



# Are suicide bombers the only choice available?

Breach of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) and LTTE Strategy –  
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# Background of LTTE

LTTE has carried out more attacks than either **Hamas** or **Palestinian Islamic Jihad**.

They were considered as the most **deadliest terrorist outfit** in the world.

The **world leader in suicide terrorism** with the use of suicide vests and belts.

## NUMBER OF SUICIDE ATTACKS BETWEEN 1990 AND 2000

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka and in India	16
Hizbullah and pro-Syrian groups in Lebanon, Kuwait and Argentina	52
Hamas in Israel	22
The Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) in Turkey	15
The Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) in Israel	8

*Source: Jane's Security ( Lanka Web)*

## Background of the CFA : 2002-2008

- ▶ A jointly agreed ceasefire between the GOSL and the LTTE was signed in 2002 clearly indicating **neither party shall engage in any offensive military operations.**
- ▶ However this was violated on numerous occasions which clearly reflects, LTTE had no intention of securing peace.
- ▶ **Six rounds** of negotiation sessions were held by consecutive governments, with the assistance of **SLMM (Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission)**, nonetheless all negotiations were ended abruptly.

# Why the CFA Agreement failed?

- ▶ Within the six years, they found the LTTE guilty of **3,830 violations**, while holding the Government responsible for only **351** (Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission –SLMM, 2006).
- ▶ The LTTE leveraged on the Ceasefire Agreement to **attack its Tamil opponents ;former militant groups** such as the EPDP, PLOTE and the Perumal wing of the EPRLF.
- ▶ Further LTTE utilized the ceasefire period to **strengthen the military operations and for accumulating arms**

# Reasons for Abrogation of the CFA

- ▶ Massive attacks were carried out on **security forces in 2006**, undermining the role of SLMM in upholding the peace process.
- ▶ Killing of the Peace Secretariat **Deputy Secretary General Kethees Loganathan**, a prominent Tamil Peace maker.
- ▶ This only reflects that for **LTTE the truce existed only on paper**.
- ▶ In **2008 January**, government was compelled to withdraw from the **CFA which was officially announced on 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan.**

# The role of Diaspora

- ▶ The Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora consists of appx. 700,000 people. The inevitable defeat damaged the **LTTE's credibility and weakened its hold on the community.**
- ▶ Following the defeat of the LTTE, the mood in the diaspora has been a **mix of anger, depression and denial.**
- ▶ Nonetheless, most Tamils abroad remain profoundly committed to Tamil Eelam, the existence of a separate state in Sri Lanka. This **has widened the gap between the diaspora and Tamils in Sri Lanka**
- ▶ (Crisis group [REPORT](#) 186 / [ASIA](#) 23 FEBRUARY 2010)

# The role of Diaspora

- ▶ The diaspora are continuously pressurising Western governments to accept an independent state for Tamils and investigate on “war crimes
- ▶ **Human smuggling** was a strategy of LTTE as a recruitment drive.  
( LTTE suspect in Canada fights against deportation(5<sup>th</sup> Aug 2016)  
<https://www.srilankafoundation.org/newsfeed/lte-suspect-in-canada-fights-against-deportation>)
- ▶ Tamil leaders in Sri Lanka are currently proposing substantial reforms within a united Sri Lanka, However diaspora's perception of them remains as traitors.
- ▶ Crisis group [REPORT](#) 186 / [ASIA](#) 23 FEBRUARY 2010)

## suicide bombers and recruiting young children for terror propaganda



*www.lankaweb.Com Newspapers Ltd.*  
*15th May 2006*

- ▶ The use of women and children by the LTTE was also a new and successful technique.
- ▶ The volunteers who carried out these suicide attacks became known as the “**Black Tigers.**”
- ▶ Under international law, recruitment of children to be soldiers is unlawful if the children are forcibly recruited.



