-level developments in the case, and as a reference point for the families, today the clippings provide useful contextual information on a number of issues, as well as insights into the wide array of socio-political responses to the case. The newspaper clippings, occasionally appended to letters by the parents, also served as evidence of impunity and inaction. For example, in a few instances, newspaper clippings would be photocopied, a notation added and then sent to various individuals and institutions to highlight a particular decision taken by the authorities or specific political developments related to the case.

Largely driven by the efforts of the affected parents, the EDSCPO received support and funding after its establishment from organisations and individuals during its years of activity, mainly for administration, legal expenses and transport. This included private donations from individuals around the world and more substantive funding from organisations such as MISEREOR (German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation), DanChurchAid and the Canadian International Development Agency (which merged into Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs in 2013). In the lead up to the legal proceedings and following threats against the parents of the disappeared schoolchildren, funding for personal security was also considered, but it is not clear whether this was provided. A funding proposal in the collection outlines the extent to which the EDSCPO was planning to structure and expand its

administrative activities, including hiring data entry clerks and typists; purchasing a computer to document case proceedings and correspondence; and a travel budget for 62 parents to attend the court proceedings and meet with politicians and senior officials in Colombo.¹³²

After the conclusion of proceedings at the High Court of Ratnapura in February 1999, S. H. C. de Silva continued to receive correspondence and collect newspaper clippings; albeit infrequently and not as comprehensively as in the first half of the 1990s. The most active period in terms of creating, receiving and maintaining records related to the case was between 1991 and 1997. At the time of digitising the collection, the last newspaper clipping was dated January 21, 2018 and the last piece of correspondence was dated September 27, 2017.

1.3. Biographical details of the EDSCPO's office bearers

Shelton Handuwale was the founding President of the EDSCPO. The Secretary to the EDSCPO was S. H. C. de Silva, and the Treasurer was S. K. Gunaratne.

HANDUWALE, SHELTON (deceased) was the Principal of Konkatuwa Central College. His son, Sujeewa Pushpakumara Prasantha Handuwale—a student at Embilipitiya Central College—was abducted on December 17, 1989, detained and tortured at Sevana Army Camp. Sujeewa Handuwale (b. September 4, 1970) was 19 years old at the time of his disappearance.

GUNARATNE, SISIRA KUMARA was the Agricultural Superintendent at the Sevanagala Sugar Corporation. His son, Nalin Kumara Gunaratne—a student at Embilipitiya Central College—was abducted on December 26, 1989 and detained at Sevana Army Camp. Nalin Gunaratne (b. October 29, 1970) was 19 years old at the time of his disappearance.

DE SILVA, SIDIRIKKU HENNADIGE CHANDRAPALA (b. February 4, 1939 d. September 24, 2021) served as an Engineer for the River Valleys Development Board (RVDB) from 1960 to 1990. He later worked as the Civil Superintendent at the Embilipitiya Paper Mills from 1995 to 1999. His son, Sidirikku Hennadige Nilan Manelka de Silva—a student at Embilipitiya Central College—was abducted from the grounds of the College on December 1, 1989 and detained at Sevana Army Camp. Manelka de Silva (b. February 17, 1973) was 16 years old at the time of his disappearance.

¹³² Correspondence, ESC1/CPD/F/1995/28, Records of the Secretary (S. H. C. de Silva), 1990-2018 (ESC1) Sub-fonds

2. METADATA ELEMENTS

The descriptive elements for the *Records of the Secretary* (sub-fonds) are available up to item-level in a master catalogue. In this finding aid, descriptions have been provided up to file-level for the correspondence and newspaper clippings series, and up to item-level for the remaining series. A request for an item-level listing of a specific file in the correspondence and newspaper clippings series may be submitted to the Archivist. Additional descriptive elements were added based on the nature of collection and the consideration of potential user requirements. In total, there are thirty-three descriptive elements; twenty-four of which are based on the General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD[G]).

A controlled vocabulary was developed to provide granular access points for users of the collection to explore. The controlled vocabulary was developed after an initial reading of the records in the collection and through gleaning the various subject areas addressed in the content of the items (e.g., 'compensation', 'memorialisation', 'trauma', 'compensation', 'justice' and 'employment opportunities'). Given the specific focus of the collection, the following subject tags were assigned as key tags to a majority of the items: **EMBILIPITIYA; ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES; HUMAN RIGHTS; HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS; CHILDREN.**

Subject tags (includes places)

A

ABDUCTIONS; ABUSE OF POWER; ACTIVISM; ADVOCACY; ARBITRARY ARRESTS; ARCHIVES; ARRESTS; ARSON; ART; ASSAULT; AWARENESS

B

BINDUNUWEWA; BOMB ATTACK; BRIBERY; BOOSA ARMY CAMP

C

CERTIFICATE OF DEATH; CHILDREN; CIVIL RIGHTS; COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ACT; COMPENSATION; CORRUPTION; COURT PROCEEDINGS; CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE; CUSTODIAL DEATHS

D

DEMOCRACY; DEPRIVATION OF LIBERTY; DETAINEES; DETENTION; DETENTION CAMPS; DEVELOPMENT; DIYATHALAWA CAMP

E

ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS; EDUCATION; EMERGENCY REGULATIONS; EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES; ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES; EVIDENCE; EVIDENCE ORDINANCE; EXHUMATION; EMBILIPITIYA

F

FEAR; FINANCIAL AID; FISCAL RIGHTS; FORENSICS, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION; FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

G

GENDER; GRIEF; GOVERNANCE

H

HABEAS CORPUS; HUMAN RIGHTS; HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

I

IMPUNITY; INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY; INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT;
INTIMIDATION; INDEMNITY ACT

J

JUSTICE; JVP INSURRECTIONS

K

KILLINGS; KOKKADICHCHOLAI MASSACRE; KUTTIGALA ARMY CAMP

L

LAMPPOST KILLINGS; LAW AND ORDER; LEGAL AID; LOOTING; LUSTRATION

M

MASS GRAVES; MASSACRE; MEMORIALISATION; MONUMENT; MONUMENT FOR THE DISAPPEARED;
MUSEUM; MAHAWELI ARMY CAMP

N

NATIONALISM; NECKLACING

P

PAIN; PEACE; PENAL CODE; PERPETRATORS; POLICE BRUTALITY; PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT;
PROTEST; PSYCHOSOCIAL ISSUES; PANAGODA ARMY CAMP; PANAMURE 4TH POST ARMY CAMP

R

RAGGING; RAPE; RECORDS MANAGEMENT; REHABILITATION; REHABILITATION CAMPS;
REPARATIONS; RULE OF LAW

S

SEXUAL VIOLENCE; SHRINE OF THE INNOCENTS; SOCIAL JUSTICE; STATE OPPRESSION;
SABARAGAMUWA PROVINCE; SEVANA ARMY CAMP; SOORIYAKANDA

T

TERRORISM; THEFT; THREATS; TORTURE; TRACING; TRAUMA; TRUST; TRUTH; TEAK FOREST

W

WALPITA FARM MASSACRE; WEERASURIYA SHOOTING; WHITE VAN; WITNESS PROTECTION; WOMEN

Individuals, officials, institutions, and collectives

A list of individuals, officials, institutions, and collectives mentioned in the material was developed to capture the range of interventions into the Embilipitiya case. This includes state institutions, international organisations and donors that interfaced with the affected parents in their struggle for truth and justice. The individuals listed include politicians, public officials (military personnel, police officials and civil servants), religious leaders, activists, journalists and academics. The list also includes the names of both accused and convicted perpetrators whose identities are a matter of public record.

