

Civil Security Department: The Deep Militarisation of the Vanni



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The Adayaalam Centre for Policy Research (ACPR) is a not-for-profit think-tank based in Jaffna, Sri Lanka since August 2016 working on public policy issues on the island with a special focus on issues affecting the Tamil polity. The mission of ACPR is to be an active contributor of informed and research-based activism within the Tamil polity, to report on public policy issues that are of special relevance to the North-East of Sri Lanka, to create internal capacity for autonomy and self-government in the North-East and to contribute critically towards justice, accountability and sustainable peace in Sri Lanka.

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The illustration on the cover-page was created by Sahithyan Thillipkumar.

Methodology

Field research for this report was conducted between May and September 2017. ACPR researchers met individually with employees working on CSD farms based in Mullaitivu and CSD-paid pre-school teachers in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi. ACPR also interviewed other members of the communities in which these CSD employees worked, including women's rights activists, general civil society, clergy, the general war-affected population, and former LTTE cadres not employed by the CSD. ACPR also met with government officers in Mullaitivu, a local provincial councillor, and a number of other civil society actors and journalists based in the Northern province.

This report details findings based on those interviews, a literature review of publicly-available information about the CSD including on the military's own websites, and an English and Tamil newspaper review of reporting on the CSD. The report also relies on secondary sources examining the phenomena of militarisation in Sri Lanka in the post-war context.

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Chapter I: Introduction

On October 1, 2015, the Sri Lankan government co-sponsored UN Human Rights Council Resolution 30/1 in which among other things it was encouraged to “introduce effective security sector reforms as part of its transitional justice process” and in particular to end “military involvement in civilian activities.”¹ Following this resolution and with the January 2015 election of Maithripala Sirisena hailed internationally and in some parts of Sri Lanka as a change to “good governance”, certain visible forms of militarisation² were subjected to limited surface level alterations. Some space also opened up for relatively greater dissent of the government and protests cropped up in the Vanni making use of this space. Yet almost two years after Resolution 30/1, and six months after the resolution’s mandate was renewed, the Sri Lankan government has failed to take any meaningful steps to curtail the military’s encroachment of civilian space in the most war-affected region of the country, the Vanni. Instead, militarisation of civilian spaces in the Vanni continues unabated.

The epitome of this continued intrusion of the military into civilian spaces and everyday lives of the Tamils in the Vanni can be seen in the work of the Civil Security Department (‘CSD’). The CSD was created in 2006 out of the existing National Home Guard Service.³ It originally employed primarily volunteer personnel in border villages and the Eastern province and was viewed largely as a surveillance network by Tamil communities.⁴ A few years after the war ended in 2009, the CSD began entering the Vanni region, but had re-cast itself as a livelihood provider and tried to convince local populations that joining the CSD was not the equivalent of joining the military.⁵ The CSD primarily targeted former LTTE cadres and war-affected women, and as of most recent estimates employs about 3200-3500 individuals in the Vanni.⁶

The CSD underlies the complexity of the militarization project in the Vanni. As defined first by Cynthia Enloe and cited by Ambika Satkunathan in the Sri Lankan context, militarisation is “the step-by-step process by which something becomes controlled by, dependent on, or derives its value from the military as an institution or militaristic criteria.”⁷ Applying this definition to the Sri Lankan context it is evident that the militarisation of the Vanni project, which began right after the defeat of the LTTE in 2009, continues to date. This project has more notably included the occupation of lands, repression of the population through surveillance and restrictions of movement and freedom of expression. But less obvious and more long-term, the military began establishing itself as the primary engine of economic activity, which would cause the war-affected population to inevitably rely on the military for livelihood opportunities and thereby ensure their subjugation and

¹ “Promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka” UN HRC Resolution 30/1 (1 October 2015), A/HRC/30/L.29 [“HRC Resolution 30/1”]

² This is particularly true of Jaffna, a district that receives a number of foreign visitors and diplomats, where the visible presence of the security forces in the form of camps have been significantly reduced.

³ Sri Lankan Gazette Notification No. 1462/20 (13 September 2006).

⁴ ACPR Interviews with Tamil Civil Society Activists, Jaffna, July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Civil Security Department, “Performance Report 2016” at p V and p 50 accessed here: <www.csd.lk> [“CSD Performance Report 2016”].

⁷ Ambika Satkunathan, “Militarisation as panacea: development and reconciliation in post-war Sri Lanka” (19 March 2013), accessed here: <www.opendemocracy.net>.

control for far longer. The military's involvement in economic development of the Vanni came in a post-war context where civilian administration was weak and there were few viable businesses or industries capable of providing livelihoods to war-affected populations aside from a handful of NGOs. The State instead of strengthening civilian administration and local industry, permitted the military to take control of civilian affairs.

The CSD is a primary instrument of the Sri Lankan security forces for this strategy of deep and all-pervasive militarisation of the Tamil community. While the Government defends this militarisation behind closed doors to the international community⁸ as part of its counter insurgency programme (necessary for preventing another armed insurgency), the real objective it seems is in restricting Tamil political space and activities. As argued by R.K. Guruparan, this process of militarisation diffuses Tamil politics' challenge to the hierarchical Sinhala nationalist state order and serves the long-term objective of the normalisation of Tamil politics.⁹

This report will examine the CSD in detail and explain its contribution to the larger project of militarisation of the Vanni. While the CSD does provide valuable livelihood opportunities to war-affected impoverished communities, it has also caused those communities to become economically dependent on the military, and therein lays the problem. This economic dependence has led to the explicit and implicit suppression of civic and political engagement, the repression of local economic growth, the destruction of community identity and cohesiveness, and further marginalization of Tamil women.

This report concludes that the jobs currently being provided by the military through the CSD more appropriately belong in the civilian space and that ownership over these ventures must be returned to the community, either through collectives, and/or by transferring the budget allocated for the CSD in the Vanni to the appropriate ministries in charge. Further the profits that the military has made from CSD ventures in the civilian economy for the last four years must also be questioned and efforts should be made to re-invest those profits in the communities from which they came.

The CSD is just one component of the militarisation of the Vanni that continues to date and prevents a truly democratic society from flourishing. The Sri Lankan government's progress cannot just be measured by change in Colombo, but must be measured against the yardstick of the most war-affected communities residing in the Vanni, where little has changed in their ability to access democratic freedoms.

⁸ Tamil activists have told ACPR that many foreign diplomats and journalists query whether the large scale militarisation is necessary to ensure that there is no LTTE regroup, ACPR interviews with Tamil civil society activists, Jaffna, July 2017.

⁹ R.K. Guruparan, "Text of the Mamanithar Late Prof C.J. Eliezer AM Memorial Lecture delivered on 12 June 2016 at the Monash University, Clayton Campus, Melbourne" (12 June 2016).

