

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
Declaration	I	
Certification	II	
Acknowledgements.....	III	V
Abstract	VI	XXII
Table of contents.....	XXIII	XXXIV
Abbreviations	XXXV	

CHAPTER – 1

Introduction to Terrorism and National Security and LTTE Terrorism in Sri Lanka	01	05
Problem of the study	05	06
Rationale	06	
(Objective, Methodology)		
Main Focus – Understanding of the National Problem	07	09
(Objective)		
Introduction to Terrorism	09	13
Theoretical aspects of terrorism.....	13	17
(Psychological theories, The theory of over reaction Terrorism and political violence theory, Theory of power deflation The Theory of failed repression of moderates, Theory of massive intimidation, Communication theory of terrorism, Conspiracy theory of terrorism)		
Introduction to national security	17	21
(The concept of security, the security of small ethnic states, Regional threats, The super powers and the third world security)		
Ethnicity, ethnic violence and separatism	22	28
(Ethnicity and violence, Use and justifications of ethnic violence, Ethnic secessionism, The distinction between ‘separatism’ and ‘secessionism’)		
The internal dimension	28	39
(Tamil nationalism, Separate state, Ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Nature of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Origin of the conflict, Causes of the conflict)		
The Struggle and the war	39	41

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
Key issues in Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis	42	43
International dimensions of Sri Lanka conflict (Geopolitical predicaments, India in Sri Lankan conflict)	43	47
The machinery of state security and it's impact	47	51
Authoritarian trends and open economic policies	52	54
Organization of Chapters	54	55

CHAPTER – 2

Terrorism	56	59
Common wisdom and common myths on terrorism	59	63
The logic of suicide terrorism	63	65
Mode of strikes	65	66
(Objectives and types of strikes)		
Classification of terrorism	66	071
(Individual terrorism, State terrorism, State - aided terrorism, International terrorism, Classification of terror)		
Nationalism	071	076
(The causes of terrorism, The nature of terrorism, The roots of terrorism Terrorist organization and structure, Leadership)		
Recruitment and training by a terrorist organization.....	076	078
(Terrorist training and weaponry)		
Explosive design and use:	078	081
(Assassination and Ambush Skills, Communications:, Extortion and Robbery:, Covert Travel Skills:, Small Group Tactics:, Intelligence:)		
The technology of terrorism	081	089
(Weapon systems, Weapons:, Explosives, Bomb types, Grenades and mines, Portable surface-to-air missile (sam) systems, Weapons of mass destruction (wmd), Nuclear Weapons, Biological weapons, Chemical weapons)		
Terrorist profiles	089	096
(Purposes of terrorism, Recognition, coercion, intimidation and provocation, The philosophy of terrorism, The mind of the terrorist)		

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
Theories of terrorism (Psychological theories, The theory of over-reaction, Terrorism and political violence theory, “A” theory of terrorism:/ “B” theory of terrorism: / “C” theory of terrorism: “D” theory of terrorism: / “E” theory of terrorism: Theory of power deflation, The theory of failed repression of moderates, Theory of massive intimidation, Communication theory of terrorism, Conspiracy theory of terrorism)	096	109
Impact of terrorism in governance..... (Making impact on the government and public: Rendering the administration ineffective, Engineering civil riots, Modus operandi of terrorists, The acts of terrorism, Why terrorism terrifies, The time and place of a terrorist -attack are extra-normal)	109	115
Potential targets of terrorism Sensational strikes, Terrorist tactics, Assassination, Armed assaults, Bombings, Hijacking, Hostage-taking, Kidnapping, Kidnapping motives, Product tampering, Cyber-terrorism, External conditions – the mass media, Understanding the media’s role, The financial front in the global war on terrorism)	115	127
CHAPTER – 3		
National Security History of national security Understanding national security The concept of security Security threats faced by small states	128	135
Small states: persisting despite doubts Historical experience Current tendencies Small states and alliances Balancing and bandwagoning	135	139
The united states and the European Union	139	140
Security of third world states: First steps in rethinking third world security Security in and of third world states Security: A Contested Concept	141	144
The Security Dilemma The insecurity dilemma The superpowers and third world security	144	148