This list is currently restricted on account of the current political context and concerns around the sensitivities of list-making in relation to human rights violations. This decision will be reviewed and, if altered, the list will be published in a second version of the finding aid. *Historicaldialogue.lk* will, however, accept search requests based on institutional and individual names with the proviso that they are of public entities and of individuals who held positions in state institutions. All search requests may be submitted to the Archivist.

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Types of records

The following are the different types of records in the collection:

A AFFIDAVIT	N NEWSPAPER ARTICLE; NEWSPAPER CARTOON
B BOOKLET	P PHOTOGRAPH; POEM; POLICE REPORT; POSTAL RECEIPT; POSTER
C CORRESPONDENCE; COURT DOCUMENTS	R RECEIPT; REPORT
F FORM	S SCRAPBOOK
G GAZETTE	T TELEGRAM
H HANDWRITTEN NOTE; HANSARD	
I INVITATION	
L LEAFLET; LIST	

3. SCOPE AND CONTENT

► **Sub-fonds:** Records of the Secretary, S. H. C. de Silva, 1990-2018 (ESC1)

Dates: n.d., 1990-2001, 2008, 2014-2015, 2017-2018

Extent: 1421 items

Medium: Textual records

Digitised formats: TIFF; JPEG2000; PDF

Physical characteristics: Yellowing paper and foxing due to oxidation were observed throughout the collection. The newspaper clippings were in a poorer condition when compared to the items of correspondence. The entire physical collection has been stored inside a lockable wooden cabinet for over thirty years. The temperature and relative humidity of the room was recorded at 28.8°C and 69% respectively (in the month of January). During the inspection of the collection, there was clear damage to some of the items caused by the surface grazing of silverfish, which were discovered in the files. Rusted staples and pins were removed prior to digitisation, as a basic preservation step. Most of the material has minor tears, creasing due to folding, stains, and discoloured margins due to undersized file covers providing inadequate protection to some material. The proper housing of the collection could not be carried out due to successive lockdowns imposed in response to the CoVID-19 pandemic and travel restrictions after March 2020.

Immediate source of acquisition: The physical collection is in the custody of S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO. A number of items of correspondence created and received by S. K. Guneratne, who served as the Treasurer of the EDSCPO, were found in this collection. It is assumed that some of S. K. Guneratne's records were handed over to S. H. C. de Silva. The physical records have not been acquired by *Historicaldialogue.lk*. Instead, the digitised collection—catalogued up to item-level and digitally preserved—is stewarded by *Historicaldialogue.lk* under the terms and conditions of an agreement with S. H. C. de Silva and his family.

(There were moves in 1995 to transfer 12 files of correspondence to the Department of National Archives. Whilst this was facilitated by various politicians, with the Department agreeing to accession the files, it is not clear whether any of the material was transferred. The outcome of this notwithstanding, it is important to note that the preservation of the records was something that figured on the EDSCPO's agenda, presumably spurred by an understanding that the records created, received, and maintained by the Organisation were of significant value and should be made accessible to the public.)

Arrangement: The correspondence and newspaper clippings were arranged by the Secretary in files—consisting of both loose papers and items tied together with shoelace tags and stapled—according to a chronological series. There were other unmarked and miscellaneous files that had correspondence material, newspaper clippings, leaflets, reports and other records.

A listing of the items in the collection could not be located. However, the Secretary did number the records in each correspondence file, which was an additional numbering system to the original reference numbers outlined in Section 1. In a few cases, the letters were renumbered, but in the absence of a listing to confirm the count in each file, it was difficult to rely on and make sense of the numbering. The attempt to develop a total count of the records was focussed on the accumulation of correspondence and did not extend to the other material in the collection.

The original order of the physical files has been maintained and no rearrangement has been carried out with the physical collection. However, after completing the digitisation of the collection, the Archivist arranged the digitised files in the 'Correspondence' series, creating separate files for national correspondence and foreign correspondence. This was done since the Secretary maintained a separate file labelled 'Foreign Correspondence' and therefore the Archivist decided that this should be extended across the entire series. Similarly, series were created to account for the different accumulations of records—some of which did not have any discernible order—and their particular form; for example, 'Scrapbooks', 'Booklets', 'Reports' and 'Leaflets'.

Notes: The other two sub-fonds—the records of the President and Treasurer of the EDSCPO respectively—have not been processed. The records of the EDSCPO's President were inspected by *Historicaldialogue.lk*, but the digitisation of the collection could not be completed due to the CoVID-19 pandemic, which at the time of writing this finding aid continued to restrict work and travel to Embilipitiya. In the case of S. K. Gunaratne's collection, no contact has been established with him or his family, and his collection, assuming it still exists in some form, has not been inspected.

During meetings with the affected families, inquiries were made by *Historicaldialogue.lk* about the collections of the other affected families. It was indicated that some of the parents had passed away and it would be difficult to confirm whether their families had kept their own correspondence and legal records. This is a gap that must be acknowledged since affected families almost always create, receive and maintain records about their loved ones, particularly during on-going court cases and in the attempt to locate them. Whilst a complete fonds is unrealistic, it is important to note that its fair representation would involve tracing, studying and processing the collections of all families that were part of the EDSCPO.

Conditions governing access: Restrictions may apply due to the protection of personal data. Redacted copies may be provided on a case-by-case basis following an assessment of the records by the Archivist.

Conditions governing reproduction: The digitised records, if unrestricted, are made accessible solely for education and research purposes. Rights may be reserved under national copyright law. Responsibility for securing permissions to publish, reproduce and other uses rest with the user. The records will not be circulated and must be accessed at the premises of *Historicaldialogue.lk*.

Archivist's note: Descriptions written by Nigel Nugawela and Chamika Wijesuriya

- ▶ **Series 1: (Newspaper clippings)**
Ref. ESC1/NC
1990-2000, 2014-2015, 2018
Sinhala; English
14 files; 352 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Yellowing newsprint due to oxidation, creasing due to folding of paper, fading ink, notations in blue and red ink; photocopies of newspaper clippings; some clippings pasted on paper; damage caused by silverfish grazing; stains caused by minor liquid spills

Series consists of newspaper articles clipped, collected and maintained by S. H. C. de Silva, the Secretary to the EDSCPO, between 1990 and 2018. The files contain clippings from both English and Sinhala daily, weekend, regional, underground and partisan newspapers. For example, *Thri Shule* was an independent tabloid and *Sulanga* was an independent underground tabloid. The collection also has clippings from *Satana*, *Yukthiya*, *Wiwarana*, *Sirilaka*, which was an SLFP-affiliated paper, and *Rajaliya*, which was a tabloid run by a UNP splinter group (allegedly affiliated with Gamini Dissanayake and Lalith Athulathmudali). The articles specifically focus on the case of the disappeared schoolchildren, interviews with the parents, reportage on the court proceedings, statements by politicians as well as activists, and various other issues of concern, including killings, detention camps, detainees, mass graves, memorialisation, torture, impunity, the struggle for justice, establishing the truth, financial assistance, economic hardships, rule of law and the trauma of the affected families.

This series comprises fourteen (14) files. Many of the files were maintained chronologically by the Secretary. The Archivist created new files to arrange the newspaper clippings found in several unmarked folders.