Chapter II: History and Establishment of the CSD

History of the Civil Security Department

The Civil Security Department ('CSD') was established on September 13, 2006 pursuant to Gazette Notification No. 1462/20 by then Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Public Security, Law and Order, Gotabaya Rajapaksa:

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL SECURITY

IT is hereby informed that the Home Guard Force formed to perform the functions of aiding and assisting to the Sri Lanka Police Service under Section 52 of the Mobilization and Supplementary Forces Act, No. 40 of 1985 was established as a New Department by the name of "Department of Civil Security" as per the Cabinet (අම/06/1395/206/052) dated 02.08.2006.

Functions of this Department are as follows:-

- (a) Taking actions as a Supplementary Force for aiding and assisting to Armed Forces and Police Service, as the case may be on the existing security situation within the country.
- (b) Taking actions to safeguard the villages, properties and cities where terrorists threats are afflicted.
- (c) Assisting to the Police Service and Armed Forces for the function of protecting the Law and Order within the country.
- (d) Engaging with the Security on instances of National Events and any other important occasions.
- (e) Assisting to the activities of mitigating various disasters (such as floods, landslides and Tsunami) occurred within the country.
- (f) Assisting to Social Welfare activities.
- (g) Engaging with special functions ordered by the President, Minister (incharge of the subject) or the Government.

**GOTABAYA RAJAPAKSA - RWP, RSP, PSC,
Secretary,
Ministry of Defence, Public Security, Law and Order.**

The establishment of the Civil Security Department transformed what was then the National Home Guard Service into the Civil Defence Force, as one part of the CSD.¹⁰

The National Home Guard Service was first established as a Voluntary Service in 1986, by then Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, with approximately 5000 personnel.¹¹ They were issued with 12-bore shotguns and brown-coloured uniforms, and tasked largely with

¹⁰ Civil Security Department Website, "History", (24 September 2015) accessed on September 2, 2017 at: <www.csd.lk>; "Report of the OHCHR Investigation on Sri Lanka (OISL)" (16 September 2015), *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, A/HRC/30/CRP.2* at p 31 ["OISL Report"].

¹¹ Gamini Keerewella, "Societal Resilience: Ealam War IV: Part II" (16 December 2010), *Island*, accessed at: <<http://www.island.lk>>.

protecting their own “border/threatened” villages.¹² Eventually, they were paid allowances, given some rations and brought under the Police Department.¹³

The National Home Guard Service was seen by most in the Tamil community as an attempt to recruit Tamil and Muslim civilians, primarily in the Eastern province and border villages into becoming “watchers” for the military about the LTTE’s activities. It was viewed as a counter-insurgency strategy.¹⁴

The Home Guard also stands accused of participation in the commission of various atrocity crimes during the war including the massacre of 17 Action Contre Faim aid workers in 2006 in Mutur.¹⁵ Amnesty International reported the following about the home guards in a human rights report in 1996:

Further security measures taken by the government include the arming of Sinhalese and Muslim civilians in the east and areas bordering the north and east. These so-called Home Guards are given a short training in the use of weapons. They function mostly under the authority of the local police, although in some areas they work alongside the army. Their functions are supposed to be purely defensive, but Amnesty International has received reports of human rights violations committed by them. In addition, members of Tamil armed groups opposed to the LTTE, such as TELO and PLOTE, continued to carry out functions that are normally part of the overall responsibility of the security forces, particularly in the north and east, without any clear legal basis.¹⁶

After the National Home Guard Service was transformed into the Civil Security Department (CSD), employment in the now-named Civil Defence Force reportedly increased to 41,500 personnel and one-month military training was introduced along with a salary.

When the ceasefire broke down in 2006 and hostilities re-emerged, local populations in the Northern province reported that personnel from the CSD would arrive in areas newly captured by the military from the LTTE and take over civilian administration in order to prevent any re-emergence of the LTTE.¹⁷ According to one military personnel writing about the CSD, “[t]heir primary role was to guard those villages [border/endangered villages] in order to release armed forces to concentrate heavily on counter insurgency activities.”¹⁸

¹² Civil Security Department Website, “History”, (24 September 2015) accessed on September 2, 2017 at: <www.csd.lk>.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ ACPR Interview with CSD farm employees, Mullaitivu, July 2017.

¹⁵ University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna), “The Anniversary of the ACF Massacre: A Travestied Investigation, Erosion of the Rule of Law and Indicators for the Future of Minorities in Lanka” (4 August 2009), *Special Report No 33*, accessed here: <<http://www.uthr.org>>.

¹⁶ Amnesty International, “Sri Lanka: Wavering Commitment to Human Rights” (13 August 1996), accessed here: <<https://www.amnesty.org>>.

¹⁷ ACPR Interviews with Tamil Journalists, Jaffna, May 2017; Civil Security Department Website, “Operations”, (30 September 2015) accessed on September 2, 2017 at: <www.csd.lk>.

¹⁸ NC Karunarathne, “Effective Employment of Civil Security Department Personnel in Sri Lanka” (November 2015), *Proceedings of 8th International Research Conference, General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Ratmalana, Sri Lanka*, accessed at: <<http://www.kdu.ac.lk/proceedings/irc2015/2015/dss-031.pdf>>.

Until the war ended in 2009, the CSD continued to largely employ personnel from border villages and in the Eastern province and operate as the Home Guard had operated.¹⁹ But post-2009, as will be discussed below, the CSD began employing large numbers of people from within the war-affected Vanni region. The CSD also officially transformed its role into more of an economic development role, following the military's strategy post-2009 for militarisation through development.²⁰ After the January 2015 change in government, CSD employees had their jobs made permanent.²¹

As will be explained in this report, the role of the CSD in the Vanni region differs significantly from its prior role and is highly problematic.

Organizational Structure of the CSD

There are 23 different CSD Headquarters largely located in border villages, and in the North-East of Sri Lanka including Trincomalee, Amparai, Welis Oya (formerly Manal Aru), Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu.²²

The CSD has a number of different divisions and funds that run different operations out of the various headquarters. These divisions include smaller structures such as the Seva Vanitha unit which runs charitable operations, and the Sports Fund which runs sports training and events. But the division that is primarily responsible for providing employment in the Vanni is the Projects Division which runs agriculture, animal husbandry and most other civilian-type work.²³

The CSD employs both higher-level combat-trained soldiers, as well as the civilians they have recruited. Notably, in their reports, these civilians are still referred to as soldiers, personnel or part of the 'civil security force'.²⁴ For the purposes of this report, civilians recruited to work for the CSD from the Vanni will be referred to as CSD employees to distinguish them from CSD personnel who are formally trained soldiers. However, technically, all CSD employees are personnel.

CSD in the Vanni

At present approximately 3200 to 3500 employees are employed by the CSD in the Vanni region, in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu.²⁵ The range reflects the discrepancies in numbers reported even within the CSD's own 2016 Performance Report. The large majority of this number are former LTTE cadres, and almost all employees were recruited in and after 2012.²⁶

¹⁹ ACPR Interviews with Tamil Journalists, Jaffna, May 2017; ACPR Interviews with Tamil Civil Society, Jaffna, May 2017.

²⁰ Civil Security Department Website, "Operations", (30 September 2015) accessed on September 2, 2017 at: <www.csd.lk>.