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
American view points on national security	148	151
Terrorism is a serious threat to National security		
A multitude of threats, A commitment to fight terrorism		
Opposing viewpoint to tenet: The terrorist threat has been exaggerated		
Examining the odds	151	152
Biological weapons threaten national security	152	155
Terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (wmd)		
Bioterrorism is different from nuclear or Chemical attacks		
The smallpox threat		
How can national security best be enhanced?	155	158
Defence spending must be increased		
Five key areas		
The draw down went too far		
Some curtailment of civil liberties is necessary	158	164
To enhance national security		
Weighing competing interests		
Opposing viewpoint, Ethnic profiling is necessary to prevent terrorism		
Commonsense profiling, The Israel example		
National i.d. cards would help fight terrorism		
Indian concept of national security and	164	167
(Security management, National security concerns, Human security concerns)		
System for management of national security (symans)	167	172

CHAPTER – 4

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).....	173	176
Organized Structure of the LTTE	176	185
LTTE recruitment procedure		
Child soldiers recruitment procedure		
Understanding of the national problem	185	194
LTTE vs. democracy:		
Mushrooming of tamil militancy		
The proclamation of tamil national uprising		
Gist of Prabhakaran's annual martyrs day speech		
Analysis of the annual speeches		
Some important propositions of Prabhakaran		
Opposing views to Prabhakaran		

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
Roots of militancy and seeds of terrorism	194	198
The Genesis		
S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and the “ <i>Sinhala only</i> ” Act of 1956		
Bandaranaike-Chelvanyakam Pact 1957		
Republican Constitution of 1972		
Seeds of terrorism / Militant groups		
LTTE Diary of combat	198	201
Anti-tamil riots of 1983		
The Escalation of war	202	211
Eelam War II 1992-94		
Eelam War III 1995-2002 / Eelam War IV		
The international dimension of LTTE terrorism	212	214
The tamil diaspora and support for the LTTE		
The tigers extort money from the tamil diaspora		
LTTE Links with other terrorist groups.....	214	215
Osama hand in glove with LTTE		
Major crimes committed by the LTTE terrorists.....	215	219
criminal records of V.Prabhakaran the leader of the LTTE		
Summary of casualties due to the LTTE Activities from Jan. 1972 to Jan. 2007		
LTTE suicide terrorism.....	219	225
Three patterns in suicide terrorism (Timing, Nationalist Goals, Target Selection)		
Aviation terrorism / Initial phase of the LTTE Air Wing		
Attack launched on Katunayake air base by the LTTE air wing on 26.03.2007		
LTTE financing (known LTTE fund raising) activities in Sri Lanka		
Communication theory of terrorism and it’s application by the LTTE		
successes and failures?		
Propaganda Network of the LTTE	225	235
Strategies of LTTE Local Propaganda		
Electronic / Newspapers and other publications / Others		
Pro-LTTE Websites		
Important tamil organizations supporting the LTTE in other countries		
Tamil Radio, Television Network		
Tamil magazines and newspapers		
CHAPTER – 5		
What Is A State?	236	237
Elements Of National Power	237	240
Military Preparedness / National Morale		

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
Factors Relevant To National Security.....	240	253
External		
The State And National Security, The State Has A Source Of Threat		
Regional Security		
Global Security / External Threats And Security		
Geopolitics	253	256
National Military Power		
Sovereignty And The Duty off The State		
A Separate State – De Facto State in.....	257	260
North & East Of Sri Lanka		
Separatism And The Sixth Amendment To The Constitution		
The LTTE: Thinking And Acting Like A State	260	262
There Are Obviously Limits To The LTTE’s Claims.....	262	263
War-Making Seems To Be Essential.....	263	264
To The LTTE’s State-Making Project		
Implications of Externalization	264	269
Turning Point / New Challenges To The GoSL		
Towards Autonomy	269	274
Authoritarian Dispensations		
The LTTE Administration In Jaffna		
Impact On Law And Order By LTTE Terrorist Activities.....	274	276
Killing And Causing Injuries To Civilians – Year 1977 – 2007		
Killing / Injuring Of Sf / Police / Stf / Home Guards / Cvf		
Personal By The Ltte – Year 1977 – Year 2007		
Killing / Injuring Of Vvipp / Vipp By The Ltte Year 1977 – 2007		
Attacks With Claymore Mines By The Ltte Year 1977 – Year 2007		
Abductions Of Civilians		
Impact On Sri Lankan Economy By LTTE Terrorism.....	279	281
Voted Expenditure (Defence) Of The Govt. Of Sri Lanka 1980 – 2006		
Defence Expenditure In A Comparative Perspective.....	281	283
The Cost Of Military Expenditure.....	283	287
Levels Of Spending		
Economic Growth Of Sri Lanka		
Share Market Development In Sri Lanka 1987 – 2006.....	290	293
Factors Affecting Share Market		

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
Tourism And Terrorism In Sri Lanka.....	296	298
During The Period 1980 – 2006		
Benefits Of Violent Conflict, Who Wins And Who Loses?		