- 1.1 (Newspaper clippings, 1990)
- 1.2 (Newspaper clippings, 1991)
- 1.3 (Newspaper clippings, 1992)
- 1.4 (Newspaper clippings, 1993)
- 1.5 (Newspaper clippings, 1994)
- 1.6 (Newspaper clippings, 1995)
- 1.7 (Newspaper clippings, 1996)
- 1.8 (Newspaper clippings, 1997)
- 1.9 (Newspaper clippings, 1998)
- 1.10 (Newspaper clippings, 1999)
- 1.11 (Newspaper clippings, 2000)
- 1.12 (Newspaper clippings, 2014)
- 1.13 (Newspaper clippings, 2015)
- 1.14 (Newspaper clippings, 2018)

Conditions governing access: Access to the newspaper clippings is not restricted.

Conditions governing reproduction: The digitised records are made accessible solely for education and research purposes. Rights may be reserved under national copyright law. Responsibility for securing permissions to publish, reproduce and other uses solely rest with the user. The records will not be circulated and must be accessed at the premises of *Historicaldialogue.lk*.

- ▶ **File 1.1: (Newspaper clippings, 1990)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1990
n.d.
Sinhala
1 item; textual record

File consists of a newspaper clipping collected from a Sinhala daily newspaper. The undated article was most probably published in 1994, which was when the Sooriyakanda mass grave was discovered.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Mass graves; Killings; Children; Exhumation; Embilipitiya; Sooriyakanda; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/units/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.2: (Newspaper clippings, 1991)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1991
n.d., March, June, August, December 1991
Sinhala, English
5 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected in 1991 from the following Sinhala and English newspapers in 1991: *The Island*, *Divayina*, *Lankadeepa* and *Ravaya*. One of the articles reports on the establishment of the Human Rights Task Force and the substance of its mandate.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Children; JVP insurrections; Detention; Detainees; Assault; Abductions; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp; Kuttigala Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/units/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.3: (Newspaper clippings, 1992)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1992
n.d., January–December 1992
Sinhala, English
55 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English newspapers in 1992: *Lankadeepa*, *The Island*, *Divayina*, *Aththa*, *Lakdiva*, *Lankadeepa*, *Sulanga*, *Yukthiya*, *Silumina*, *Ravaya*, *The Sunday Times*, *Sirilaka* and *Wiwarana*. The articles cover the details of the enforced disappearance of the schoolchildren; the progress of investigations; and the parents' concerns about the suppression of the truth and the culture of impunity.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Children; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Terrorism; Economic hardships; Emergency Regulations; Abductions; Torture; JVP Insurrections; Killings; Necklacing; Bribery; Mass graves; Exhumation; Threats; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Education; Lamppost killings; Embilipitiya; Boosa Army Camp; Sevana Army Camp; Sooriyakanda

List of individuals/institutions/officials/units/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.4: (Newspaper clippings, 1993)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1993
n.d., January–May, August–December 1993
Sinhala, English
25 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English daily newspapers in 1993: *Aththa*, *Sirilaka*, *Yukthiya*, *Irida Thirimina*, *The Sunday Times*, *Divayina*, *Lakdiva*, *Derana*, *Rajaliya*, *Lankadeepa*, *Silumina*, *Sunday Observer* and *Sirilaka*. The articles in the file report on the suppression of investigations, the lack of responses to the letters written by affected parents and certain aspects of the CID's investigations into the enforced disappearance of the schoolchildren.

List of issues/subjects: Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Corruption; Perpetrators; Truth; Killings; Social Justice; JVP Insurrections; Threats; Children; Education; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Pain; Necklacing; Impunity; Mass graves; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/units/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.5: (Newspaper clippings, 1994)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1994
n.d., January–October 1994
Sinhala, English
73 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English newspapers in 1994: *The Sunday Times*, *Divayina*, *Yukthiya*, *Dinamina*, *Derana*, *Aththa*, *Lankadeepa*, *Thri Shule*, *Hiru*, *Ravaya*, *Satana* and *Sunday Leader*. One article, published in *Dinamina* and drawing on eyewitness testimony, reports on how corpses were brought to Teak Forest in three vehicles. The other articles report on the discovery of the Sooriyakanda mass grave. One article in particular raises questions as to what happened to the Embilipitiya schoolchildren if they were not found at Sooriyakanda.

List of issues/subjects: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Killings; Children; Impunity; Mass graves; JVP Insurrections; Truth; Justice; Exhumation; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Fear; Emergency Regulations; Pain; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Perpetrators; International involvement; Education; Detainees; Detention; Corruption; Forensics; Embilipitiya; Sooriyakanda; Teak Forest; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.6: (Newspaper clippings, 1995)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1995
February–April 1995
Sinhala
7 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English newspapers in 1995: *Ravaya*, *Lakbima* and *Lankadeepa*. The articles report on the enforced disappearance of the schoolchildren and the views of the affected parents about the progress of the case.

List of issues/subjects/places: Enforced disappearances; Human rights; Human rights violations; Mass graves; Abductions; Killings; Detention; Children; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp; Panamure 4th Post Army Camp; Sooriyakanda

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.7: (Newspaper clippings, 1996)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1996
n.d., January–November 1996
Sinhala, English
84 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English daily newspapers in 1996: *Divayina*, *Lankadeepa*, *Dinamina*, *The Sunday Times* and *Daily News*. Many of the articles deal with the proceedings at the High Court of Ratnapura, reproduce excerpts from the testimony of witnesses about the abductions and crimes committed by the perpetrators. Some of the articles also report on the torture of the schoolchildren during their detention at Sevana Army Camp.

List of issues/subjects/places: Enforced disappearances; Human rights; Human rights violations; Abductions; Children; Killings; Detention; Threats; Pain; Fear; Trauma; Torture; Truth; Justice; JVP Insurrections; Shrine of the Innocents; Memorialisation; Monument; Detainees; Assault; Intimidation; Court proceedings; Evidence Ordinance; Education; Psychosocial issues; Necklacing; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp; Panamure 4th Post Army Camp; Teak Forest; Mahaweli Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/units/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.8: (Newspaper clippings, 1997)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1997
n.d., February–December 1997
Sinhala, English
77 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English daily newspapers in 1997: *Lankadeepa*, *Daily News*, *Dinamina*, *Divayina*, *Ravaya* and *Silumina*. Similar to the preceding year, many of the articles deal with the proceedings at the High Court of Ratnapura. A key issue that appears a few times in the content of the reportage is the matter of missing evidence, specifically records relevant to the case at both the Sevana and Panagoda Army Camps. A few articles reproduce excerpts from the testimony/statements of the accused at the High Court.

List of issues/subjects: Enforced disappearances; Human rights; Human rights violations; Abductions; Children; Detention; Killings; Torture; Court proceedings; Bribery; Terrorism; Evidence; Corruption; Records Management; Archives; Assault; Threats; Impunity; Fear; Pain; Memorialisation; Embilipitiya; Panagoda Army Camp; Diyathalawa Camp; Sooriyakanda; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/units/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.9: (Newspaper clippings, 1998)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1998
January, April, July 1998
Sinhala, English
7 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English daily newspapers in 1998: *Lankadeepa*, *Dinamina*, *Daily News* and *Divayina*. The articles report on the developments during the proceedings at the High Court of Ratnapura.

