

Genocidal Sex Abuse Against Eelam Tamil Women by the Sri Lankan State

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Abbreviations

Cease Fire Agreement	CFA
Government of Sri Lanka	GoSL
International Committee of Red Cross	ICRC
International Non-Governmental Organisations	iNGOs
Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission	LLRC
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	LTTE
Sri Lanka Army	SLA

Executive Summary

Eelam Tamil women are being subjected to a wide range of sexual abuses as part of a systematic campaign of genocide against their nation by the Sri Lankan state. This report analyses pattern of sexual violence since end of the armed conflict in May 2009 to demonstrate need for international action to halt the genocide.

Historical Context

Eelam Tamil nation with their historic homeland to the north and east of the island now considered as part of Sri Lanka have been subjected to a systematic campaign of genocide by the neighbouring Sinhala nation since British colonial power departed in 1948.

Armed Conflict

From 1978 to 2009 Eelam Tamils waged a campaign of armed resistance to Sinhala military occupation of their homeland. Sri Lanka crushed Tamil resistance in May 2009. During the final phase of the armed conflict, from September 2008 to May 2009, UN, ICRC and other international representatives were barred from the Tamil region by the GoSL. Within that time, again, a whole host of war crimes and crimes against humanity, including rape as weapon of war, are alleged to have occurred, according to UN reports. More than 147, 000 Tamil civilians were killed or disappeared during the eight months.

Sexual Abuse Against Eelam Tamil Women

Cultural conservatism and ancient gender roles still prevalent in Eelam Tamil society are being exploited by Sri Lankan military, paramilitary, intelligence and higher civil structures to prevent births of Tamil children by subjecting Eelam Tamil women to humiliation, mutilation and rape. Societal norms on exposure of body parts and virginity at marriage have ensured that the females being publicly interrogated; including strip searched, randomly mutilated and raped, either commit suicide or lead a life of seclusion.

Ex LTTE Members

Ex members of the LTTE, both male and female, are the only members of Eelam Tamil society to have emancipated to the level at which a victim of humiliation, mutilation or rape overcomes the suffering and goes on to procreate. Ex female cadres of the LTTE are, therefore, being specifically targeted. Many are repeatedly raped at internment camps or during weekly interrogations and are released only post safe abortion period. They are left with choices of taking their own life, attempting high risk abortion or giving birth to the child of a Sinhala soldier. They are also kept under surveillance and away from ex male LTTE cadres, who are the only men likely to marry women who have been victims of sexual abuse. Many have also been sterilized against their will.

Genocidal Intent

Eelam Tamil women across the Tamil homeland, irrespective of age or any other strata, have been subjected to sexual abuse. Ex members of the LTTE are subjected to additional abuse. These are not crimes committed by a few depraved soldiers acting in isolation. The pattern of sexual abuse points to a systematic campaign aimed at preventing births within a national group.

Recommendations to the International Community

- Recognise that the wide array of sexual abuses committed by Sri Lankan state apparatus, including military, against Eelam Tamil women are part of a systematic campaign of genocide against a nation of people.
 - Compel the government of Sri Lanka to withdraw all of its armed forces from the Tamil homeland and free all Eelam Tamils it keeps in detention on the basis of their national identity.
 - Initiate an immediate independent international investigation into the genocide of Eelam Tamils in the island of Sri Lanka.
 - Conduct a referendum to ascertain the political aspiration of Eelam Tamils, both in the homeland and the diaspora, with a free and sovereign state of Tamil Eelam as an explicit option.
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I. Historical Context

1. Until the advent of European colonialism in the Indian Ocean, there existed an independent Eelam Tamil kingdom to the north and east of the island now claimed as Sri Lanka.¹ In 1833, for administrative convenience, the British amalgamated the north and east, and the southern parts of the island into a single entity of governance.²

2. Since the departure of the British, the Sinhala nation has been engaged in a systematic campaign of genocide against the Eelam Tamil nation. Genocidal acts have included periodic massacres, including most notable ones in 1958, 1972, 1974, 1977, 1981 and 1983, and legislative measures, including imposition of 'Sinhala Only' as official language, 'standardisation' of education to reduce Tamil graduates, declaration of Buddhism as state religion and state aided colonisation of lands in Tamil region.³

¹ Known as the Jaffna Kingdom and politically separate from the neighbouring kingdom for more than 200 continuous and several cumulative centuries, it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1619. See, e.g., Abeyasinghe, T., *Portuguese rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612*, p. 16-17

