Are suicide bombers the only choice available?

Breach of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) and LTTE Strategy – Dr. Isuri Dharmaratne, Ph.D.

ackground 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 19 2000

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka and in India	1
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 Source: Jane's Security (Lanka Web)	8

ck ground of the CFA: 2002-2008

- A jointly agreed ceasefire between the GOSL the LTTE was signed in 2002 clearly indicating neither party shall engage in any offensive military operations.
- However this was violated on numerous cour which clearly reflects, LTTE had no intention securing peace.

Six rounds of negotiation sessions were held consecutive governments, with the assistanc SLMM (Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission), nonetheless all negotiations were ended abru

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 Secretory 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 2nd 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 <u>REPORT</u> 186 / <u>ASIA</u> 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(5th Aug 2016) https://www.srilankafoundation.org/newsfeed/ltte-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 <u>REPORT</u> 186 / <u>ASIA</u> 23 FEBRUARY 2010)

uicide bombers and ecruiting young children for error propaganda



w.lankaweb.Com Newspapers Ltd. 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



- Tamil children are vulnerable to recruitment beginning at the age of eleven or twelve. Families the resist are harassed and threatened.
- The LTTE offers cyanide capsule 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 nig or picked up while walking to school /attending a temp festival. Parents who resist the abduction of their childre face violent LTTE retribution.
- Once recruited, most children are allowed no contact we their families and subjects them to rigorous and brutal training.
- Children who try to run away are typically beaten in fro 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 whe 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 me 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 "They didn't release him, and they threatened to shoot if I reported abduction to any NGOs. They also told me at the same time that I he re-join. Is this how they thank me for all the time I gave them? Why 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

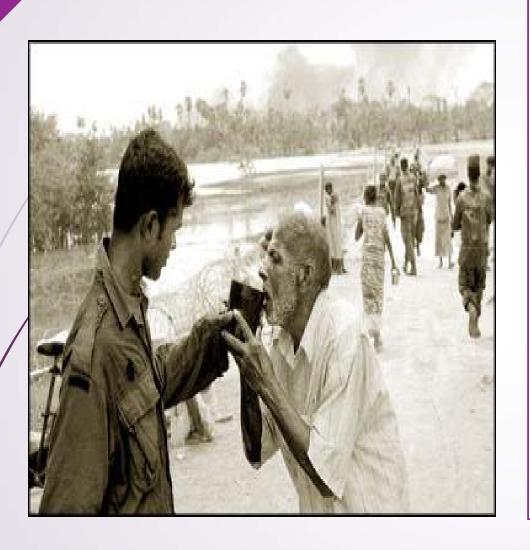


In this photograph released by the Sri Lankan military April 21, 2009 shows civilians escape from an area controlled by Tamil Tigers in the north-east of Sri Lanka.

[Xinhua] Xinhua News Agency April 23, 2009



Humanitarian Assistance Rendered by the Security forces

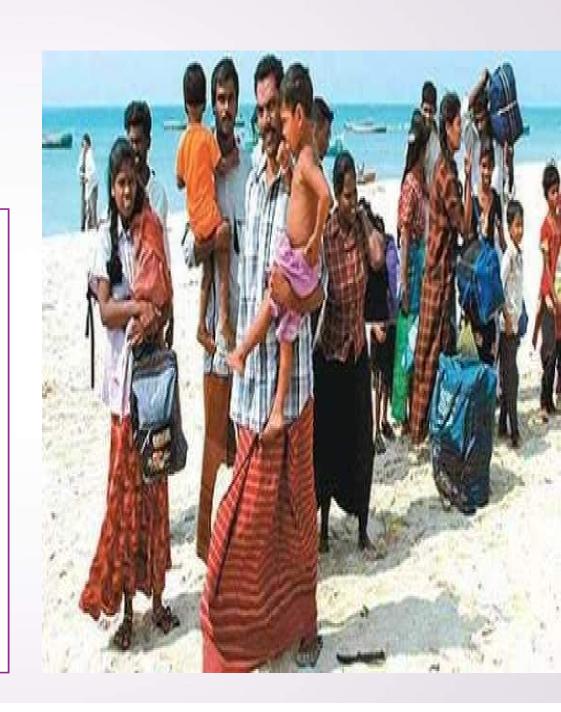


The LTTE have categorized dead or missing LTTE cadres are civilians.

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

ehabilitation of exombatants

- 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 movemen 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)³ 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?

elihood Development Jaffna District under conciliation initiatives

Jnder the Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation on the direction of the His Excellency the President Maithripala Sirisena Rs. 354 million worth of projects were mplemented in newly resettled areas and were officially handed over on Ith and 5th 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 LT1

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

Tamil Politicians Assassinated by the LTTE

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

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- 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
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Questions