List of issues/subjects/places: Enforced disappearances; Human rights; Human rights violations; Abductions; Detention; Children; Killings; Court proceedings; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp; Panagoda Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.10: (Newspaper clippings, 1999)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/1999
n.d., February–March, June, September–October 1999
Sinhala; English
11 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala and English daily newspapers in 1999: *The Island*, *Dinamina*, *Lakbima*, *Daily News* and *The Sunday Times*. The

articles report on the final judgement in the case heard at the High Court of Ratnapura, the inadequate sentences for the perpetrators, the provision of *samurdhi* support to the affected families by the President of Sri Lanka and other issues related to the case.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Perpetrators; Justice; Law and Order; Children; Court proceedings; Criminal Procedure Code; Abductions; Economic hardships; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Certificate of Death; Compensation; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.11: (Newspaper clippings, 2000)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/2000
September 2000
Sinhala
1 item; textual record

File consists of one newspaper clipping from *Lakbima* in September 2000. The article examines the history of the case and how the enforced disappearance of the students was exploited for electoral purposes.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Compensation; Justice; Children; Economic hardships; Certificate of Death; Necklacing; Teak Forest

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- **File 1.12: (Newspaper clippings, 2014)**
Ref. ESC1/NC/2014
February, December 2014
Sinhala
3 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala daily newspapers in 2014: *Lankadeepa-Thakasalawa* and *Satha*. The articles cover the history of the case. One article in particular reports on the love letter incident involving Dayananda Lokugalapaththi's son and another student at Embilipitiya Central College.

List of issues/subjects: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Children; Torture; Necklacing; Mass graves; Shrine of the Innocents; Memorialisation; Embilipitiya; Teak Forest; Sevana Army Camp; Sooriyakanda

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 1.13: (Newspaper clippings, 2015)**

Ref. ESC1/NC/2015

July, November 2015

Sinhala

2 items; textual records

File consists of newspaper clippings collected from the following Sinhala daily newspapers in 2015: *Mawbima-Satana* and *Rivira*. The articles report on the removal of the Shrine of the Innocents and on the Embilipitiya case.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Reparations; Justice; Children; Truth; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Torture; Shrine of the Innocents; Memorialisation; Necklacing; Mass graves; Embilipitiya; Sooriyakanda

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 1.14: (Newspaper clippings, 2018)**

Ref. ESC1/NC/2018

January 2018

Sinhala

1 item; textual record

File consists of one newspaper clipping from *Divayina* in January 2018. The article provides details about the enforced disappearance of the Embilipitiya schoolchildren, the court proceedings and about the events around the discovery of the mass grave at Sooriyakanda.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Detention; Justice; Children; Truth; Torture; Mass graves; Embilipitiya; Sooriyakanda; Teak Forest

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Series 2: (Correspondence)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD

n.d., 1990–2001, 2008, 2017

English; Sinhala

23 files; 1008 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Yellowing paper and foxing due to oxidation; minor tears; stains; creasing due to folding of paper; discolouration towards the margins of many records due to undersized file covers; tipp-ex used on some records; marks caused by rusty staple pins; hole punches along left and right side of many records; damage to some records caused by silverfish grazing.

This series contains correspondence created, received, and maintained by the EDSCPO. 700-800 letters were written by the EDSCPO to various local and international actors and institutions between 1990 and 2017, highlighting the details of the abduction, detention and torture of the schoolchildren, the progress of the legal proceedings, the identity of the perpetrators and articulating demands for justice. The series does not contain all the letters written and sent by the EDSCPO since this activity was divided amongst the three individuals who were office bearers of the Organisation. Most of the letters dispatched by the EDSCPO in this collection (ESC1) are typed or handwritten file copies, which were filed as carbon copies or photocopies of the original letters. After 1997, some of the correspondence in this collection was sent to recipients without the usual reference number (ESC/XXX).

The correspondence created by the EDSCPO often has a single writer or a single writer with supporting signatures from a number of parents or the signatures of either two or three office bearers. The involvement of the other parents and their activities within the Organisation are aspects that are not captured in this collection.

The series comprises fourteen (14) sub-series:

- 2.1 (Correspondence, 1990)
- 2.2 (Correspondence, 1991)
- 2.3 (Correspondence, 1992)
- 2.4 (Correspondence, 1993)
- 2.5 (Correspondence, 1994)
- 2.6 (Correspondence, 1995)
- 2.7 (Correspondence, 1996)
- 2.8 (Correspondence, 1997)
- 2.9 (Correspondence, 1998)
- 2.10 (Correspondence, 1999)
- 2.11 (Correspondence, 2000)
- 2.12 (Correspondence, 2001)
- 2.13 (Correspondence, 2008)
- 2.14 (Correspondence, 2017)

Conditions governing access: Some restrictions may apply to protect personal data and confidential information.

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- ▶ **Sub-series 2.1: (Correspondence, 1990)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/1990
n.d., February–March, June–December 1990
English; Sinhala
2 files; 66 items; textual records

Sub-series contains one file of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1990. 66 items of correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary.

► **File 2.1.1: (National Correspondence, 1990)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1990

n.d., February–March, June–December 1990

English; Sinhala

65 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1990. Recipients and senders include Ranjan Wijeratne, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Mangala Samaraweera, International Committee of the Red Cross, H. M. Sirisena Herath (Senior Superintendent of Police - Ratnapura Division), Brigadier Ananda Weerasekara and the *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*. Ten affidavits, produced by the affected parents, are also included in the file. The earliest letter received by the parents appears to have been sent by the Embilipitiya Police station on February 27, 1990, over a month after the 6th Artillery Regiment vacated Sevana Army Camp.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Children; Threats; Sevana Army Camp; Necklacing; Detention; Perpetrators; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Impunity; International involvement; Truth; Justice; Corruption; Education; Compensation

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.1.2: (Foreign Correspondence, 1990)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1990

November 1990

English; Sinhala

1 item; textual record

File consists of one item of foreign correspondence created by the EDSCPO in November 1990.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Children; Perpetrators; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Impunity; International involvement

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.2: (Correspondence, 1991)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1991

n.d., January, June–December 1991

English; Sinhala

2 files; 88 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1991. 88 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary. Since starting in 1990, the EDSCPO had written 175 letters to various individuals and organisations by August 1991.

► **File 2.2.1: (National Correspondence, 1991)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1991

n.d., January, June–December 1991

English; Sinhala

81 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1991. Recipients and senders include Mahinda Rajapaksa, Bradman Weerakoon, Justice J. F. A Soza, Bar Association of Sri Lanka, *Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal of Persons*, Vasudeva Nanyakkara, D. B. Wijetunga, Lalith Athulathmudali, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, Nanda Mathew, Archbishop's House, Mothers' Front, Gamini Athukorale, Nimal Siripala de Silva and Desmond Fernando. The correspondence sent to various public officials and institutions provides details about the abduction and disappearance of the schoolchildren. The parents also request for the appointment of an independent commission of inquiry and for the perpetrators to be brought to justice.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Children; Detention; Killings; Abductions; Perpetrators; Corruption; Truth; Pain; Justice; Detainees; Bribery; Torture; Sexual Violence; Social Justice; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.2.2: (Foreign Correspondence, 1991)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1991

July, October–December 1991

English

7 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO during 1991. Recipients and senders include *Amnesty International* and the *United Nations Centre for Human Rights*. The content of the correspondence primarily focusses on the request for information and the clarification of details about the case. One item confirms a meeting between the affected parents and Bradman Weerakoon, who promised to hold an inquiry into the enforced disappearance of their children.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Sevana Army Camp; Panamure 4th Post Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

▶ **Sub-series 2.3: (Correspondence, 1992)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1992
n.d., January–December 1992
English; Sinhala
2 files; 187 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1992. 187 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary. The EDSCPO had written 426 letters to various individuals and organisations by November 1992.