² Established by the then British Colonial Office. See, e.g., Ludowyk, E., *The modern history of Ceylon*, p.57

³ In response to repressive measures Tamil leaders suggested models of self-determination, these were responded to with violence. 1974 violence was Sinhala police led attacks on World Tamil Research

3. From 1948 to 1977 Eelam Tamil political representatives attempted many models of self-determination for the traditional Tamil homeland. Every attempt was met with worsened scale of violent opposition.⁴ In 1977 Tamils proposed 'Vaddukoddai resolution' a declaration of intent to re-establish sovereignty over their homeland by all necessary measures.⁵ The resolution received popular mandate from more than two thirds of people living in the Tamil homeland in the 1977 general elections.⁶

4. In response to the increasing violent oppression and in accordance with the people's mandate for re-establishment of sovereignty, during the late 1970s Tamil youths took to armed struggle against the occupying Sri Lankan military. During this period the LTTE emerged as the most prominent of many militant organisations that had risen from universities and colleges.

5. By 2002 the LTTE had earned sovereignty over more than 70% of the Tamil homeland. In order to bring the conflict to a peaceful end, the LTTE entered into a Norwegian assisted international treaty known as the CFA with the GoSL.⁷

6. In January 2008 the GoSL unilaterally withdrew from the CFA.⁸ In September 2008 it ordered all UN agencies, iNGOs, independent media and ICRC to leave areas under the governance of the LTTE.⁹ By May 2009 the LTTE announced it had silenced its weapons and the entire island was brought under the control of the GoSL.¹⁰ In the period between September 2008 and May 2009 nearly 150,000 Tamils were reported as killed or disappeared.¹¹

II. Genocidal Sex Abuse Against Eelam Tamil Women

7. Sri Lanka's campaign of genocide against the Eelam Tamil nation is protracted and multi-faceted. Women have been particular targets for systematic abuse aimed at destroying the future viability of the nation. During the earliest anti-Tamil pogroms of

Conference in Jaffna. See, e.g., Cawthra, G., *Governing Insecurity: Democratic Control of Military and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies*, p.184-185

⁴ Ibid

⁵ See "Vaddukoddai Resolution" http://www.sangam.org/FB_HIST_DOCS/vaddukod.htm

⁶ Sri Lanka Department of Elections, "Results of Parliamentary General Elections 1977" www.slelections.gov.lk/pdf/Results_General_1977.PDF

⁷ "Full Text of the cease fire agreement" <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/feb/22/srilanka>

⁸ BBC News, "Sri Lanka ceasefire formally ends" http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/7190209.stm

⁹ See, e.g., press release by the Danish Refugee Council <http://reliefweb.int/report/sri-lanka/danish-refugee-council-evacuates-northern-sri-lanka>

¹⁰ CNN, "Tamil Tigers offer to 'silence our guns' in Sri Lanka conflict" <http://cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/05/17/sri.lanka.conflict/>

¹¹ Asian Age, "If not careful, Sri Lanka will end up as the best recruiter for LTTE" <http://www.asianage.com/books/if-not-careful-sri-lanka-will-end-best-recruiter-ltte-748>

1958 mass rapes of Tamil women was as frequent as arson and murder.¹² Violence against women, including mass rapes and public humiliation were major parts of subsequent anti-Tamil pogroms and wartime abuses.¹³

8. Since armed resistance ended in 2009 the campaign targeting women has intensified. From the treatment of female bodies found on the last battlefields to the manner of enquiries of female students at University of Jaffna at the turn of 2013, there is a clear pattern of acts designed to cause mental and physical harm as well as prevent births within the Tamil nation.

a. **Genocidal acts of sex abuse against Eelam Tamil women since 2009**

9. Despite the advancement in education, Eelam Tamil society remains conservative in its social outlook and bound by ancient gender roles. Protecting the naked body (not exposing to anyone) and virginity for her husband is seen as the most primary duty of a female.¹⁴

10. Gender roles do not take into account victims of sexual violence. A rape victim, for example, is seen as both a shame to her family and unsuitable for marriage as she is not a virgin. Females exposed naked in public, even if at gunpoint, are seen to have lost their chastity.¹⁵

i. **Humiliation**

11. Intimate, inappropriate and sexually suggestive questioning and forced exposure of females brought up in a strict patriarchal society causes irreparable mental harm. Such acts taking place in public, often in view of family members further adds to the torture of humiliation.