²¹ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees in Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017; CSD 2016 Performance Report *supra* at p V.

²² CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at p 53.

²³ *Ibid* at p 45.

²⁴ *Ibid* at p 50.

²⁵ *Ibid* at p V and p 50.

²⁶ *Ibid* at p V; ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June- July 2017..

The CSD conducted a major recruitment drive in the Vanni in 2012-2013 hiring people to work primarily in two capacities – as pre-school teachers and as employees on CSD-run “farms”.²⁷ In addition, a smaller number of civilians were recruited to work as teachers of dance and sports classes and as sportsmen, in sewing shops, in administrative roles, in brick-making factories, etc.²⁸

Many individuals recruited for certain positions on the farms ultimately were asked to complete other work as well.²⁹ Examples of these other activities include for example performing security duties in state institutions, conducting dengue prevention programmes, and playing in sports events as part of the security forces’ teams.³⁰

(A) CSD-Run Farms³¹

Recruitment

Recruitment by the CSD in the Vanni was first targeted towards former LTTE-cadres. Recruitment for positions working in CSD farms was conducted directly by the military who went village to village announcing that jobs were available and that former LTTE cadres should apply.³²

Additionally, many former cadres were individually solicited to apply, and those who were first recruited into supervisory positions recall being given lists of former LTTE cadres in their communities who they should approach to offer positions.³³

Initially only a few former LTTE cadres joined, as most were strongly opposed to the idea of accepting a job with the CSD, which they saw as working for the military.³⁴ As a result, the CSD then opened up recruitment more widely to the war-affected population, but still continued to place emphasis on recruitment of former LTTE cadres who had completed rehabilitation.³⁵

Livelihood opportunities were scarce to come by for former LTTE cadres. “When I came back from rehabilitation camp I was in a state of poverty akin to begging,” explained one former LTTE cadre to ACPR.³⁶ “There were no jobs for former cadres coming out of rehabilitation camp,” another former LTTE cadre stated.³⁷

Eventually, former LTTE cadres began joining the CSD primarily for one of two reasons: (1) no other livelihood opportunities were available to them and they needed to earn an income to survive; or (2) they were under intense harassment and surveillance from military and police intelligence services and they saw employment with the CSD as a method to decrease that.

²⁷ The term ‘pannai’ meaning ‘farms’ is used by the local population in the Vanni to refer to any work done on any of the CSD’s various agricultural and animal husbandry projects. In this report we use the term ‘farm’ in the same vein.

²⁸ CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at p 97 and 99.

²⁹ ACPR Interviews with CSD farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

³⁰ CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at p 97 and 99.

³¹ Note: Throughout this report ‘CSD farm’ will refer to agricultural and animal husbandry projects run by the CSD, as CSD farm is the colloquial term used by the population in the Vanni to describe that work.

³² ACPR Interviews with CSD employees, Mullaitivu, June - July 2017.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*; ACPR Interview with Women’s Rights Activists, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; ACPR Interviews with Women’s Rights Activists in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at p V.

³⁶ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees in Mullaitivu, June 2017.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

In the CSD's own 2016 Performance Report, Director General of the CSD, Chandrarathne Pallegama said, "3500 rehabilitated Tamil youth (both male and female) were recruited into CSD, especially from the Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu Districts with the purpose of creating harmony between the Sinhala and Tamil communities."³⁸

Extent of CSD Farms

The CSD's 2016 Performance Report reported the following breakdown of agricultural and animal husbandry projects in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu:

Kilinochchi HQ					
	Type	Number of Projects	Acres occupied by projects (acres)	Number employed	Profits made (LKR)
Agricultural (983 employed)	Paddy	2	249 (expected)	237	2,342,137.80
	Other types of farms	8	468 (expected)	796	7,859,492.00
	Coconut plantations	1	150 (expected)	150	404,882.00
Animal Husbandry (73 employed)	Fish	3	n/a	16	642,800.00
	Milk	2	n/a	11	581,180.00
	Chicken	5	n/a	46	1,510,950.00
	Pigs	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Subtotal				1256	13,341,441.80
Mullaitivu HQ					
	Type	Number of projects	Acres occupied by projects (acres)	Number employed	Profits made (LKR)
Agricultural Projects (1475 employed)	Paddy	30	44	220	450,734.00
	Vegetables	164	97	807	11,577,093.55
	Undu	n/a	5	25	31,700.00
	Cowpea	n/a	5	38	39,300.00
	Maize	7	23	115	3,780.00
	Cashew/Groundnuts	135	135	270	1,890,754.00
Animal Husbandry	Poultry	1	n/a	40	1,831,300.00
Subtotal				1515	15,824,661.55

Collectively, according to the CSD's own statistics, the farms employ 2771 individuals in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu and are highly profitable. In 2016, the profits generated by the above projects totalled 29,166,103.35 LKR or approximately \$190,000 USD.³⁹

³⁸ CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at p V.

³⁹ *Ibid* at p 96-99.

Structure and Work on CSD Farms

CSD employees work in a structured environment on farms, reporting at the same time in the morning and clocking out by about 5PM every day.⁴⁰ In addition to routine agricultural work on the farms, a number of CSD employees report occasionally being sent out of the farms to perform odd jobs directed by the military. For example, certain CSD employees were sent to the South to help with the humanitarian response to the garbage landslide in Meethotamulla earlier this year.⁴¹ CSD employees are also asked to help the military conduct dengue eradication campaigns, flood relief work, etc.⁴²



CSD Employees deployed to Meethotamulla to help with recovery from garbage landslide
Source: www.csd.lk⁴³

While local Tamil individuals staff the first tier of supervision at the farms, upper tiers of supervision and management are comprised of Sinhala civilians and military personnel.⁴⁴ In addition, each CSD farm has an assigned Criminal Investigation Department ('CID') officer, who visits the farm at least once a week.⁴⁵

Sometimes CSD farm employees are required to attend meetings and seminars at local military camps or CSD HQ.⁴⁶ Earlier this year, a mandatory one-month military training was instituted for CSD farm employees, which will be discussed further below.

(B) CSD-paid Pre-School Teachers

Extent of hiring

According to the CSD's Performance Report, in 2016, 193 pre-school teachers were employed by the CSD in Mullaitivu and 328 pre-school teachers were employed by the CSD in Kilinochchi. The CSD describes this action as the "deployment of CSD personnel for the purpose of teaching in pre-schools".⁴⁷

⁴⁰ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

⁴¹ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

⁴² CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at pp 97 and 99; See for example: Civil Security Department, "CSD's Helping Hand to People at Meethotamulla Disaster", accessed here: <<http://www.csd.lk>>.

⁴³ Civil Security Department, "CSD's Helping Hand to People at Meethotamulla Disaster", accessed here: <<http://csd.lk>>.

⁴⁴ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*; Note under the previous regime the CID officer used to visit every day.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*; ACPR Interviews with CSD-paid pre-school teachers in Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁴⁷ CSD Performance Report 2016 *supra* at p 97 and 99.