▶ **File 2.3.1: (National Correspondence, 1992)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1992
n.d., January–December 1992
English; Sinhala
172 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1992. Recipients and senders include Nimal Siripala de Silva, Mangala Samaraweera, Lalith Athulathmudali, Ranasinghe Premadasa, *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*, Mahinda Rajapaksa, Criminal Investigation Department, D. B. Wijetunga, Hemakumara Nanayakkara, G. P. S. De Silva, W. D. J. Seneviratne, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, Justice J. F. A. Soza, *National Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Human Development*, *International Committee of the Red Cross*, and Arthur C. Clarke. The correspondence sent by the affected parents to various public officials requests information on the whereabouts of the disappeared schoolchildren and the appointment of an independent commission of inquiry. The parents wrote to the editors of various daily and weekend newspapers requesting them to continue their coverage of the case. The file also has a letter sent by the parents to President Ranasinghe Premadasa asking him to confirm whether their children are alive or dead.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Torture; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Bribery; Detention; Detainees; Threats; Social justice; Corruption; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Assault; Necklacing; Sexual Violence; Extortion; Fear; Financial assistance; Tracing; International involvement; Emergency Regulations; Economic hardships; Court proceedings; Embilipitiya; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.3.2: (Foreign Correspondence, 1992)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1992
January–April, October–December 1992
English
15 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1992. Recipients and senders include *Amnesty International* and representatives of various diplomatic missions, some of whom brought the case to the attention of the authorities and pressed for immediate action.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Impunity; International involvement; Embilipitiya

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.4: (Correspondence, 1993)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1993
n.d., January–December 1993
English; Sinhala
2 files; 242 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1993. 242 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary. Since starting in 1990, the EDSCPO had written 543 letters to various individuals and organisations by December 1993.

► **File 2.4.1: (National correspondence, 1993)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1993
n.d., January–December 1993
English; Sinhala
224 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1993. Recipients and senders include D. B. Wijetunga, Hamilton Wanasinghe, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, Athauda Seneviratne, Tilak Marapana, Premadasa Udugampola, Ranil Wickremesinghe, Oswald B. Firth, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, *Ministry of Defence*, *Sarvodaya Legal Services*, Maithripala Sirisena, Nimal Siripala de Silva, Jeyaraj Fernandopulle, Mangala Samaraweera and Justice J. F. A. Soza. The correspondence sent by the affected parents underlines the right to justice, points to the lack of action and requests for an independent commission of inquiry to be established. Other items in the file refer to meetings that took place and to court proceedings.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Children; Assault; Truth; Justice;

Perpetrators; Detention; Sevana Army Camp; Mass graves; JVP Insurrections; Killings; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Law and Order; Sooriyakanda; Women; Torture; Teak Forest; Rape; Sexual violence; Detainees; Bribery; Corruption; Threats; Impunity; Financial assistance; Awareness; Habeas corpus; Social justice; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Tracing

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.4.2: (Foreign correspondence, 1993)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1993

January–April, July, October–December 1993

English

18 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1993. Recipients and senders include *Amnesty International*, Lord Eric Avebury, *Citizens Advice Bureau* and several diplomatic missions. The correspondence refers to efforts by individuals and organisations to publicise the case in various international fora.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; International involvement; Financial assistance; Emergency Regulations; Torture; Independent Commission of Inquiry

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.5: (Correspondence, 1994)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1994

n.d., January–July, September 1994

English; Sinhala

2 files; 68 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1994. 68 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary. Since starting in 1991, the EDSCPO had written 555 letters to various individuals and organisations by 1994.

► **File 2.5.1: (National correspondence, 1994)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1994

n.d., January–July, September 1994

English; Sinhala

48 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1994. Recipients and senders include Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Nandimithra Ekanayake, Mahinda Amaraweera, Suriya Wickremasinghe (*Civil Rights Movement*), S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, *Criminal Investigation Department*, Justice J. F. A. Soza, Nimal Siripala de Silva and Sirima Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike. The mass grave at Sooriyakanda was discovered in 1994 and is referred to in some correspondence. The file has letters of support from numerous individuals and organisations, including commitments to publicise the case and to take it up with international human rights organisations. The correspondence authored by the EDSCPO underscores, as in previous years, the lack of action on the part of the government, concerns about impunity and the need for information on the whereabouts of the schoolchildren.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Children; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; International involvement; Corruption; Mass graves; Exhumation; Emergency Regulations; Detention; Detainees; Torture; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Pain; Embilipitiya; Sooriyakanda; Sevana Army Camp; Teak Forest

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.5.2: (Foreign correspondence, 1994)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1994
January–June 1994
English
20 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1993. Recipients and senders include Amnesty International, Lord Eric Avebury, Anita Pollack and Prins Gunasekara. The correspondence refers to efforts by individuals and organisations to publicise the case in international fora.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; International involvement; Impunity; Sooriyakanda; Exhumation; Sevana Army Camp; Forensics; Fear; Threats; Mass graves; Intimidation; Torture; Independent Commission of Inquiry

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.6: (Correspondence, 1995)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1995
n.d., January–December 1995
English; Sinhala
2 files; 231 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1995. 231 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary. Since starting in 1990, the EDSCPO had written 712 letters to various individuals and organisations by September 1995.

► **File 2.6.1: (National correspondence, 1995)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1995
n.d., January–December 1995
English; Sinhala
167 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1995. Recipients and senders include Ministry of Defence, K. D. G. Wimalaratne, Nalanda Ellawala, Sirima Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike, Pavithra Wanniarachchi, Mangala Samaraweera, Suriya Wickremasinghe (*Civil Rights Movement*), Mahinda Rajapaksa, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, *Attorney-General's Department*, Batty Weerakoon and M. C. M. Iqbal. There are letters from the Director of the *Department of National Archives* addressed to S. K. Gunaratne, confirming that the files of the EDSCPO, if transferred, can be preserved whilst being accessible to the public at the Department. The other items of correspondence focus on employment opportunities, legal aid, the financial situation of the parents, and complaints about the proceedings of the 1994 Commission of Inquiry. The parents also articulate their disappointment about not knowing after 64 months what happened to their children and why they were abducted by the military.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Children; Memorialisation; Monument; Perpetrators; Employment opportunities; Detention; Detainees; Killings; Abductions; Witness protection; Truth; Justice; Legal aid; Financial assistance; Necklacing; Impunity; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Mass graves; Corruption; Education; Governance; Threats; International involvement; Fear; Intimidation; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Law and Order; Compensation; Sexual violence; Sevana Army Camp; Teak Forest; Sooriyakanda

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.6.2: (Foreign correspondence, 1995)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1995
March–December 1995
English
64 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1995. Recipients and senders include *Amnesty International*; Lord Eric Avebury; *United Nations Centre for Human Rights*; *DanChurchAid*; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada; *Canadian International Development Agency*; and the *Norwegian Human Rights Fund*.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; International involvement; Financial assistance; Torture; Advocacy; Rule of law; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Monument; Impunity; Court proceedings; Detention; Detainees; Monument; Grief; Political interference; Intimidation; Threats

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- ▶ **Sub-series 2.7: (Correspondence, 1996)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/1996
n.d., January–August, October–December 1996
English; Sinhala
2 files; 57 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1996. 57 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary. Since starting in 1990, the EDSCPO had written 751 letters to various individuals and organisations by October 1996.