12. From January 2009, anyone who had crossed over from LTTE governed areas were interned in special camps set up in cleared jungle areas in the north of the island. While UN and international agencies were barred access, non-related men and women were forced to live in groups

¹² Midlarsky, M.I., *Origins of Political Extremism: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, p. 202

¹³ The LTTE's first attack on 23 July 1983, a mine explosion in which 13 Sinhala soldiers were killed, was in response to the soldiers gang raping schoolgirls in Jaffna during week beginning 18 July, following which one of the victims committed suicide on 22 July. See, e.g., Eleanor Pavey, "The massacres in Sri Lanka during the Black July riots of 1983" <http://www.massviolence.org/The-Black-July-riots-1983>

¹⁴ The *Thirukural*, a book of maxims for 'good living' that has shaped Tamil social life for many centuries, states in verse 54 "If woman might of chastity retain, what choicer treasure doth the world contain."

¹⁵ "Loss of virginity in a young girl, even if against her will, meant that she could not aspire to marriage in our society and, if already married, there is a good chance that she will be abandoned". "The Psychological Aspects of the Indian Military Action" in *The Broken Palmyra*

of up to 20 in small tents.¹⁶ Toilets and sanitary facilities were not provided. Bathing areas were open ponds within the barbed wire enclosure of the camps, and often located next to police or military points.¹⁷ Women were regularly found dead near the bathing areas.¹⁸

13. Public searches, including strip searches of women by male soldiers and intelligence officers, has become routine practice.¹⁹ On 27 November 2012, for example, the girls hostel at the University of Jaffna was raided by male military and intelligence officers.²⁰ Girls were searched in public, their parents were told to report them for further interrogation.²¹ In addition the military maintains a photographic database of Tamil families, including women and young girls, and often circulates photographs via paramilitary networks.²²

ii. Mutilations

14. Mutilation of body as a consequence of torture during routine questioning of suspects is common in the island. Both men and women across the Tamil homeland can be found with various genital mutilations as a result of torture.²³ Eelam Tamil women, however, are also targeted for disfigurement with aim of preventing normal life.

15. During late 2011 the phenomenon of 'grease devils' was unleashed in the Tamil homeland. These were men, acting alone, covered in grease, who would appear at night time in military controlled villages. They

¹⁶ See, e.g., US Department of State, "Report to Congress on incidents during the recent conflict in Sri Lanka", <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/131025.pdf>

¹⁷ News reports extensively covered conditions in the camps, including sexual abuse at bathing facilities. See, e.g., The Observer, "Sri Lankan guards 'sexually abused girls' in Tamil refugee camp", <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/20/tamil-tigers-sri-lanka-refugees>

¹⁸ While international media were barred from entering the camps, Britain's Channel 4 was among a handful that managed to obtain undercover footage. See, e.g., Channel 4 News, "Claims of abuse in Sri Lanka's Tamil refugee camps", <http://www.channel4.com/news/claims-of-abuse-in-sri-lankas-tamil-refugee-camps>

¹⁹ CEDAW, *Sri Lanka Shadow Report (2010)*, p.39

²⁰ The raid, subsequent protest by students and the violent repression were reported by International Media. E.g., AP News, "US concerned about attack on Sri Lanka students", <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/us-concerned-about-attack-sri-lanka-students>

²¹ Telephone interview with a student at the University of Jaffna (2012).

²² Photographs are kept of all families, especially in the east of the island where paramilitary activities are heaviest. CEDAW, *Sri Lanka Shadow Report (2010)*, p.42

²³ Description of torture of Tamils in Sri Lankan detention often include genital mutilations. E.g., on describing treatment of a Tamil male "His penis was burned with an electric heater", Amnesty International, *Locked Away: Sri Lanka's Security Detainees (2012)*, p.22

targeted homes without adult males.²⁴ The activities of the 'grease devils' were limited to sexual attacks and random slicing of Tamil women's breasts.²⁵ The homes were rarely robbed. On occasions when the householder raised alarm and villagers chased the attackers the 'devils' fled into military camps.²⁶