CHAPTER – 6

State Response to LTTE Terrorism	299	302
Military Response / Counter Terrorism		
Approach to Anti Terrorism	303	315
Discernment / Containment / Geographical Area / Frequency of Strikes		
Expansion of the Organization / Growth of Mass Support / Public Opinion /		
Isolation / Physical Isolation / Psychological Isolation / Elimination		
Inter Relationship of Four Stages	315	321
Strategy for Anti-Terrorist Operations / Anti-Terrorist Operations /		
Counter-Terrorist Operations / Employment of the Army on		
-Operations Against Terrorism		
Special Force	322	
Two Fold State Response	323	236
Military operations conducted by security forces Against the	326	329
LTTE to liberate Northern & Eastern Provinces		
End of The War	329	332
LTTE Challenges to Territorial Integrity of Sri Lanka	332	333
and the progress of the War during the period year 1987 to year 2009		
Non-Military Response To The LTTE by GoSL.....	333	338
The Thimpu Talks / Bangalore Talks		
Indo – Lanka Accord	338	349
Anatomy of Accord, Why the Accord failed		
President Premadasa – LTTE Talks	349	353
Request for Armed Assistance,		
LTTE’s Strategy and President Premadasa’s Agenda		
GoSL – LTTE Negotiations 1994 – Another Lost	353	360
Opportunity		
First Round Talks, Second Round of Talks, Cessation of Hostilities,		
Third Round of Talks, Fourth Round of Talks, LTTE Withdraws		
-from the Peace Process, Norwegian Facilitated Peace Talks		

SUBJECT	PAGE / S	
New Government in Sri Lanka	361	369
First Session of Talks / Second Session of Peace Talks / Oslo Donor Conference / Third Session of Talks / Fourth Session of Peace Talks / Fifth Session of Peace Talks / Sixth Session of Peace Talks		
Mindset - the Foremost Obstacle to Peace	369	371
Fixed Mental Attitudes Why all types of peace talks failed?		
Interim Self Government Administration Proposal	371	378
Anticipated future problems of LTTE terrorism	378	385
Provisional Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (PTGTE) 11 Governments in exile Advisory panel announced on 16 th June 2009 for the establishment of -the PTGTE The task of the committee Current activities of the PTGTE Decisions taken by the Advisory Committee Activities in Canada PTGTE Final goal expected by the PTGTE		

CHAPTER – 7

Conclusions	386	396
(Chapter – 2)		
Conclusions	397	408
(Chapter – 3)		
Conclusions	408	422
(Chapter – 4)		
Conclusions	423	434
(Chapter – 5)		
Conclusions	434	450
(Chapter – 6)		
Bibliography	I	VIII
List of Professors – Intergovernmental Higher Academic Council..... (IHAC)	IX	

LIST OF CHARTS AND TABLES / FIGURES

SUBJECT	PAGE / S
CHAPTER – 2	
Chart 1 Objectives and types of strikes	66
Chart 2 Typical terrorist organization	75
Chart 3 The philosophy of terrorism	94
Table 1 Basic and advanced training skills	79
Table 2 The philosophy of terrorism	94
Table 3 Kidnapping motives	120
CHAPTER – 3	
Chart 1 National organizational structure for symans	171
CHAPTER – 4	
Chart 1 Organized Structure of the LTTE	176
Table 1 1983 July Riots – Crime Statistics.....	201
Table 2 Legal Status of V.Prabhakaran	216
Table 3 Physical Description of V.Prabhakaran.....	216
Table 4 Offences done by V.Prabhakaran	216
Table 5 Figures of LTTE’s black tiger cadres killed by Suicide Attacks 27.11.1982 to 15.10.2008	221
Table 6 LTTE Political Offices in Cleared Areas in North/East	226
Table 7 Pongu Tamil Ceremonies by LTTE.....	228
Table 8 Pro-LTTE Websites	229
CHAPTER – 5	
Table 1 Defence / Social Expenditures as a Proportion of	281
Total Public Expenditure (%)	