Recruitment

The method for recruitment of pre-school teachers to the CSD was different from the method used to employ civilians for the farms. In this case, it was the local *Kachcheris* who called meetings of all pre-school teachers in a locality and promoted the job opportunity with the CSD to them.⁴⁸ Teachers were told that they would receive a monthly salary of approximately 30,000 LKR, which is almost five times what most pre-school teachers working on a government or even a private salary make.⁴⁹ Further, teachers were told that these weren't jobs for the military, but rather for the government.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, similar to the recruitment situation of employees for the farms, many pre-school teachers were initially reluctant to join fearing that they were in fact joining the military. But after some teachers joined and others saw that the pay increase was in fact real, many teachers decided to take the opportunity, given the kind of financial benefits it could provide to their mostly impoverished and war-affected families.⁵¹

As will be discussed in Chapter III, during the recruitment process, the CSD aggressively pursued teachers who originally opted not to sign up with the CSD; in some cases opening competing schools or harassing school administrators.

Comparison to other regions

The CSD does employ pre-school teachers in a handful of other regions it operates in but nowhere near the scale or numbers as in the Vanni region. The highest number of pre-school teachers employed by the CSD in any region outside of Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu is in Kebitigollewa where the CSD employs 81 teachers - less than half the number employed in Mullaitivu, and one-quarter the number employed in Kilinochchi.⁵²

Impact on Pre-Schools

Pre-school teachers interviewed stated that there has been no change to their curriculum as a result of their salaries being paid from the CSD, but rather that schools have felt the CSD's impact through the increased military presence.⁵³

⁴⁸ ACPR Interviews with CSD-paid pre-school teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² CSD 2016 Performance Report *supra*.

⁵³ ACPR Interviews with CSD-paid pre-school teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June - July 2017.



Troops from 573 Brigade distributing gifts to pre-school in Kilinochchi
 Source: www.army.lk⁵⁴

Following the CSD's hiring of pre-school teachers, many pre-schools in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi were distributed uniforms with CSD logos for students to wear.⁵⁵ In 2016 alone, 907 pre-school children were given uniforms in Kilinochchi.⁵⁶ Pre-school teachers were also given uniforms in the form of blue sarees, which other pre-school teachers do not have.⁵⁷



CSD Pre-Schooler donning uniforms provided by military – 1 May 2016
 Source: *Tamil Guardian*⁵⁸

Pre-schools also now have to inform the military when they hold events, whether the event is an awards ceremony or a sports meet.⁵⁹ In some instances, the teachers directly invite local military commanders to attend, while in other instances the military informs teachers they'll be attending.

⁵⁴ Sri Lankan Army, "573 Brigade and 5 Sri Lanka Armoured Corps Continue Welfare Projects in Kilinochchi" (18 November 2015), accessed here: <<https://www.army.lk>>.

⁵⁵ ACPR Interviews with CSD-paid pre-school teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; *Tamil Guardian*, "Sri Lanka military enrol pre-school Tamil children in Vanni" (1 May 2016), accessed here: <www.tamilguardian.com>.

⁵⁶ CSD 2016 Performance Report *supra* at p 97.

⁵⁷ ACPR Interviews with CSD-paid pre-school teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017; Pictures of teachers in the blue saree can be seen on the army's website here: Sri Lankan Army, "Pre-School Kids at Bharathipuram Get Free Educational Accessories" (12 March 2017), accessed here: <www.army.lk>.

⁵⁸ *Tamil Guardian*, "Sri Lanka military enrol pre-school Tamil children in Vanni" (1 May 2016), accessed here: <www.tamilguardian.com>.

⁵⁹ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

Regardless, the military is often present at special events, and students often receive awards and gifts from military commanders who are honorary guests at these events.⁶⁰



Military issues stationaries to nursery kids in a military run pre school in Aandapuram, Kilinochchi - May 28 2017
Source: army.lk

Pre-school teachers are required to sign in at their local military camp once a month.⁶¹ They also occasionally have to attend seminars at the camps with the CSD farm employees.⁶² Importantly, the chain of command for pre-school teachers paid by the CSD now ultimately ends with the military. One teacher coordinator describes the chain of command as: Teacher → Teacher Coordinator (Civilian) → Division Coordinator (Civilian) → District Coordinator (Civilian) → Military.⁶³

If a pre-school teacher is late for a meeting or breaks the rules, their punishment can sometimes include the requirement of wearing a special uniform and direction to work on a CSD-farm.⁶⁴

Many of the pre-schools also have students whose parents work for the CSD, and so the CSD has a doubly large presence in these school as a result.⁶⁵

New Requirement for military training

In January 2017 a new program was introduced for all CSD farm employees requiring them to attend one month of military training.⁶⁶ During the one month they receive military training but never with use of weaponry.⁶⁷ Following completion of the training CSD employees are provided a

⁶⁰ *Ibid*; Sri Lankan Army, "Pre-School Kids at Bharathipuram Get Free Educational Accessories" (12 March 2017), accessed here: <www.army.lk>.

⁶¹ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁶² *Ibid*.

⁶³ ACPR Interview with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teacher Coordinator, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁶⁴ ACPR Interview with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teacher, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁶⁵ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interview with Clergy working in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, May 2017.

⁶⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁶⁷ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees in Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

military uniform, which they are asked to wear whenever they attend a public CSD event, or sometimes just in public on specific days.⁶⁸

CSD employees in one village ACPR visited were aware of at least 4 young men who had run away from the military training.⁶⁹ It is reportedly physically gruelling and in a location with poor conditions. Many CSD employees prefer to leave their jobs as a result of this training, which they see as more directly making them apart of the military, but cannot due to their reliance on the CSD for their livelihood.⁷⁰ A few former LTTE cadres who feel that they can afford to leave are planning to do so.⁷¹



Director General Chandrarathne Pallegama addresses CSD Personnel who completed their training in Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu on 5th February 2017

Source: www.csd.lk⁷²

The CSD attempted to make the training mandatory for CSD-paid pre-school teachers as well but faced stiff opposition both from the teachers and the Zonal Department of Education.⁷³ However it is unclear how long pre-school teachers will be exempted for. Many pre-school teachers told ACPR that if the training becomes mandatory they will leave their employment with the CSD.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees in Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁶⁹ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June-July 2017.

⁷⁰ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁷¹ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, July 2017.

⁷² Civil Security Department, "Director General addresses on completion of training" (13 February 2017), accessed here: <www.csd.lk>.

⁷³ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Chapter III: CSD as part of the militarisation project

There are a number of issues arising from CSD's modus operandi and its impact on the war-affected Tamil population of the Vanni but fundamentally the issue is that the CSD supports a critical aspect of the militarisation project of the Vanni region in the post-war context that has not changed despite a change in government. This chapter will examine the following three ways in which the CSD is part of the larger militarisation project to gain control over the Vanni population: (1) creation of economic dependency on the military; (2) suppression of civic activism and destruction of community identity; and (3) further marginalization of women.