- ▶ **File 2.7.1: (National correspondence, 1996)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1996
n.d., January–March, June–July, October, December 1995
English; Sinhala
28 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1996. Recipients and senders include K. D. G Wimalaratne, Mangala Samaraweera, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, the Presidential Secretariat and various ministries. The correspondence created by the affected parents mentions previous requests for action against the perpetrators, the need for witness protection in ongoing court proceedings and the construction of a monument.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Killings; Children; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Impunity; Monument; Memorialisation; Habeas Corpus; Court proceedings; Torture; Teak Forest; Witness protection; Detention; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- ▶ **File 2.7.2: (Foreign correspondence, 1996)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1996
January–August, October–November 1996
English

29 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1996. Recipients and senders include Lord Eric Avebury; *DanChurchAid*; *Canadian International Development Agency*; Prins Gunasekara; and the *Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade*. The letters cover issues pertaining to the financial support of the EDSCPO, concerns about the promotion of the perpetrators within the military and the continued advocacy efforts of various international actors and organisations.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Impunity; Advocacy; International involvement; Teak Forest; Sooriyakanda; Judiciary; Law and Order; Sevana Army Camp; Financial assistance; Threats; Fear; Monument

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.8: (Correspondence, 1997)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1997

n.d., January–July, September–December 1997

English; Sinhala

2 files; 37 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1997. 37 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary.

► **File 2.8.1: (National correspondence, 1997)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1997

January–June, September, November–December 1997

English; Sinhala

33 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1997. Recipients and senders include Pavithra Wanniarachchi, *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*, *Sri Lanka Broadcasting Unit*, *Kalape Api*, Police Headquarters, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, the Presidential Secretariat, SEDEC, *Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation* and various ministries. The letters focus on the provision of compensation to the families of the disappeared children, legal assistance for the families of the disappeared in the district of Ratnapura, protecting witnesses appearing in the case at the High Court of Ratnapura and commemorative events organised by the *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; JVP Insurrections; Children; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Justice; Court proceedings; Financial assistance;

Employment opportunities; Witness protection; Shrine of the Innocents; Monument; Memorialisation

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 2.8.2: (Foreign correspondence, 1997)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1997

February, July, September, October 1997

English

4 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1997. Recipients and senders include the *Canadian International Development Agency* and a member of *Amnesty International's* student chapter at the *University of Toronto*. The letters address the progress of the trial at the High Court of Ratnapura, the threats against the prosecution's witnesses and financial assistance for the EDSCPO's activities.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Impunity; Monument; International assistance; Sevana Army Camp; Threats; Intimidation; Witness protection; Financial assistance

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.9: (Correspondence, 1998)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/1998

May, August, October, December 1998

Sinhala

1 file; 7 items; paper

Sub-series contains one file of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1998. 7 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary.

► **File 2.9.1: (National Correspondence, 1998)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1998

May, August, October, December 1998

Sinhala

7 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1998. Recipients and senders include Bradman Weerakoon, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*, and the Presidential Secretariat. The letters refer to compensation to be provided

to the affected families, the issue of employment opportunities and the construction of a monument to memorialise the disappeared schoolchildren.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Children; Employment opportunities; Killings; JVP Insurrections; Justice; Perpetrators; Impunity; Pain; Compensation; Assault; Monument; Memorialisation; Abductions

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- ▶ **Sub-series 2.10: (Correspondence, 1999)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/1999
n.d., January–March, May, November 1999
English; Sinhala
2 files; 12 items; textual records

Sub-series contains two files of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1999. 12 items of national and foreign correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary.

- ▶ **File 2.10.1: (National correspondence, 1999)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/1999
n.d., January–March, May, November 1999
English; Sinhala
10 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1999. Recipients and senders include *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*, S. H. Chandrapala de Silva and the *Sudu Nelum Movement*. One letter draws attention to how the perpetrators in the case are receiving 'royal treatment' in prison. The other letters address different aspects of the case and relevant developments, including the Shrine of the Innocents.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; JVP Insurrections; Memorialisation; Monument; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Punishment; JVP Insurrections; Pain

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

- ▶ **File 2.10.2: (Foreign correspondence, 1999)**
Ref. ESC1/CPD/F/1999
January–March 1999
English
2 items; textual records

File consists of foreign correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 1999. Recipients and senders include *Amnesty International* and a member of *Amnesty International's* student chapter at the *University of Toronto*. The letters focus on the verdict at the High Court of Ratnapura and express concerns about the sentences and acquittals.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Intimidation; Threats; Impunity; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

▶ **Sub-series 2.11: (Correspondence, 2000)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/2000

October, December 2000

Sinhala

1 file; 2 items; textual records

Sub-series contains one file of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 2000. 2 items of national correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary.

▶ **File 2.11.1: (National correspondence, 2000)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/2000

October, December 2000

Sinhala

2 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 2000. One letter is authored by S. H. Chandrapala de Silva. There is also a form signed by the Grama Niladhari.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; JVP Insurrections; Children

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

▶ **Sub-series 2.12: (Correspondence, 2001)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/2001

n.d., February–May, July, October 2001

Sinhala

1 file; 9 items; textual records

Sub-series contains one file of correspondence created, received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 2001. 9 items of national correspondence were collected and filed by the Secretary.

► **File 2.12.1: (National correspondence, 2001)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/2001

n.d., February–May, July, October 2001

Sinhala

9 items; textual records

File consists of national correspondence created, received and maintained by EDSCPO in 2001. Recipients and senders include *Organisation of Parents and Family Members of the Disappeared*, *Sri Lanka Army Headquarters*, *Ministry of Defence*, *Embilipitiya Disappeared School Children's Parents' Organisation* and the Presidential Secretariat. A few letters exchanged between the EDSCPO and the Presidential Secretariat bring up the parents' demand for the immediate removal of the perpetrators from active military service.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Children; Perpetrators; Lustration

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Sub-series 2.13: (Correspondence, 2008)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/2008

January 2008

Sinhala

1 file; 1 item; textual record

Sub-series contains one file of correspondence received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 2008.

► **File 2.13.1: (National correspondence, 2008)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/2008

January 2008

Sinhala

1 item; textual record

File consists of national correspondence received and maintained by the EDSCPO in 2008. There is one letter from the Presidential Secretariat about a meeting with President Mahinda Rajapaksa.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Children

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

▶ **Sub-series 2.14: (Correspondence, 2017)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/2017

September 2017

Sinhala

1 file; 1 item; textual record

Sub-series contains one file of correspondence created and maintained by the EDSCPO in 2017.

▶ **File 2.14.1: (National correspondence, 2017)**

Ref. ESC1/CPD/N/2017

September 2017

Sinhala

1 item; textual record

File consists of one item of national correspondence created by the EDSCPO and sent to the relevant ministry for reconciliation and co-existence in 2017. The letter, penned by S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, refers to the removal of the 'Shrine of the Innocents' and requests for a specific site—identified by the affected parents—to be allocated by the state for the construction of a new memorial.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Killings; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Children; Monument; Memorialisation; Shrine of the Innocents

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

▶ **Series 3: (Scrapbooks)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK

1991–1995

Sinhala; English

6 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Foxing; yellowing; fading newsprint; creasing of pages due to folding; minor tears; important/relevant sections of clippings underlined in red ink; damage caused by silverfish to the covers of the scrapbooks

The scrapbooks contain newspaper clippings collected between 1991 and 1995 and maintained by S. H. Chandrapala de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO. The clippings have been pasted on the pages of exercise books and old magazines.

Conditions governing access: Some material may be restricted.