SUBJECT	PAGE / S
Table 2 Defence Expenditures as a Percentage of the GDP 1991 – 2000	282

CHAPTER – 6

Table 1 Military Operations / Non Military Operations Conducted by Security Forces in Jaffna Peninsula	326	327
Table 2 Military Operations / Non Military Operations Conducted by Security Forces in Wanni Area	328	
Table 3 Military Operations / Non Military Operations Conducted by Security Forces in Trincomalee and Batticaloa Districts	329	
Table 4 End of War.....	330	
Figure 1 11 Governments in exile.....	379	

LIST OF GRAPHS / BAR CHARTS

CHAPTER – 5

Graph – 1 GDP Growth Rate (%) – Year 1980 – 2006.....	277
Graph – 2 Voted Expenditure (Defence) of the Govt. of Sri Lanka....	278
Graph – 3 Share market development in Sri Lanka..... Total Turnover (Rs. Mn)	288
Graph – 4 Share market development in Sri Lanka..... CSE all share indices (1985=100)	289
Graph – 5 Tourist Arrivals in Sri Lanka.....	294
Bar Chart-1 Tourist Earnings (Rs. Mn.) in Sri Lanka	295

LIST OF ANNEXES

CHAPTER – 4

Annex – 1 Suicide terrorism in Sri Lanka, Liberation Tigers of..... Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Supply of Explosives, The Tamil Diaspora and Support for the LTTE, A culture of fear: LTTE intimidation threats and violence,	I – VIII
--	----------

SUBJECT	PAGE / S
Annex – 2 Major Crimes Committed by the LTTE Terrorists.....	IX – XI
Annex – 3 Collecting Taxes	XII – XIV

CHAPTER – 5

Annex 1.0	Killing and causing injuries to civilians (Table)
Annex 1.1	Killing and causing injuries to civilians by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 1.2	Total No. of incidents: killing and causing injuries to civilians by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 1.3	Total No. of civilians killed by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 1.4	Total No. of civilians injured by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 2.0	Killing/Injuring of SF/Police/STF/HGG/CVF Personnel by the LTTE (Table)
Annex 2.1	Total No. of SF/Police/STF/HGG/CVF Personnel killed by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 2.2	Total No. of SF/Police/STF/HGG/CVF Personnel injured by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 2.3	Total No. of SF/Police/STF/HGG/CVF Personnel missing in action (Bar chart)
Annex 3.0	Killing/Injuring of VVIP/VIPP by the LTTE (Table)
Annex 3.1	Killing/Injuring of VVIP/VIPP by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 3.2	Total incidents Killing/Injuring of VVIP/VIPP by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 3.3	Total No. killed VVIP/VIPP by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 3.4	Total No. injured VVIP/VIPP by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 4.0	Attack with Claymore mines by the LTTE (Table)
Annex 4.1	Total No. killed with Claymore mines by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 4.2	Total No. injured with Claymore mines by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 4.3	Total No. of Claymore bomb attacks done by the LTTE (Line graph)
Annex 5.0	Abduction done by the LTTE (Table)
Annex 5.1	Total No. SF personnel abducted by the LTTE (Bar chart)
Annex 5.2	Total No. Civilians abducted by the LTTE (Bar chart)

SUBJECT

PAGE / S

CHAPTER – 6

- Annex 6.1 LTTE did not control any areas. However, they had their dominance in VVT, Polikandy, Viyaparamullai in JFN and maintained small camps. Vadamarachchi operation was launched by SLA on 26.05.1987 to clear these areas.
- Annex 6.2 In 1997 before operation Jayasikuru (May 1997)
- Annex 6.3 In 1999 after operation Jayasikuru
- Annex 6.4 In 2002 when signing the Norwegian Brokered Ceasefire Agreement
- Annex 6.5 LTTE dominated areas before 2007 and before Pooneryn
- Annex 6.6 Before Capturing Kilinochchi
- Annex 6.7 After Capturing Kilinochchi
- Annex 6.8 Before Capturing Mullathivu
- Annex 6.9 Current Situation
- Annex 6.10 Completely liberated on 19th May 2009 by Sri Lankan Security Forces