I. Creation of Economic Dependency on the Military

Since the war ended in 2009, instead of developing and strengthening civilian administration and the private sector in the war-affected Vanni, the government has enabled and/or permitted the military to increasingly take over the economy of the region.⁷⁵ The CSD is one example of how the military has come to be one of the largest providers of stable livelihood opportunities and controller of local markets in the Vanni.

Before the CSD began their recruitment in the Vanni, unemployment rates were reportedly very high, particularly among former LTTE cadres and women from female-headed households.⁷⁶ The conclusion of the war had destroyed in large part the local economy, which had been partly propped up by the LTTE.⁷⁷ Even for pre-school teachers, many reported that during the war they were employed by Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO), who arranged their placements in schools.⁷⁸ Following the war, the continued levels of militarisation of the area, the destruction of infrastructure, and the implicit and explicit restrictions on foreign investment in the area by the government, all contributed to a lack of private sector investment.

While NGOs and humanitarian relief organizations provided some livelihood opportunities, in many cases these were also poorly thought out and gendered processes, such as the provision of chickens or cows to women with no supporting infrastructure or understanding of local contexts.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Ambika Satkunanathan, "Militarisation as panacea: development and reconciliation in post-war Sri Lanka" (19 March 2013), accessed here: <www.opendemocracy.net>; International Crisis Group, "The Forever War?: Military Control in Sri Lanka's North" (25 March 2014), accessed here: <blog.crisisgroup.org>.

⁷⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017; ACPR Interviews with Women's Rights Activists, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017; International Crisis Group, "Sri Lanka's North II: Rebuilding under the Military" Crisis Group Asia Report N°220, 16 March 2012, p 10-11, accessed here: <<https://www.crisisgroup.org>>.

⁷⁷ Kristian Stoke, "Building the Tamil Eelam State: emerging state institutions and forms of governance in LTTE-controlled areas in Sri Lanka" (2006) *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 27, Issue 6, at p 1027, accessed online.

⁷⁸ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017; Kristian Stoke, "Building the Tamil Eelam State: emerging state institutions and forms of governance in LTTE-controlled areas in Sri Lanka" (2006) *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 27, Issue 6, at p 1027, accessed online.

⁷⁹ Kate Cronin-Furman, Nimmi Gowrinathan, & Rafia Zakaria, "Emissaries of Empowerment" (September 2017), *Colin Powell School for Civic and Global Leadership, The City College of New York*, accessed here: <<https://www.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/Emissaries%20of%20Empowerment%202017.pdf>>.

In this vacuum, the CSD was a lifeline for much of the war-affected Tamil population. As already detailed, all of the CSD employees interviewed for this report noted that they were initially reluctant to take jobs because they did not want to work for the military, but ultimately did because there were no alternatives for employment.⁸⁰

However, while the CSD has created livelihood opportunities for over 3000 individuals in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, it has also created an economic dependency on the military by suppressing economic growth of the private sector and contributing to a cycle of debt.

CSD suppresses other economic growth

The CSD has both directly and indirectly suppressed economic growth of private sector enterprise in the Vanni.

Directly, the CSD, alongside other military-operated farms, has monopolized control over production of certain goods in the Vanni region. For example, pricing of produce coming out of CSD farms and military-operated farms is generally below market and consequently local farmers find it difficult to compete and successfully make a profit.⁸¹ Further, since it is well known that the military is engaged in so many agricultural projects, local farmers are afraid of scaling up their own farming because they don't want to be seen to be competing with military-run operations.⁸²

People's lands are also in some instances being used by the CSD. One CSD employee reported that the CSD orchestrated a protest against the release of occupied private lands using family members of CSD employees.⁸³

The CSD's competition is not just limited to agricultural projects though. Pre-schools also face tough resistance if they attempt to reject salary payments for teachers from the CSD; the CSD is actively causing pre-schools to become economically dependent on them. One organization operating a pre-school in the Vanni told ACPR that when their pre-school teachers were initially being offered salaries from the CSD the pre-school principal had told teachers not to take the payment.⁸⁴ Shortly after, the pre-school began running into issues with the local military, and it was only after the larger organization head negotiated with a higher-ranking commander that the pre-school was able to operate without CSD interference.⁸⁵

In another instance, a local church running a pre-school in Mullaitivu attempted to resist the CSD's interference and told all of its teachers that they couldn't receive salaries from the CSD. In response, with the aid of another local pastor, the CSD set up another pre-school in the same area. Of 40 students who were attending the original school, about 30 switched over to the CSD-run

⁸⁰ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017; ACPR Interviews with Women's Rights Activists, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

⁸¹ ACPR Interviews with Tamil communities in Mullaitivu, June 2017; ACPR Interviews with Civil Society working in the Vanni, May 2017; International Crisis Group, "Sri Lanka's North II: Rebuilding under the Military," Crisis Group Asia Report N°220, 16 March 2012, at p 23, accessed here: <<https://www.crisisgroup.org>>.

⁸² ACPR Interviews with local Tamil communities in Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

⁸³ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

⁸⁴ ACPR Interview with Program Coordinator for Organization in question, August 2017.

⁸⁵ ACPR Interview with Program Coordinator for Organization in question, August 2017.

school. When inquiries were made, it turned out that the parents of the pre-school children who switched schools worked for the CSD, and felt that they had no choice but to support it.⁸⁶

The CSD also makes it difficult for local businesses to flourish because they cannot compete with the kind of salaries that the CSD offers employees and also de-incentivizes people from running their own ventures. The salaries which the CSD provides are far above the average salaries of villagers in the Vanni and distorts the market.⁸⁷ The CSD pays both farm employees and pre-school teachers approximately 30,000 LKR/month. In context, pre-school teachers employed by the government get paid approximately 4,000 LKR/month, and farming households are reported to make on average 5,877 LKR/month in Mullaitivu, and 2,341 LKR/month in Kilinochchi.⁸⁸ According to government statistics from a 2012/2013 government survey, in Kilinochchi District the average income of those who earned an income was only 18,871 LKR/month, while at least 50% of the income-earning population made less than 12,000 LKR/month.⁸⁹ Mullaitivu District was even worse off, with the Census Department reporting an average income of only 16,951 LKR/month, with at least 50% of the population earning less than 13,239 LKR/month.⁹⁰ The only two districts that fared worse than Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi were Mannar and Batticaloa.⁹¹

While all CSD employees ACPR spoke with said from a moral perspective they would prefer to work for a Tamil-owned business, many of them said that the CSD is better for them because of the high salary and sense of stability.⁹² Since all of the CSD's employees come from deeply impoverished families and were directly affected by the war, it is difficult for them to turn down the opportunity to provide a better life for their children. Many CSD employees said they tried to view it as a government job – none of them knew or understood that employees of the CSD are technically considered soldiers.⁹³

The increased salaries that CSD employees make have also contributed to growing income inequalities within villages,⁹⁴ which has led to issues of breakdown of community cohesiveness and trust.

Many CSD employees also feel they no longer have a choice but to work for the CSD because of debts and loans they owe which will be discussed in the next section. In some villages, since the CSD began employing people, NGOs and charities have stopped providing assistance to war-affected families citing their employment.⁹⁵ This also creates a situation where individuals feel they have no choice but to continue working for the CSD.