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▶ **Item 3.1: (Scrapbook, 1991-1992)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK/1
Sinhala; English
Textual records

Scrapbook contains newspaper clippings collected between 1991 and 1992 from the following newspapers: *Sunday Times*, *Lankadeepa*, *Silumina*, *Aththa*, *Irida Divaina*, *Divaina*, *Sirilaka*, *Irida Lankadeepa*, *Workers News*, and *The Island*. An article from the *Workers News* (May 15, 1992, Page 9) reports on the indictment of Premadasa Udugampola (DIG) and Lokubanda Wanigasekara (Editor of *Aththa*).

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Detention; Detainees; Children; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; JVP Insurrections; Killings; Law and Order; Justice; Impunity; Habeas corpus; Perpetrators; Court proceedings; Court of Appeal; Threats; Intimidation; Necklacing; Assault; Sevana Army Camp; Independent Commission of Inquiry

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

▶ **Item 3.2: (Scrapbook, 1991-1993)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK/2
Sinhala; English
Textual records

Scrapbook contains newspaper clippings collected between 1991 and 1993 from the following newspapers: *Ravaya*, *Yukthiya*, *Irida Lankadeepa*, *Lakdiva* and *Sirilaka*. The scrapbook is covered with a paper that reads "The Fear of Terror—The Beauty of Life". A news report published in *Ravaya*, dated June 14, 1992, covers Premadasa Udugampola's interview on the case of the disappeared schoolchildren from Embilipitiya Central College. The scrapbook also contains an interview with the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports, Nanda Mathew, who briefly discusses the case of the disappeared schoolchildren.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Detention; Detainees; Children; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; JVP Insurrections; Killings; Torture; Rape; Sexual violence; Looting; Theft; Terrorism; Law and Order; Justice; Impunity

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Item 3.3: (Scrapbook, 1992)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK/3

Sinhala; English

Textual records

Scrapbook contains newspaper clippings collected in 1992 from the following newspapers: *Ravaya*, *Divaina*, *The Island*, *The Sunday Times*, *Sunday Observer*, *Aththa*, *Dinamina*, *Irida*, *Lankadeepa*, *Lankadeepa*, *Haraya*, *Samaja Wadiya* and *Sulanga*. The scrapbook is covered with a paper that reads "For Peace And Justice In Society". The scrapbook contains articles referring to ongoing investigations and legal proceedings about the case of the disappeared schoolchildren. One article, dated October 15, 1992, reports that the Criminal Investigation Department has questioned seventy-eight people in connection with the case of the disappeared schoolchildren. Another article, dated October 15, 1992, in *Lankadeepa* reports that the parents of the disappeared schoolchildren have started legal proceedings against the Principal of the College, the Principal's son and eight army officers.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Killings; JVP insurrections; Children; Governance; Detainees; Detention; Democracy; Sevana Army Camp; Court proceedings; Justice

List of individuals/institutions/officials/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Item 3.4: (Scrapbook, 1992-1995)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK/4

Sinhala; English

Textual records

Scrapbook contains newspaper clippings collected between 1992 and 1995 from the following newspapers: *Ravaya*, *Lakdiva*, *Divayina*, *Aththa*, *Haraya*, *Daily News*, *Sunday Times*, *The Island* and *Lankadeepa*. One half of the cover shows a page of the magazine used as the scrapbook and the other half is pasted over with a pamphlet titled 'Embilipitiya Fields of Corpses'. The clippings in this scrapbook include two newspaper photographs. One is captioned "Brigadier Rohan Parakrama Liyanage is escorted to the 'black maria' by prison officials when he and five other army officers were remanded in connection with the Embilipitiya students disappearance case." The other is captioned 'Embilipitiya Maha Vidyalaya Principal Loku Galappatty and four other suspects escorted to the court office to sign the bail bond, after they were released.' (Pictures by Susantha Liyanawatta). An article in *The Island* reports on a series of promotions within the Army, which took place in 1993. Amongst the officers promoted to the rank of Brigadier was Rohan Parakrama Liyanage, who was also the Commander of the 6th Artillery Regiment at Sevana Camp in Embilipitiya. Another article in *The Island* reports on the disappeared schoolchildren's parents' demands for an independent commission of inquiry and the shortcomings of the commission appointed in 1991. The article also carries a quote by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Killings; Sooriyakanda; Mass graves; Exhumation;

Democracy; Detention; Torture; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Court proceedings; Detainees; Detention camps; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Assault; Impunity; Social justice; Sevana Army Camp; Teak Forest

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Item 3.5: (Scrapbook, 1992-1993)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK/5

Sinhala; English

Textual records

Scrapbook contains newspaper clippings collected between 1992 and 1993 from the following newspapers: *Irida Sulanga*, *Sinhalaya*, *Ravaya*, *Divaina*, *Irida Lankadeepa*, and *Lakdiva*. Similar to ESC1/SBK/2, this scrapbook is also covered with a paper that reads 'The Fear of Terror-The Beauty of Life'. The scrapbook contains articles referring to ongoing investigations and the legal proceedings in relation to the enforced disappearance of the schoolchildren in Embilipitiya.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Arbitrary Arrests; State oppression; JVP Insurrections; Killings; Intimidation; Torture; White Van; Necklacing; Abductions; Perpetrators; Threats; Assault; Education; Detainees; Truth; Impunity; Detention camps; Pain; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Item 3.6: (Scrapbook, 1993-1995)**

Ref. ESC1/SBK/6

Sinhala; English

Textual records

Scrapbook contains newspaper clippings collected between 1993 and 1995 from the following newspapers: *Divayina*, *Lankadeepa* and *Silumina*. One half of the front cover shows a page of the magazine used as the scrapbook and the other half has a page with two poems pasted over it. The scrapbook contains articles reporting on the torture and enforced disappearance of the schoolchildren as well as the legal proceedings initiated by the parents of schoolchildren. Two articles published in *Divayina* report on the testimonies of the parents who witnessed their children being abducted. Another article published in *Divayina* reports on the testimony of K. K. D Stephen who saw burn marks on his son's body whilst both of them were detained at Sevana Army Camp. The testimonies name the army officers responsible and one individual ('Maithree') leading the group that was responsible for some of the abductions within the district.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Torture; Assault; Necklacing; Corruption;

Perpetrators; Detainees; Justice; Threats; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Truth; Arbitrary arrests; Emergency regulations; Extortion; Intimidation; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Series 4: (Booklets)**

Ref. ESC1/BKL

n.d., February 1994

Sinhala

2 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Yellowing paper due to oxidation; creasing of paper due to folding and handling

One booklet is authored by Sani Wijesinghe and the other by *Yukthiya*. These were collected and maintained by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO.

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► **Item 4.1: (Booklet, 1993)**

Ref. ESC1/BKL/1993

1993

Sinhala

1 item; 41 pages; textual record

The booklet, authored by Sani Wijesinghe, is about D. M. Seneviratne, Member of the Sabaragamuwa Provincial Council, and his contributions to various issues. The booklet contains passages—underlined by S. H. C. de Silva—about the disappearance of the schoolchildren in Embilipitiya.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Sexual Violence; Abductions; Children; Perpetrators; Justice; Democracy

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Item 4.2: (Booklet, 1994)**

Ref. ESC1/BKL/1994

February 21, 1994

Sinhala

1 item; 53 pages; textual record

The booklet uses excerpts from news articles published in *Ravaya*, *Yukthiya*, *Hiru*, *Sirilaka*, *Aththa*, *The Island*, *Divaina*, *Lankadeepa* and *The Times*. Page six contains a list of names of the disappeared schoolchildren from Embilipitiya Central College and other schools in the area.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Torture; Assault; Children; Necklacing; Perpetrators; Detainees; Detention; Democracy; Justice; Threats; Truth; Arbitrary arrests; Intimidation; Sooriyakanda; Mass graves; Exhumation; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Series 5: (Miscellaneous items)**

Ref. ESC1/MSC

1994, 2005, n.d.