16. Many women injured in the final months of the armed conflict were admitted to military controlled hospitals out of bounds for media or any other independent persons.²⁷ Direct orders were issued by the Sri Lankan military administration carry out unnecessary operations leading to permanent disfigurement.²⁸ In many cases, women in particular, needing immediate surgery were denied medical access until their condition deteriorated to the point at which body parts had to be removed.²⁹

iii. Rapes

17. Several video footages from the final days of the armed conflict and its immediate aftermath show that women who were captured were subjected to gross sexual abuse, mass raped and then shot dead.³⁰ Much of it was captured on video by Sri Lankan soldiers.³¹

18. Many women were raped and impregnated while crossing into military

²⁴ Amnesty International country report on Sri Lanka (2012) describes 'grease devils' as "mysterious strangers, sometimes described as being smeared with grease or face paint, widely believed to be attacking civilians, especially women." And confirms military involvement "More than 50 petitions were filed with the Jaffna Court by residents claiming their rights had been violated by security force reprisals in 'grease devil' incidents." <https://www.amnesty.org/en/region/sri-lanka/report-2012#section-7-6>

²⁵ News reports from east of the island (and the central area where Tamils live in large numbers) noted biting of women's breasts and collusion between 'grease devils' and police or military. See, e.g., Reuters, "Grease Devil panic grips rural Sri Lanka", <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/12/us-srilanka-devil-idUSTRE77B46V20110812>

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Denial of access to hospitals was documented in many reports. See, e.g., Guardian, "Tamil civilians slaughtered as army shells 'no fire zone'", <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/19/tamil-tigers-sri-lanka>

²⁸ Telephone interview with hospital worker (2012).

²⁹ The ICRC issued a rare statement calling for access to wounded and reminding Sri Lanka of relevant clause of international humanitarian law: See, ICRC, "ICRC appeals for access to wounded in Sri Lanka", <http://www.redcross.org.uk/About-us/News/2009/May/ICRC-appeals-for-access-to-wounded-in-Sri-Lanka>

³⁰ Footage described by Louise Arbour, president and CEO of the International Crisis Group: Globe and Mail, "Tamils await their peace dividend", <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/commentary/tamils-await-their-peace-dividend/article554511/>

³¹ Footage broadcast as part of Channel 4 Documentary, "Sri Lanka's Killing Fields", at 38:04 <http://youtu.be/XADVagA2MUK?t=38m3s>

occupied areas and while interned at the camps.^{32, 33, 34} Families have repeatedly reported single women released from the camps pregnant with the children of Sinhala intelligence officials.³⁵

19. Rape of women in military occupied areas, especially in their own homes in front of family members, is regular.³⁶ In January 2013, for example, there were two cases of a four year old infant girl raped and dumped near a military checkpoint³⁷ and a 27 year-old mentally unwell Tamil woman raped and dumped in a well near a military camp.³⁸

iv. **Forced Birth Control**

20. Despite sparse population density across the Tamil homeland, relative to rest of island,³⁹ and the slow population growth in the region, many Eelam Tamil women are coerced into permanent birth control measures at hospitals under strict orders from GoSL authorities.⁴⁰ Women giving birth to their first or second child have been forced to accept permanent birth control operations.⁴¹

b. **Genocidal acts of sex abuse against female ex-cadres of the LTTE**

21. The LTTE, while primarily waging a campaign for right to secession from the modern Sri Lanka state, also led a social revolution within the Eelam Tamil

³² See accounts documented: International Crisis Group, *Sri Lanka: Women's Insecurity In The North And East*, p.26

³³ Sri Lanka accused of Human Rights Abuses. <http://www.smh.com.au/world/sri-lanka-accused-of-human-rights-abuses-20130226-2f4de.html>

³⁴ Sri Lanka security forces rape, torture Tamil detainees – group. <http://www.trust.org/item/?map=sri-lanka-security-forces-rape-torture-tamil-detainees-group/>

³⁵ Telephone interviews with families (2012). See also, e.g., documentation: Refugee Council UK, Annual Report (2009), p.18

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Local media reported four year old Tamil girl's body found in highly militarised Mandatheevu area: Uthayan, "4 year old girl raped and murdered in Mandatheevu", <http://onlineuthayan.com/english-news/uthayanews/5354x2l1h1h1r2>

³⁸ Given restriction on international media, for recent events, including this, see TamilNet, "Missing woman found slain, dumped inside well near SL military post in Kaarainakar", <http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=35907>