⁸⁶ ACPR Interview with Clergy working for that church in Mullaitivu, May 2017.

⁸⁷ ACPR Interviews with Civil Society working in the Vanni, May 2017; ACPR Interview with NPC Councillor, June 2017.

⁸⁸ Sri Lankan Department of Census and Statistics, "Household Income and Expenditure Survey, 2012/2013, Final Report" (31 March 2015), at p 16, accessed online at: <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/HIES/HIES2012_13FinalReport.pdf>

⁸⁹ *Ibid* at p 11.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

⁹¹ *Ibid*.

⁹² ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017.

⁹³ *Ibid*.

⁹⁴ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

⁹⁵ ACPR Interview with CSD-paid Pre-School Teacher, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

The CSD also indirectly limits growth of the economy because profits from CSD businesses simply go towards the military, instead of contributing to more job creation and economic growth in the region. The CSD has hired almost no new recruits in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu since their initial recruitment drive in 2012/2013.⁹⁶ But according to their annual progress reports they have made substantial profits from CSD businesses in the area.⁹⁷ From an economic perspective, if the businesses were civilian-run, these profits would likely go towards more job creation or economic growth of the area. However, since the projects are military-run, their profits only benefit the military and not the local economy.

CSD contributes to cycle of debt and loans

When people began returning from Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps and rehabilitation camps after the war ended in 2009, in addition to the NGOs and military, it was banks and leasing companies that showed up in the Vanni almost immediately.⁹⁸ Loans and leases of products were aggressively marketed, with some companies trying to sell monthly, weekly and in some cases even daily loans.⁹⁹ Many banks gave loans without checking people's credit history or source of income, which at the time was welcomed as people struggled to rebuild their lives after the war.¹⁰⁰ However now, many of those people are unable to pay those loans and have turned depressed and/or suicidal.¹⁰¹

The CSD has only contributed to this vicious cycle of debt. Despite providing an above-average salary to its employees, only a few employees have achieved greater financial stability and improvement of their lives.¹⁰² Many employees have fallen prey to leasing companies and now barely make ends meet despite their salary levels.¹⁰³

Until recently, leasing companies would come directly to CSD-run farms to market their products to CSD employees.¹⁰⁴ "People working at the CSD are getting into debt because of the access to loans and leasing offers that are brought to the CSD site," explained one worker.¹⁰⁵ Overwhelmed with the overnight increase in their income, many employees eagerly took on a number of leases, not understanding the full conditions of a lease or the financial ramifications.¹⁰⁶ When CSD workers began to default on their loans, the CSD supervisors stepped in to put in place regulations restricting the ability of companies to come market their products on CSD premises.¹⁰⁷ However

⁹⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017.

⁹⁷ CSD Annual 2016 Progress Report

⁹⁸ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June-July 2017; Ahilan Kadirgamar, "Politics of dispossession" (20 September 2013), *Frontline*, accessed here: <www.frontline.in>.

⁹⁹ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June-July 2017

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, July 2017.

¹⁰⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹⁰⁷ ACPR Interview with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

by this point many CSD employees were far in debt. Now a number of employees feel that they cannot quit their jobs at the CSD even if they wanted to because of the debt they have.¹⁰⁸

Through the CSD, the military has effectively created a situation in which the most vulnerable war-affected Tamil population in the Vanni is now economically dependent on the military. It is this economic dependence which enables the military to exert greater control to further marginalize and silence voices from that community as will be discussed below. As such, in contextualizing the CSD within the greater militarisation project of the post-war Vanni, this component of economic dependence is critical to understanding the long-term ramifications of the CSD.

II. Suppression of civic and political engagement



CSD employees protesting against the Northern Provincial Council – April 24, 2017
Source: @Garikaalan¹⁰⁹

On April 24, 2017, CSD workers protested in Kilinochchi, against the Northern Provincial Council requests to transfer ownership and control over CSD-run farms and pre-schools to civilian authorities. CSD workers marched to Kilinochchi District Secretariat with placards saying that farms should remain under military control.¹¹⁰ Yet when ACPR interviewed CSD workers about this protest, individuals either did not understand what the protest was about and simply went because they had been instructed to, or they went because they felt they had to attend if they wanted to keep their jobs.¹¹¹ This protest is an obvious example by which the CSD system oppresses and controls the war-affected Tamil population of the Vanni, but there are many more complex and subtle ways in which it does so as well.

¹⁰⁸ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Garikaalan, via Twitter, April 24, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Ananth Palakidhar, "Ex-LTTE cadres protest NPC takeover" (26 April 2017), *Ceylon Today*, accessed here: <<http://www.ceylontoday.lk>>.

¹¹¹ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

During the Rajapaksa regime, it was well-documented by civil society working in the Vanni that CSD employees were directly used by the government to campaign for Mahinda Rajapaksa's re-election in 2014.¹¹² CSD employees told ACPR that they were handed leaflets and told to go stand by bus stands and markets handing them out to people.¹¹³ Those leaflets were calling on people to vote for Rajapaksa. CSD employees reported feeling like they had no other choice but to do so out of fear for the military and for their own livelihoods.¹¹⁴

While coerced electioneering no longer occurs, as evidenced by the April 2017 protest, CSD workers are still coerced into attending events to support the military and/or the government's agenda. As one CSD worker told ACPR, "[s]ometimes we are taken to meetings and not told why but what else can we do? This is our livelihood." Primarily this use of CSD employees to support government propaganda and events is confined to those working on CSD-run farms but sometimes CSD-paid pre-school teachers are also asked to attend events without explanation.

In training conducted for CSD farm employees, they were explicitly told that they could not engage in any political activity that is seen as against the government.¹¹⁵ Employees feel as a result that they cannot participate in any kind of civic or political engagement whether it is attending local political party meetings or protests by families of the disappeared.¹¹⁶

One CSD farm employee that ACPR interviewed said she used to be an activist for disappeared persons after her daughter was disappeared in May 2009. However, after joining the CSD she has ceased all activity relating to disappearances and now just quietly mourns her daughter's disappearance away from public view. "They probably know that if we [war-affected Vanni population] were without work, since the same root causes that caused the war exist maybe we would revert to that or some other protest," she said, adding, "[t]hey want control so there will never be a Tamil uprising again."¹¹⁷

While pre-school teachers working for the CSD were never directly instructed that they could not attend political events, there is a widespread sentiment that they also are not allowed to and that it would be viewed negatively by the CSD.¹¹⁸ In fact, pre-school teachers paid by the CSD generally seem quite afraid of speaking about the CSD, and as one teacher said, "there's no one to hold them to account – they are the military."¹¹⁹

In addition to general civic and political activism, the CSD seems to be indirectly blocking employees from engaging in any 'transitional justice' processes. "There's no talk of transitional justice inside of the CSD," said one employee explaining that they don't get the opportunity to participate

¹¹² ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; Asian Mirror, "Presidential Commission summons Gotabhaya Rajapaksa again" (8 October 2015), accessed here: <www.asianmirror.lk>; Centre for Monitoring Election Violence, "Presidential Election 2015", accessed here: <<https://cmev.org/tag/presidential-election-2015/>>.

