Geneva's Human Rights Chameleons: Who Are They, How Do They Operate?
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Evolution of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) International Network

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Introduction:

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka was militarily dismantled in the May of 2009. To survive and revive, the LTTE’s international network that supported the three-decade terrorist and guerrilla campaign was forced to transform. Throughout the conflict years in Sri Lanka, the LTTE network operating overseas, largely in the West, conducted a relentless campaign of propaganda and misinformation against the Sri Lankan state, and was involved in fundraising and the procurement and shipping of weapons and equipment for the terrorist movement in Sri Lanka. Today, the very same individuals and entities that supported the ruthless killing, maiming and injuring of civilians and security forces personnel in Sri Lanka, have reinvented themselves. Having lost their lifetime investment in terror to win their campaign for an illegitimate separate state, today, they wear an all the more deceptive mask - the human rights mask! They wish to take the campaign against Sri Lanka to another level by using the human rights rhetoric as a weapon. Wearing
three piece suits, these terrorists-turned-human rights activists are subverting the processes of international organisations for peace, as they are notorious for their ruthlessness at home but not for their duplicity abroad. Masquerading as human rights activists, they parade in the corridors of power. They lobby, among others, the United States State Department, the British Parliament and the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in Geneva.

A contemporary non-state armed group, the LTTE maintained a state-of-the-art international network of personnel and infrastructure at the height of its violent campaign. The LTTE ran a wide range of publicity and propaganda activities with offices and cells located in about 60 countries. The largest and most active centres were located in Western countries hosting large Tamil immigrant communities, such as Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand and countries in continental Europe, where freedom of association, protest and demonstration are enshrined by their constitutions. In addition to these states, South Africa and Mauritius, countries hosting co-ethnic Tamils, are swayed by the LTTE’s devious diplomacy, and the LTTE is represented in neighbouring Tamil Nadu in India where there exists a political-criminal-terrorist nexus.

At the end of the war, a few thousand LTTE cadres relocated to assume leadership and staff the LTTE front, cover and sympathetic organisations outside of Sri Lanka. As the LTTE is designated, proscribed or listed as a terrorist and criminal group, the LTTE activists operate through organisations that take the face of human rights, humanitarian, political, cultural, educational, media, welfare, community, charity, and other organisations. The LTTE’s ideological
and operational leaders control and influence the LTTE activists who have lived overseas as a part of its international network. Although Western nations would like to send them back, many of the activists have established themselves in their host countries and do not wish to return to Sri Lanka. Although not a single incident of terrorism has occurred in Sri Lanka since May 2009, the LTTE leadership operating in the West and India are determined to destabilise Sri Lanka both through propaganda and violence. The Sri Lankan government has detected and dismantled a dozen attempts by them to disrupt peace since the war concluded. The Sri Lankan government has developed a robust integrated security platform to ensure that there is no revival of the LTTE during the humanitarian response, social development, economic development, and political engagement phases of the national reconciliation process. Unlike in Afghanistan and in Iraq, the Sri Lankan security forces have prevented the resurgence of terrorism in post-conflict Sri Lanka. However, the Sri Lankan government was unsuccessful in dismantling the LTTE’s network overseas. The LTTE operating through front, cover and sympathetic organisations have survived in North America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Tamil Nadu in India. Today, they pose a threat once again to the security and stability of Sri Lanka.
The Context:

The LTTE waged a guerrilla-cum-terrorist campaign supported by an international wing. The overseas network of the LTTE can be broadly divided into four functions: (1) political representation through lobbying and propaganda, (2) fundraising, investment and transfers, (3) arms and dual-user procurement, and (4) shipping. The robust overseas network empowered the LTTE to develop a conventional capability, mostly with Chinese weapons procured clandestinely through North Korea. In addition to its land formations and its suicide unit called the “Black Tigers”, the LTTE maintained a maritime wing called the “Sea Tigers” and a fledgling air wing called the “Air Tigers.” The LTTE integrated its suicide attack and intelligence capabilities to assassinate democratically elected leaders to break the political will of the state and destroy high value infrastructure targets to cripple the economy. With the same degree of brutality that the LTTE fought with in Sri Lanka to create a separate state, today the LTTE
activists overseas wage a campaign to undermine the sovereignty of Sri Lanka as Sri Lanka is at last on a road to prosperity, and discredit the Sri Lankan government which restored peace. To advance its aims and objectives, the remnant LTTE leaders and members who have reorganized overseas target five principal groups.