## Child Soldiers- “ Baby Brigade”

- ▶ UNICEF reports that more than **40 percent of children recruited by the LTTE are girls**
- ▶ As of October 31, 2004, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) had documented **3,516 new cases of underage recruitment since the signing of the cease fire agreement.**
- ▶ In 1991, Elephant pass battle ,**550 LTTE deaths were mostly children**

# Child soldiers



[Ministry of defence Web](#)

- ▶ Tamil children are vulnerable to recruitment beginning at the age of **eleven or twelve**. Families that resist are harassed and threatened.
- ▶ The LTTE offers cyanide capsules and grenades to its soldiers, including children.
- ▶ The LTTE was among the first armed opposition groups to use its cadres, including children, to carry out suicide bomb attacks.
- ▶ HRM Report “Living in Fear- Nov. 10, 2004)  
<https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/11/10/living-fear/child-soldiers-and-tamil-tigers-sri-lanka>

# Recruitment of Child Soldiers

- ▶ Children are frequently abducted from their homes at night or picked up while **walking to school /attending a temple festival**. Parents who resist the abduction of their children face violent LTTE retribution.
- ▶ Once recruited, most children are **allowed no contact with their families** and subjects them to rigorous and brutal training.
- ▶ Children who try **to run away are typically beaten** in front of their entire unit
- ▶ HRM Report “Living in Fear- Nov. 10, 2004) <https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/11/10/living-fear/soldiers-and-tamil-tigers-sri-lanka>

# Suicide Bombers and Child Recruitment.

- ▶ Quote “My parents refused to give me to the LTTE so about fifteen of them came to my house-it was both men and women, uniforms, with rifles, and guns in holsters. I was fast asleep when they came to get me at one in the morning. These people dragged me out of the house. My father shouted at them, saying “What is going on?”, but some of the LTTE soldiers took my father away towards the woods and beat him. They also pushed my mother onto the ground when she tried to stop them”  
Unquote.
- ▶ -girl recruited by the LTTE in 2003 at the age sixteen
- ▶ HRM Report “Living in Fear- Nov. 10, 2004)  
<https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/11/10/living-fear/child-soldiers-and-tamil-tigers-sri-lanka>

# Suicide Bombers and Child Recruitment.

- ▶ Quote “They took away my younger brother the other day. He was coming home from the market and he was taken away. I went and begged them, saying, “I gave you years of my life and I gave you my health. Please let me have my brother back-he is the only one I have who takes care of me, helps me to go to the toilet, helps me get into school.” “They didn't release him, and they threatened to shoot if I reported his abduction to any NGOs. They also told me at the same time that I had to re-join. Is this how they thank me for all the time I gave them? Why are they doing this to me?” Unquote
- ▶ -girl who was recruited by the LTTE at the age sixteen and severely disabled in combat
- ▶ HRM Report “Living in Fear- Nov. 10, 2004)  
<https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/11/10/living-fear/child-soldiers-and-tamil-tigers-sr>

An LTTE pistol gang has reportedly executed a husband and wife publicly in the Mullaitivu town on Tuesday for not attending the civilian military training program held a few days ago in an LTTE camp, civilian sources said.

*The Daily Mirror-25-05-06*



In this photograph released by the Sri Lankan military April 21, 2009 shows civilians escape from an area controlled by Tamil Tigers in the north-east of Sri Lanka.

[Xinhua] Xinhua News Agency April 23, 2009





## Humanitarian Assistance Rendered by the Security forces



The LTTE have categorized dead or missing LTTE cadres are civilians.

► ***ALL TIGERS ARE TAMILS  
BUT ALL TAMILS ARE  
NOT TIGERS.***



## Rehabilitation of ex-combatants

- ▶ Nearly **4,156** of the rehabilitated former LTTE members were between the age of **20-29 years** and **1,084** of them were **female cadres**. The highest number of **5,586** rehabilitation took place in **2010**.
- ▶ **594** child soldiers among those rehabilitated



**Will LTTE be a  
global Threat in  
the future?**

► In a recent study done for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and published as Commentary No: 77, Prof Chalk has said that the activities of the LTTE "octopus" include movement of refugees, arms transfers, terrorism, money laundering and drug-trafficking, all "by-products" of the militant group's insurgency in Sri Lanka.

► <http://www.lankaweb.com/news/terrorism.html>

▶ the Tamil Youth Organization (TYO) and the National Council of Canadian Tamils (NCCT)<sup>3</sup> issued a joint statement in 2012 declaring: “We will boycott any Tamil Diaspora organization that compromises the principles of Homeland”.