¹¹³ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

¹¹⁸ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June-July 2017.

¹¹⁹ ACPR Interview with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teacher, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

in any workshops or activities around transitional justice in the Vanni.¹²⁰ With regards to memorialization, CSD employees feel like they are not at liberty to attend events marking Maaveerar Naal or even May 18th.¹²¹ “If we go we will be interrogated,” said one CSD employee.¹²²

CSD farm employees are monitored by constant surveillance. A specific CID officer is assigned to each CSD farm and comes at least once a week, in addition to the regular supervision by military officers at each farm.¹²³ This culture of surveillance also contributes to their silencing. CSD employees feel that they continued to be surveyed because so many of them are former LTTE cadres.¹²⁴ But they also believe it is meant to discourage people from participating in community activities.¹²⁵

Among pre-school teachers, while there is no constant presence of the security forces, some pre-school teachers are suspected of working for military intelligence and thus monitoring the other teachers’ activities.¹²⁶ Pre-school teachers are also required to sign into attendance logs at local military camps on a monthly basis, and often have to attend seminars at the camps.¹²⁷

The culture of surveillance exists throughout the militarised Vanni but is heightened for CSD employees due to their direct employment and supervision by the military. This further dissuades them from participating in any civic or political engagement out of fear of possible repercussions for their livelihood or worse.

Ultimately this suppression of CSD employees’ participation in their communities has contributed to a destruction of community cohesiveness and identity. CSD employees in communities are viewed with suspicion and distrust, and in many cases, looked down upon as having ‘betrayed’ their identity by going to work for the military.¹²⁸ “People work for the security forces out of necessity but the army uses it as an opportunity to isolate that individual from the community,” said one CSD employee.¹²⁹

This isolation from their communities is furthered by the rising income inequality resulting from the higher salaries paid by the CSD.¹³⁰

The stigmatisation of CSD employees has only increased as the CSD more overtly militarises aspects of employment such as the new requirement for one month of military training for all CSD farm-workers discussed in Chapter II. CSD employees who complete training are required to wear their military uniform when attending events organized by the CSD, or sometimes on a monthly

¹²⁰ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, July 2017.

¹²¹ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹²² ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, July 2017.

¹²³ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD-paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ ACPR Interviews with Tamil Community, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with Women’s Rights Activists, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017; ACPR Interview with Clergy from Kilinochchi, May 2017.

¹²⁹ ACPR Interview with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

¹³⁰ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

basis in public spaces. This uniform only adds to the perception held by the rest of the community that CSD employees are soldiers and should not be trusted.



Director General of CSD Mr.Chandrarathne Pallegama addresses CSD Employees who completed their training in Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu on 5th February 2017

Source: www.CSD.lk¹³¹

But even as the militarisation of the CSD's employment increases, alarmingly there appears to have been a normalization of the militarisation process. There is very little dissent or protest against the military's provision of livelihood opportunities, or even the overt militarisation of pre-school spaces.

Another CSD employee spoke about the sense of community ownership there used to be over issues that arose in the pre-2009 context but added, "[t]oday that sense of collective is not present."¹³² The general sentiment appears to be that there is no sense of Tamil community identity anymore, which has been partially caused by the military's segmenting of the population by employing a large portion of them.

The indirect and direct suppression of community participation of CSD workers is having far-reaching impacts on the Tamil community socially and politically. It is also further marginalizing and silencing an already-marginalized section of the war-affected population. The exclusion of these voices from political spaces not only harms them as individuals, but also harms the collective.

III. Increased marginalization and vulnerability of women employed with CSD

According to the CSD's 2016 Performance Report report, of approximately 3000 people employed in Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, over two-thirds were women.¹³³ The large majority of these women are either former LTTE cadres, or war-affected women from female-headed households.¹³⁴

As a result of this employment many women have been further marginalized and have had their voices silenced as they are subject to greater control by the military. Further, their dependency on

¹³¹ Civil Security Department, "Director General addresses on completion of training" (13 February 2017), accessed here: <www.csd.lk>.

¹³² ACPR Interview with CSD-paid Pre-School Teacher, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

¹³³ CSD 2016 Performance Report *supra* at p 50.

¹³⁴ ACPR Interviews with CSD farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

the military for employment means they face a greater risk of gender-based violence and also a diminished ability to seek redress when it occurs.

While communities generally view CSD employees with less respect, women employed by the CSD are viewed even less favourably. The perception held by many in Tamil communities in the Vanni is that women working for the CSD are voluntarily engaging in sexual relations with Sinhalese soldiers and supervisors.¹³⁵ Women working for the CSD themselves often try to distinguish themselves from “those other” CSD women who are “sleeping around”.¹³⁶ These perceptions fail to account for consent, coercion and power dynamics.

In at least two CSD farms from which ACPR interviewed employees, the military conducted HIV/AIDS testing of all employees in May 2017.¹³⁷ CSD employees were told that all state employees were being tested, though interestingly government officers in Mullaitivu did not report being tested.¹³⁸ As of June 2017, at least 8 cases of HIV/AIDS had been detected among female CSD employees at one of the farms.¹³⁹ The perception widely held was that testing was happening because of the prevalence of sexual relations between the soldier supervisors of CSD farms and female CSD workers.¹⁴⁰ Some women interviewed felt that the testing was an “insult to [their] dignity” because it made it appear as though all Tamil women working for the CSD were having sex with soldiers.¹⁴¹

Reports have found that Sri Lankan soldiers are a high-risk group for contraction of HIV/AIDS.¹⁴² At various points over the last few years HIV/AIDS awareness training has been provided for soldiers stationed in the North on the request of local commanders.¹⁴³

A structural analysis of circumstances surrounding sexual encounters between Sinhala soldiers and Tamil CSD employees in the Vanni suggests that there will always be an element of coercion. To start, it is the same soldiers who control these women’s access to livelihood and employment that are making advances. The power imbalance here is undeniable, and for many women, particularly former female cadres, employment with the CSD is the only viable livelihood option available to them. The other factor to consider is there are almost no avenues through which women could hold soldiers accountable if they wanted to report incidents of sexual harassment/assault. As one CSD employee told ACPR, “[w]hen there are issues with the military there is no one to question them,” and “even people go to the police they face consequences like getting framed.”¹⁴⁴ CSD

¹³⁵ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees and CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017; ACPR Interviews with Women’s Activists, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017; ACPR Interview with Clergy working in Kilinochchi, May 2017; ACPR Interviews with Journalists in Jaffna, September 2017.

¹³⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June 2017.

¹³⁷ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Feizel Samath, “Health Sri Lanka: NGO takes HIV/AIDS battle to soldiers” (15 October 1999), *Inter Press Service*, accessed here: <www.ipsnews.net>; International Centre for Ethnic Studies Kandy, “A Survey of HIV/AIDS Awareness and Risky Sexual Behaviour in a Vulnerable Population in Sri Lanka” (January 2009), accessed here: <http://www.aidsdatahub.org/sites/default/files/documents/A_survey_of_hiv_awareness_in_srilanka.pdf>.