³⁹ Census data from Sri Lanka Department of Statistics notes the four districts of the Vanni region are four of the five most sparsely populated districts in the island. Other Tamil districts are among most sparse. Department of Statistics, "Population by district, sex, sex ratio and population density", <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PDF/Population/p9p2%20Population%20by%20district%20,%20sex,%20sex%20ratio%20and%20population%20density.pdf>

⁴⁰ Telephone interviews with hospital worker (2012) and affected mother (2012)

⁴¹ Ibid

society.⁴² Women were involved in every sphere of LTTE's activities. They were at the highest level of its civil administration as well as on the front line, ranked equally among their male counterparts.⁴³

22. Many men and women joined the LTTE after directly suffering from Sri Lanka's genocidal acts or after bearing witness to such acts.⁴⁴ Given the organisation's vision for social revolution, male and female cadres had progressed to life of normalcy even after being subjected to humiliation, mutilation and even rape.⁴⁵ Many female ex-cadres who had lost limbs or had suffered extensive visible wounds are known to have married male cadres and went on to have children.⁴⁶

23. Since 2009 ex LTTE cadres have been subjected to abuse in addition to those carried out against all Eelam Tamil women^{47, 48}. From the minute of cross over from LTTE administered areas, they were interned in special camps away from civilian settlements for several years, are only released to 'host' families, are called for regular interrogation and are forbidden from interacting with any other ex LTTE cadres⁴⁹.

i. Impregnation

24. Several ex LTTE cadres were systematically raped while interned in special camps. The abuse was not part of a campaign to 'extract' any information: victims were not questioned. Many were not murdered post abuse.⁵⁰ Most victims were released from the camps during late stage of their pregnancy.

25. All ex LTTE cadres released from internment have to report routinely to special interrogation centers. Most of the ex female cadres are raped by senior intelligence officers. Their pregnancy is ensured and they are

⁴² For full details of women in LTTE: Balasingham, A., *Women Fighters of Liberation Tigers*

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Jordan, K., "Birds of Freedom? Perspectives on Female Emancipation and Sri Lanka's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam", *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 9/1: 42-62.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 51

⁴⁶ Telephone interview with ex-LTTE female cadres now living in Europe (2012)

⁴⁷ Human Rights Watch. Sri Lanka: Rape of Tamil detainees. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/02/26/sri-lanka-rape-tamil-detainees>

⁴⁸ Sanhati. Fighting neoliberalism in Bengal and beyond. Rape: Sri Lanka's weapon of Genocide. <http://sanhati.com/excerpted/7478/>

⁴⁹ Haunted by her yesterdays. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nSSv9Kk3tkI&feature=youtu.be>

⁵⁰ See some of the events documented: International Crisis Group, *Sri Lanka: Women's Insecurity In The North And East*, p.26

barred from seeking medical abortion.⁵¹

26. In Jaffna district there has been an increase in the number of babies born post 2009 and abandoned in the streets.⁵² These are babies conceived after May 2009. Heavily pregnant ex LTTE women committing suicide and being admitted to the hospital after attempting abortion at home are also reported.⁵³

ii. Separation

27. Ex female cadres are either kept interned in special camps or are in de-facto isolation in the homes of 'hosts'. The hosts are registered families, often close relatives of the individual, who have agreed to take charge of the released ex-cadre and promise to ensure that they report back for routine interrogation and are kept in isolation from males.⁵⁴

28. In 2012, in the name of implementing 'constructive recommendations' of the Sri Lankan President's LLRC, dozens of women, most of them ex-LTTE cadres, were forcefully recruited into the SLA and condemned isolation.⁵⁵ Many were later admitted to hospital with psychological trauma. State media reported the new recruits were possessed by demons.⁵⁶

iii. Sterilization

29. Majority of married ex-LTTE cadres were sterilized against their will

⁵¹ See detailed feature on regional website: TamilNet, "Genocidal sex abuse of ex-LTTE female cadres becomes routine in North and East", <http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=79&artid=35510>

⁵² Colombo based media report news without noting that the women would have been in the camps at the time of conceiving. See, e.g., news report from July 2011: Sunday Times, "Unwanted post-war babies abandoned or killed in North", http://sundaytimes.lk/110724/News/nws_74.html

⁵³ Telephone interview with hospital worker (2012).