Sinhala; English

1 file; 43 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Yellowing paper and foxing due to oxidation; minor tears along the edges of many records; hole punches; fading ink; damage caused by the surface grazing of silverfish; creasing of paper due to folding and handling

The series consists of miscellaneous items collected and maintained by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO. A majority of the items are undated; however, it is assumed that most of the material was created and received between the mid and late 1990s.

Conditions governing access: Some restrictions may apply to protect personal data and confidential information.

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► **File 5.1: (Miscellaneous items [1994, 2005, n.d.]**

Ref. ESC1/MSC/1

1994, 2005, n.d.

Sinhala; English

43 items; textual records

The file contains poems, posters, handwritten notes, newspaper clippings, correspondence and other records related to the case. One of the items is a photograph of the fathers of the disappeared schoolchildren. A similar photograph of the mothers of the disappeared schoolchildren was printed in the newspapers, but neither the original nor a copy could be found in the collection.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Abductions; Children; Court proceedings; Justice; Threats; Truth; Perpetrators; Pain; Sevana Army Camp; Memorialisation; Monument; Detainees; Detention; Impunity; Necklacing; Trauma; Psychosocial issues; Compensation; Mass graves; Killings; Exhumation; Sooriyakanda

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Series 6: (Leaflets)**

Ref. ESC1/LEA

1992, 1993, 1996

Sinhala

1 file; 4 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Yellowing paper due to oxidation; marks from rusty staple pins; creasing due to folding of paper

Leaflets collected by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO. The leaflets pertain to the enforced disappearance of the Embilipitiya schoolchildren and other issues.

Conditions governing access: Some material may be restricted.

Conditions governing reproduction: The digitised records, if unrestricted, are made accessible solely for education and research purposes. Rights may be reserved under national copyright law. Responsibility for securing permissions to publish, reproduce and other uses rest with the user. The records will not be circulated and must be accessed at the premises of *Historicaldialogue.lk*.

► **File 6.1: (Leaflets [1992, 1993, 1996])**

Ref. ESC1/LEA/1

1992, 1993, 1996

Sinhala

4 items; textual records

The file contains four leaflets. One of the leaflets is a piece of prose written by an affected parent, and another provides directions to the Shrine of the Innocents.

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Children; Truth; Justice; Detention; Sevana Army Camp; Pain; Torture; Terrorism; Shrine of the Innocents; Monument

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Series 7: (Court records)**

Ref. ESC1/COU

1993, 1995

English

1 file; 2 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Marks from rusty staple pins; creasing due to folding of paper; stains; black scuff marks on pages; yellowing paper due to oxidation; hole punches along left side of one record

Court records received and collected by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO.

Conditions governing access: Some material may be restricted.

Conditions governing reproduction: The digitised records, if unrestricted, are made accessible solely for education and research purposes. Rights may be reserved under national copyright law. Responsibility for securing permissions to publish, reproduce and other uses rest with the user. The records will not be circulated and must be accessed at the premises of *Historicaldialogue.lk*.

► **File 7.1: (Court records [1993, 1995])**

Ref. ESC1/COU/1

January 1993, August 1995

English

2 items; textual records

The file contains two records. The first record is the written testimony concerning the assault and arrest of Mahinda Rajapaksa and Vasudeva Nanayakkara at a satyagraha in 1992. The second record is a Court of Appeal notice in relation to H.C.A 419/92 (Petitioner: S. H. Chandrapala de Silva).

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Protest; Assault; Embilipitiya; Abductions; Killings; Children; Perpetrators

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **Series 8: (Reports)**

Ref. ESC1/REP

1992, 1993, 2000

English

3 files; 4 items; textual records

Physical characteristics: Yellowing paper; foxing; marks caused by rusty staple pins; stains; underlined text; photocopy noise; one report has hole punches along the left margin

Reports collected by S. H. C. de Silva, Secretary to the EDSCPO. The file consists of four reports published by the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights* (1992), *Amnesty International* (1993) and the *Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal and Disappearance of Certain Persons (All Island)*

(2000). Two of the three international reports refer to the Embilipitiya case. The *Commission of Inquiry* report refers to measures of redress and other issues of relevance to the affected families. The other report is a commentary on emergency regulations.

Conditions governing access: There are no restrictions on these records.

Conditions governing reproduction: The digitised records are made accessible solely for education and research purposes. Rights may be reserved under national copyright law. Responsibility for securing permissions to publish, reproduce and other uses rest with the user. Some records will not be circulated and must be accessed at the premises of *Historicaldialogue.lk*.

► **File 8.1: (Reports, 1992)**

Ref. ESC1/REP/1

English

January 1992

1 item; textual record

Published by the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights*, the report is an update of issues examined in a previous report (1992). Chapter 1 - context of violence in which disappearances occur. Chapter 2 - Legal and institutional framework. Chapter 3 - evaluation of the continuing practice of discrimination. Chapter 4 - position taken by non-governmental organisations. Chapter 5 - conclusions and recommendations. The report is available to download [here](#).

List of issues/subjects/places: Embilipitiya; Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Abductions; Truth; Justice; Perpetrators; Children; Judiciary; Mass killings; Deprivation of liberty; Prevention of Terrorism Act; Detention; Independent Commission of Inquiry; Detention camps; Rehabilitation camps; Sevana Army Camp

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

RESTRICTED

► **File 8.2: (Reports, 1993)**

Ref. ESC1/REP/2

English

February 1993

2 items; textual records

The file contains two reports by Amnesty International. The first examines the amendments made by the Premadasa administration to the emergency regulations. The second presents the findings of an AI delegation that visited the country in 1992. This report is available to download [here](#).

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights; Human rights violations; Enforced disappearances; Killings; Detention; Arrests; Custodial deaths; Detainees; Rehabilitation; Children; Perpetrators; Truth; Justice; Torture; Intimidation; Threats; Emergency Regulations; Commission of Inquiry Act; Prevention of Terrorism Act; Embilipitiya

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

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► **File 8.3: (Reports, 2000)**

Ref. ESC1/REP/3

English

May 2000

1 item; textual record

The file contains a copy of Part 1, Chapter 6, titled 'Recommendations on Relief to Affected Persons', of the Final Report of the *Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal and Disappearance of Certain Persons (All Island)* (2000). The chapter provides a compendium of recommendations from all four commissions (three zonal commissions and the all-island commission), specifically in relation to relief for affected persons, namely parents, spouses and the dependents of disappeared persons. There are also recommendations for specific issues, such as payment of monetary compensation; scholarship programmes; vocational and skills training; economic rehabilitation; recovery of monies; unauthorised occupation of state land; death certificates; advisory services bureau; relief to the families of disappeared state employees; and a monitoring committee.

List of issues/subjects/places: Human rights violations; Human rights; Enforced disappearances; Children; Perpetrators; Truth; Justice; Compensation; Memorialisation; Monument; Psychosocial issues; Trauma; Shrine of the Innocents; Monument for the Disappeared; Certificate of Death

List of individuals/institutions/officials/actors/collectives mentioned:

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★

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REST IN POWER, MR. CHANDRAPALA DE SILVA.

★

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