¹⁴³ Sri Lankan Army, “Army Personnel in Kilinochchi & Mullaitivu Educated on STDs” (15 February 2016), accessed here: <www.army.lk>.

¹⁴⁴ ACPR Interview with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teacher, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

employees also shared there is almost no access to the farms for NGOs and outside people.¹⁴⁵ The few times non-state actors were even allowed into CSD places it was with military escort.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the reliance on the military for livelihood means women feel extremely disempowered to speak out about abuses committed by the security forces, and also to engage in any kind of civic activism.¹⁴⁷

It is evident that given the circumstances, the question of whether sexual encounters between soldiers and CSD employees amount to sexual harassment, assault and/or rape must be considered seriously.

The heightened levels of surveillance within the CSD also mean that female CSD employees have limited access to spaces which women's groups and activists have carved out in the Vanni. Women's groups and activists report that they have limited interaction with female CSD employees, and comparatively to other war-affected women in the Vanni, female CSD employees seem particularly reluctant to speak out or share their stories.¹⁴⁸

This fear of speaking out about CSD abuses also extends to pre-school teachers receiving CSD salaries. CSD-paid pre-school teachers, who are almost always women, often feel even more isolated because they are not working in a collective space like a farm, where at least there would be more than 1-2 CSD employees. Many CSD-paid pre-school teachers report being treated with disrespect and contempt by other teachers who opted not to sign up when the CSD was recruiting.¹⁴⁹

For Tamil women continuing to live in the militarised Vanni, being forced to rely on the military for livelihood opportunities has only served to further marginalize them and increase their vulnerability. While they may be better off than their counterparts in other parts of the country from an economic perspective, it is clear that their subjugation to military control has had dire consequences for their security, health, and social well being.

¹⁴⁵ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹⁴⁶ ACPR Interviews with CSD Farm employees, Mullaitivu, June – July 2017.

¹⁴⁷ ACPR Interviews with Women's Rights Activists, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, June – July 2017.

¹⁴⁸ ACPR Interviews with Women's Rights Activists, September 2017.

¹⁴⁹ ACPR Interviews with CSD-Paid Pre-School Teachers, Kilinochchi, July 2017.

Chapter IV: Conclusion and Recommendations

Discussions on militarisation in Sri Lanka often revolve around the numerically large presence of the military in the North-East and their occupation of lands. But what this report on the CSD demonstrates is that the process of militarisation in war-affected Tamil areas, particularly the Vanni, goes far deeper and is far more complex than simply the amount of visible military structures and troops. The CSD is an example of the way the State continues to militarise economic and civic spaces in the war-affected Vanni region. The CSD also symbolizes Sri Lanka's failure to uphold its commitments to the international community to put an end to the military's involvement in civilian activities, and work on meaningful security sector reform.

The growth of the CSD in the Vanni points to the larger issue of the Sri Lankan military's failure to transition into a reduced post-war role. Instead, the military's approach to its post-war role has been to embed and normalize the process of militarisation, thereby extending its control and subjugation of Tamil populations in the post-war Vanni. The CSD is very clearly a part of the military, and so its provision of livelihood opportunities though much needed, must be read as the creation of economic dependence on the military, rather than economic development. Through this dependence and because of its military character, the CSD also suppresses civic and political activism of its employees, and further marginalizes women employed as this report explains. Alarming, a consequence of the CSD has also been the beginning of a destruction of community identity and cohesiveness.

Consequently, the use of the CSD to militarise the economy and civic spaces in the Vanni must be challenged at the domestic and international levels. Tamil politicians and communities must also be more cognisant of the pressures and context in which individuals have been compelled to join the CSD. Rather than denigrate and 'traitorise' CSD employees, it would be far more effective to work towards creating alternative forms of employment and push for the removal of the CSD from operating livelihood projects in the Vanni and a transfer of control over those projects back to communities.

Ultimately, permitting the military's control over war-affected Tamil populations in the North will only further the cycle of conflict and will destroy any hopes of building a truly participatory democracy and sustainable peace.

Recommendations to Government of Sri Lanka:

1. In consultation with CSD employees in the Vanni, develop a process to transfer ownership of CSD agricultural and animal husbandry projects to civilian CSD employees and convert the farms into co-operatives.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Co-operative farms have a long history in the Northern province and are a model for agriculture that continues to exist in the Northern province.

2. Reimburse profits made from CSD agricultural and animal husbandry projects to the communities in which they are located, preferably in the form of assistance to the setting up of co-operatives mentioned in the first recommendation.
3. Put an immediate end to the mandatory military training being instituted for CSD employees, and the requirement that they wear military uniforms at events in public.
4. Put an end to the CSD paying the salaries of pre-school teachers. The budget for the CSD allocated for such payments should be re-allocated to the Ministry of Education. Issue a clear directive that the CSD and the military should have no role in educational activities in any form whatsoever.
5. Issue a clear directive to the military to cease and refrain from engaging in any civilian activities, in particular in the Vanni.
6. Permit open access into CSD farms and other places of employment for the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka.
7. Return any private lands being used by the CSD to its rightful owners.
8. End the practice of CSD-organized protests and civic action.

Recommendations to the Northern Provincial Council and Tamil political parties

1. In consultation with the relevant pre-school teachers and after setting in motion transitional arrangements, the Northern Province Ministry of Education to issue directives to pre-school administrators to stop receiving payments from the CSD for teacher salaries and ban any involvement of the military in educational activities.
2. Formally apply to the Central Government to transfer all state land used by the CSD to run farms and other economic activities to the Department of Cooperatives of the Northern Province. Through the Department of Cooperatives establish new cooperative societies which will run the CSD farms or reallocate farms to existing cooperative societies in consultation with the CSD employees and the people of the Vanni.
3. Appoint a representative Task Force (including ex LTTE cadres, current CSD employees; both men and women) to study and report back on a framework for economic development and livelihood opportunities for ex-LTTE cadres and the wider community in the Vanni. Identify pilot projects based on the above policy framework and implement with financial support from the Central Government / multilateral, bilateral donors/ private sector / Diaspora.
4. Hold regular consultations with CSD employees in relation to the above recommendations so that they feel heard and included in the community. Importantly, such consultations should not be an opportunity to denigrate CSD employees for their choice to work for the CSD, but rather to give them a space to voice their concerns.

Recommendations to the International Community

1. Make the cessation of the military's involvement in civilian activities a pre-condition of any military-to-military relationship building (in addition to other pre-conditions that should already be in place such as accountability).
2. Call on the Government of Sri Lanka to fulfil the above recommendations listed as part of their commitments under HRC Res 30/I and 34/I.
3. Ensure that any aid or development assistance going into the Vanni is not inadvertently endorsing or supporting the militarised economy.



அடையாளம்
கொள்கை ஆய்வுக்கான நிலையம்

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