⁵⁴ See extensive interview with Sri Lankan president Mahinda Rajapaksa in state newspaper where he outlines plans to release ex-cadres only to family at arbitrary time points and plans for continued monitoring and interrogation and the Terrorism Investigation Division: Sunday Observer, "Sri Lanka's success story on rehabilitation", <http://www.sundayobserver.lk/2012/06/03/fea01.asp>

⁵⁵ Urgent press release by an NGO outlined the forced recruitment and isolation of the women: Women's Action Network, "Tamil women coerced into joining the military", <http://www.humanrights.asia/news/forwarded-news/AHRC-FST-060-2012>

⁵⁶ Government doctor was quoted in official state news website saying "They are like, what we call in our villages 'goddess dance' (possessed by god)." See, Policy, Research & Information Unit, "Doctor categorically clears allegations of abuse of Tamil woman recruits", http://www.priu.gov.lk/news_update/Current_Affairs/ca201212/20121219doctor_categorically_clears_allegations_abuse_tamil_woman_recruits.htm

enmass at the Vavuniya Hospital and at secret detention facilities soon after their surrender to the Sri Lankan military in 2009.

30. Post 2009 unsuspecting Tamil civilians have been forced and coerced into sterilisation without their consent.^{57,58} Forced unconsented abortions have been carried out on unsuspecting women thought to be associated with the LTTE⁵⁹.

31. Children of women who gave birth immediately after their surrender were taken away without consent.⁶⁰

III. Social Problems Post-Armed Conflict

32. Wide range of challenges, are expected in any immediate post armed conflict situation. With breakdown in existing justice mechanisms and the large loss of life, mainly of men of working age, a number of socio-economic problems are expected.⁶¹ A mainly female population without basic livelihood dominated by a victorious male army of occupation has historically created an environment for extensive sexual abuse.^{62,63,64}

a. Criminal Acts of Individuals

33. Individuals from the Sri Lankan military and other official organs have been accused of rape and other sexual abuse of war widows, orphan girls and other vulnerable women of the Eelam Tamil nation.^{65,66}

⁵⁷ Tamil women 'forced to use birth control'. <https://newmatilda.com/2013/09/26/tamil-women-forced-use-birth-control>

⁵⁸ Coercive population control in Kilinochchi. <http://groundviews.org/2013/09/13/coercive-population-control-in-kilinochchi/>

⁵⁹ WikiLeaks: EPDP medical doctor performs forced abortions. <https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/wikileaks-epdp-medical-doctor-performs-forced-abortions/>

⁶⁰ International Crisis Group, *Sri Lanka: Women's Insecurity In The North And East*, p.26

⁶¹ World Bank, *Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Africa: The Challenges of Socio-Economic Recovery and Development (2004)*, p.24-27

⁶² Fuller explanation of sexual violence against women in immediate post armed conflict scenarios: Nikolić-Ristanović, V., *Women, Violence, and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans (2000)*

⁶³ Sri Lanka's Tamil women face hardships. <http://www.siobhainmcdonagh.org.uk/newsroom/news.aspx?p=105107>

⁶⁴ Sri Lanka's unanswered questions over human rights. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-24648595?SThisFB>

⁶⁵ See eyewitness accounts given by a Sri Lankan soldier to British media: Channel 4 News, "The Sri Lankan soldiers 'whose hearts turned to stone'", <http://www.channel4.com/news/the-sri-lankan-soldiers-whose-hearts-turned-to-stone>

⁶⁶ Sri Lanka: Sexual abuse of women and girls on the rise. http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=4878&type=news

34. Millions of properties were destroyed during the armed conflict. There are more than 85, 000 widows and several thousands of orphaned girls in the Tamil homeland.⁶⁷ Several hundreds have been psychologically affected by the trauma of the war⁶⁸. There are many state officials taking advantage of the socio-economic hardships to exploit women and coerce them into prostitution^{69,70,71}

b. Genocidal Intent of State Facilitates Individual Criminal Acts

35. Every single individual accused of a sex crime in the Tamil homeland since May 2009 has been a Sinhala soldier or individual associated with the occupying forces. Not a single person has been found guilty in any rape case in the entire north and east of the island in more than three and a half years^{72, 73}.