**Shouldn't the  
Diaspora Assist  
Reconciliation  
Process in Sri  
Lanka?**

## livelihood Development Jaffna District under reconciliation initiatives

Under the Ministry of  
National Integration and  
Reconciliation on the  
direction of the His  
Excellency the President  
Maithripala Sirisena **Rs.  
654 million worth of  
projects were  
implemented in newly  
resettled areas** and were  
officially handed over on  
4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> March 2018.



# Reconciliation

- **The Center for Peace and Reconciliation (CPR)** is based in Jaffna, in the North of Sri Lanka. They work with victims of the war such as school children, teachers, war widows, orphans and people who have been economically marginalised due to war.

(Conflicts, Sri Lanka, Peace Direct, 2004.)

- Rs. 6,000 million allocated for major high impact development interventions in the Jaffna District. implementing 2,565 owner driven **Brick and Mortar Type houses for Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) and refugee returnees** under the durable solutions programme (Asian Tribune, August 2019).

# Why Tamil Politicians Were Assassinated by the LTT

- Assassinations of an Indian prime minister, [Rajiv Gandhi](#) , Sri Lankan president [R. Premadasa](#) and several other high-ranking Sri Lankan politicians
- [Lakshman Kadirgamar](#)<sup>[15][16]</sup> Former Sri Lankan Cabinet Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, Prominent Tamil diplomat, politician and lawyer.
- [Jeyaraj Fernandopulle](#)<sup>[17]</sup> - Former Sri Lankan Cabinet Minister of Highways Road Development, the chief government whip of the parliament of Sri Lanka
- [A. Amirthalingam](#)<sup>[19][20]</sup> - Leading [Sri Lankan Tamil](#) politician and former [Leader of the Opposition](#)
- [A. Thangathurai](#)<sup>[21]</sup>- Former [Tamil United Liberation Front](#) (TULF) Member of Parliament
- [Alfred Duraiappah](#)<sup>[22]</sup> - Former [Sri Lanka Freedom Party](#) member of the parliament for Jaffna District
- [M. Canagaratnam](#)<sup>[23]</sup> Former [Tamil United Liberation Front](#) MP

# Tamil Politicians Assassinated by the LTTE

- [Sam Tambimuttu<sup>\[13\]\[26\]</sup>](#) Former [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front](#) MP
- [Neelan Tiruchelvam<sup>\[27\]\[28\]</sup>](#) - Scholar, international activist, legislator, lawyer, social scientist and politician
- [G. Yogasangari<sup>\[29\]</sup>](#) - Former Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front MP for Jaffna
- [V. Yogeswaran<sup>\[19\]\[20\]</sup>](#) Former Tamil United Liberation Front MP for Jaffna
- [Kethesh Loganathan<sup>\[54\]</sup>](#) - Tamil political activist, Human Rights advocate and deputy secretary general of the [Secretariat for Coordinating the Peace Process \(SCOPP\)](#).
- [S. Shanmuganathan<sup>\[19\]</sup>](#) Former [Democratic People's Liberation Front](#) MP
- [Nimalan Soundaranayagam<sup>\[25\]</sup>](#) - Former [Tamil United Liberation Front](#) MP

# References

- ▶ (1) Council on Foreign Relations, *Terrorist Q&A: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam*, 2004, [http://cfrterrorism.org/groups/tamiltigers\\_print.html](http://cfrterrorism.org/groups/tamiltigers_print.html) (retrieved October 13, 2004).\
- ▶ Lanka Web- Terrorism Portal downloaded through: <http://www.lankaweb.com/news/terrorism.html>
- ▶ **Explaining Canadian foreign policy toward Sri Lanka under the Harper government:** Steven Seligman *International Journal* Vol. 71, No. 2, Annual John W. Holmes issue on Canadian Foreign Policy (JUNE 2016), pp. 249-26
- ▶ HRM Report “Living in Fear- Nov. 10, 2004) <https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/11/10/living-fear/child-soldiers-and-tamil-tigers-sri-lanka>
- ▶ [3] Agreement on a Ceasefire Between the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, February 22, 2002, art. 2.1.
- ▶ Conflicts, Sri Lanka, Peace Direct, December, 2004. <https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/sri-lanka/peacebuilding-organisations/cpr/>





# Questions

