

The Substitution Engine — Sri Lanka's Punishment Stack (2022–2026) — MP Evidence Pack

A UK-Parliament briefing pack on the PTA -> PSTA + ICCPR §3 + Online Safety Act + Penal Code §120/291B substitution architecture. Anchored on OHCHR A/HRC/40/52/Add.3 (2019), ICJ (2018), Amnesty International (2023) and Article 19 (2024). Introduces the Coercion(t) index (ECSL M09) and the K substitution-surplus indicator for use in UK ODA conditionality review and UNHRC statements.

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Audience

- UK MPs
- Lords
- FCDO
- Home Office
- APPG for Tamils
- APPG on Global LGBT+ Rights
- APPG on Human Rights

Best used for

- Written questions on UK government position on the Sri Lankan Anti-Terrorism Bill / PSTA relative to the PTA it replaces
- Letters to FCDO on ODA conditionality against the aggregate coercive ceiling (K) rather than any single repealed instrument
- APPG evidence sessions on the Online Safety Act No. 9 of 2024 in the context of ICCPR §3 charge-swap patterns
- Committee submissions to the International Development Committee and Foreign Affairs Committee on the substitution architecture

Tier-A evidence anchors

- Punishment-Stack Desk — TLTE Unmai — <https://docs.tlte.cloud/unmai/desk/punishment-stack>
- Coercion(t) · ECSL Model M09 — <https://docs.tlte.cloud/lab/models/coercion>
- Pattern 01 · Substitution Engine (TLTE Pattern Watch) — <https://docs.tlte.cloud/unmai/desk/pattern-watch/substitution>
- OHCHR — Report of the Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism, A/HRC/40/52/Add.3 (2019)
- ICJ — Sri Lanka's Prevention of Terrorism Act: A Critical Analysis (2018)
- Amnesty International — Old Wine in a New Bottle (2023)
- Article 19 — Sri Lanka: Online Safety Act submission (2024)
- Sri Lanka Supreme Court — SC SD 71–89/2023 (Online Safety Bill)
- HRW — Locked Up Without Evidence (2018)

Policy asks

- UK Government (FCDO): State HM Government's position on the equivalence-plus finding by Amnesty International (2023) that the Sri Lankan Anti-Terrorism Bill / PSTA is functionally broader than the PTA it replaces on scope, duration and forum.
- UK Government (FCDO): Confirm whether UK ODA conditionality is calibrated against the aggregate statutory coercive ceiling in the counter-terrorism and public-order statute book, rather than against any single repealed instrument in isolation.
- UK Government (Home Office): Assess CPIN alignment with the 2024 Online Safety Act §§ 12, 16 and 20 and the ICCPR Act §3(1) charge-swap pattern documented by OHCHR and Article 19.
- APPG for Tamils: Convene an evidence session on the K substitution-surplus indicator (TLTE ECSL M09) as a submissible structural indicator to the UN Human Rights Committee and OHCHR Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism.
- UK Government (FCDO): Support the OHCHR Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism follow-up to A/HRC/40/52/Add.3 with reference to the 2022–2026 replacement statutes.
- International Development Committee: Include the Sri Lankan Anti-Terrorism / PSTA transition in the next UK ODA peer review, with reference to the OECD DAC criteria on the rule of law and independent judicial review.
- UK Government (FCDO): Set out HM Government's engagement plan across the EU GSP+ biennial monitoring window, Sri Lanka's next UPR cycle, and the standing follow-up to A/HRC/40/52/Add.3 — treating these as a single reception calendar for the substitution architecture rather than isolated events.
- UK Government (FCDO): State HM Government's position on the Article 34 pardon-versus-PTA-remand asymmetry documented by OHCHR, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, and whether that asymmetry is included in the Global Human Rights sanctions review evidence base.
- APPG for Tamils: Table a Backbench Business debate in the Tamil Heritage Month window on the aggregate coercive ceiling (K) of the Sri Lankan statute book, with reference to the regional comparator jurisprudence of the UN Human Rights Committee on Malaysia (CCPR/C/MYS/CO/1, 2024) and Pakistan (CCPR/C/PAK/CO/2, 2024) and the UN Committee against Torture on Bangladesh (CAT/C/BGD/CO/1, 2019).

Draft parliamentary questions

- [FCDO] To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, what HM Government's assessment is of the finding by Amnesty International that the Sri Lankan Anti-Terrorism Bill is functionally broader than the Prevention of Terrorism Act it replaces.
- [FCDO] To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, whether UK official development assistance to Sri Lanka is conditioned against the aggregate statutory coercive ceiling in the counter-terrorism and public-order statute book, rather than against any single repealed instrument.
- [Home Office] To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what assessment has been made of the Sri Lankan Online Safety Act 2024, in particular sections 12, 16 and 20, in the current Country Policy and Information Note on Sri Lanka.
- [FCDO] To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, what representations HM Government has made to the Government of Sri Lanka on the follow-up to the 2019 report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism (A/HRC/40/52/Add.3).
- [FCDO] To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, what representations HM Government intends to make to the European Commission ahead of the next GSP+ biennial monitoring mission to Sri Lanka regarding the aggregate coercive ceiling in the counter-terrorism and public-order statute book.

- [FCDO] To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, what assessment HM Government has made of the pattern of Article 34 presidential pardons of convicted perpetrators in Sri Lanka, documented by OHCHR, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, when read against prolonged pre-trial detention of Tamil civilians under section 15A of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.
- [FCDO] To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs, whether HM Government's Sri Lanka position takes account of the concluding observations of the UN Human Rights Committee on Malaysia (CCPR/C/MYS/CO/1, 2024) and Pakistan (CCPR/C/PAK/CO/2, 2024) as regional comparator jurisprudence on parallel counter-terror and public-order statute-book architectures.

Civic remembrance

The pack does not name any defendant, prosecutor, magistrate or judge. It audits the architecture of the statute book — the aggregate coercive ceiling available to the executive across the 2022–2026 repeal-and-replace window. The moratorium on judicial execution since 1976 is acknowledged as a governmental fact; the ceiling remains on the statute book, which is the point.

Pack rules

- Never names an individual defendant, prosecutor, magistrate, or judge.
- Never predicts a specific charge or sentence in any live matter.
- Never claims the death penalty is 'active' — the 1976 moratorium is acknowledged; the statutory ceiling is the audit object.
- Always cites the statutory instrument (Act No., section) before quoting a ceiling.
- Always pairs domestic instruments with a Tier-A external anchor (OHCHR / ICJ / Amnesty / Article 19 / HRW / UN WGAD).
- Lobbying Act 2014 transparency note on every printed brief.

Transparency

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