36. Rights groups have reported the operation of different prostitution rings by paramilitary groups led by two ministers of the ruling regime.⁷⁴ Despite evidence that most women were forced, for example in the internment camps in exchange for milk powder for their babies, no action has been taken against the ministers.⁷⁵

IV. Conclusion

37. The systematic and well planned sexual abuse unleashed against Eelam Tamil

⁶⁷ BBC News, "War widows 'forced into prostitution'",
http://www.bbc.co.uk/sinhala/news/story/2012/03/120318_women_war.shtml

⁶⁸ Tamil TV presenter begs, 'Don't send me to Sri Lanka'.
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/tamil-tv-presenter-begs-dont-send-me-to-sri-lanka-8570490.html>

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Resort to prostitution a result of militarisation – Ananthy Sasitharan
<http://www.tamilguardian.com/article.asp?articleid=9004>

⁷¹ WikiLeaks: EPDP sold Jaffna children: Girls to prostitution rings and boys to slavery
<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/wikileaks-epdp-sold-jaffna-children-girls-to-prostitution-rings-and-boys-to-slavery/>

⁷² Beaten but not broken. <http://journal.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/11.2-Manoranjan.pdf>

⁷³ Abuse, Marginalisation of war affected women in Sri Lanka's North.
<http://www.irinnews.org/report/98978/abuse-marginalization-of-war-affected-women-in-sri-lanka-s-north>

⁷⁴ Some of the rights groups concerns were published by media. See, e.g., The Australian, "Tamil refugees forced into sex rackets", <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/tamil-refugees-forced-into-sex-rackets/story-e6frg6n6-1225744996639>

⁷⁵ US Embassy cables identified minister Muralitharan, leader of teh Karuna group "Karuna operates prostitution rings out of the IDP camps to "take care of" GSL soldiers, stating that the women "had no choice" but to acquiesce to Karuna cadres' demands," and Minister Devananda, leader of the EPDP group "EPDP is operating child trafficking rings in Jaffna with a base on Delft island. The children are sold into slavery, usually boys to work camps and girls to prostitution rings, through EPDP's networks in India and Malaysia.": The Guardian, "Sri Lankan government accused of complicity in human rights abuses", <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/108763>

women in general shows that there is state level planning with intent to cause physical and mental harm and more specifically prevent births within the national group of Eelam Tamils.

38. The pattern and nature of abuses are conclusive that the planners had studied the Eelam Tamil nation for its weaknesses, including attitude to sexual violence, and are humiliating, mutilating and raping Eelam Tamil women to ensure they commit suicide or lead life of seclusion without forming families of their own and having children.

39. Wanton public strip searches and sexualised public questioning of women of childbearing potential, even if there is no reasonable suspicion of their involvement in political activities, suggest pure intent to humiliate rather than extract information.

40. The 'grease devil' phenomenon was extraordinary in lack of robberies associated with them. Their only intent was to mutilate sexual organs of Tamil women and encourage public opinion that the victims had been raped. The fact not a single 'grease devil' was punished despite many entering army camps when chased by locals is strongest proof of state involvement.

41. The singling out of ex-LTTE female cadres for further abuse indicates deep analysis of Eelam Tamil society and complex planning very high up in the Sri Lankan administration.

42. The fact that most ex-LTTE cadres are not murdered post rape but are impregnated and released only once safe abortion period has passed shows aim of the rapists to ensure this most politically active and socially emancipated sub-set of Eelam Tamil women give birth to children of Sinhala soldiers.

43. The repeated impregnation of cadres released to 'host' families follows pattern of ensuring ex cadres only give birth to children of soldiers.

44. Isolation of ex-female cadres from ex-male cadres and the removal of their children shows further obsession with intent to prevent births altogether within sections associated with the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle.

45. Rather than alleviating socio-economic challenges of immediate post armed conflict situation, occupation forces and government forces are actively involved in exploiting women in vulnerable positions to further an agenda to abuse.

V. Recommendations to the International Community

46. Recognise the obvious pattern of sexual abuse against Eelam Tamil women as being carried out with genocidal intent.

47. Take immediate measures to end continued militarisation of the Tamil homeland, which is exacerbating sexual violence, and force withdrawal of the large number of Sri Lankan forces already occupying the Tamil homeland.

48. Ensure all Tamils held in internment camps and special secret camps are allowed immediate access to international agencies and are released to lead normal lives at the earliest.

49. Initiate an independent international investigation into the genocide of Eelam Tamils on the island to bring perpetrators of the crime of genocide to justice.

50. Conduct a UN sponsored referendum to ascertain the political aspiration of Eelam Tamils, both in the homeland and the diaspora, with a free and sovereign state of Tamil Eelam as an explicit option, as it is the democratic mean to bring about a lasting solution to the conflict on the island.

END