First, Tamil migrant and diaspora communities, remain the LTTE’s key focus. Unwittingly, the Sri Lankan government’s diplomatic missions overseas neglected to engage with the Tamil diaspora, thereby creating a space for the LTTE to indoctrinate and radicalize many individuals. Furthermore, the government did not create a strategic communications capability in Tamil to counter the LTTE’s disinformation campaign. Although the percentage of Tamils who voluntarily support the LTTE decreased dramatically after the defeat of the LTTE, about 10 to 20 percent of the Tamils overseas continue to attend events organised by the LTTE overseas. The numbers of supporting Tamils overseas decreased for two reasons: first, the LTTE could no longer coerce them to participate or contribute by threatening the lives of their relatives at home, and second, there is a genuine disillusionment about and lack of support for the LTTE among the overseas Tamil populations, as for example, over 60 percent of the Tamils who travel to Sri Lanka do not want to be seen hoisting an LTTE flag or be seen with images of Prabhakaran.

Second, Western politicians dependent on the minority vote, especially those with Tamil constituencies, are engaged by the LTTE. Determined to secure minority votes, British, Canadian and Australian politicians and political parties are susceptible to LTTE orchestrated Tamil votes
and financial contributions. When the LTTE was very close to being militarily defeated, *WikiLeaks* reported that the then Foreign Secretary David Miliband’s visit to Sri Lanka was motivated by electoral and constituency pressure. As it is apparent that most Western politicians do not seek to protect human rights considering the colossal human losses in Iraq and Afghanistan at the hands of Western armies, the Sri Lankan government leaders reprimanded and humiliated the visiting Western officials reminding them of their double standards, instead of strategically engaging with them. Especially as the USA and Europe are Sri Lanka’s biggest export partners, the government is likely to reflect on, re-strategize and re-establish its relationship with the West.

Third, international organisations, notably the United Nations, especially the UNHRC, is a key target for penetration by the LTTE.
The UN system is susceptible to NGO pressures, and thus, the LTTE cunningly used its front, cover and sympathetic organisations to lobby UN officials who knew little about Sri Lanka. The UN Secretary General’s Panel report referred to 40,000 civilian deaths in the final phase when a census conducted with civil society organisations in Sri Lanka disputed the UN findings. The Sri Lankan government did not engage the UN Panel, and the panellists wrote the report without visiting Sri Lanka and largely utilizing the LTTE’s propaganda. The Panel lost its credibility, for example, when it cited as a reliable source of information, the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO), an LTTE vehicle for fundraising and transferring money to buy weapons.

Fourth, the Tamil politicians especially pro-LTTE elements in the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) party in Sri Lanka are engaged by the LTTE overseas. Today, the LTTE provides a political platform and funds for both LTTE and pro-LTTE elements in the TNA to rekindle the flame of separatism. Ananthi, the wife of a terrorist leader responsible for child - youth recruitment, and Sritharan, a former terrorist, are among the irredeemable separatist politicians of the TNA working with the LTTE overseas to destabilise Sri Lanka. At the end of the conflict, it was a mistake of the Sri Lankan government that it failed to disband the TNA, a proxy of the LTTE, and prosecute those with operational and ideological links to the LTTE. Furthermore, the government should have passed legislation banning those with evidence of ideological and operational links and familial ties to terrorism from contesting for public office, while permitting exceptions made by the President for those who have repented their past deeds, expressed remorse and embraced peace to enter politics.
Fifth, the NGOs, especially the human rights NGOs, are engaged by Western educated LTTE activists. In addition to lobbying the human rights divisions in the foreign ministries of Western governments, the LTTE engage human rights organisations, notably Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. The LTTE and its affiliates that had traditionally operated through human rights NGOs went to the extent of funding Amnesty International in Canada. Engagement with Western-funded NGOs was neglected by the Sri Lankan Ministry of External Affairs. To date, the government invests in engaging foreign governments but not NGOs, and often do not respond to their allegations. For example, even as an NGO cited by a UN Panelist alleged that Prabhakaran was captured in the battlefield, flown to the capital, and tortured to death – there was no official statement given to counter this false allegation! The focus of the LTTE's publicity networks conducted through satellite television, radio and social media, covering North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, work to fundamentally distort the facts related to the Sri Lankan conflict, the history of Sri Lanka and post-war developments. The LTTE's post-conflict propaganda concealed the Sri Lankan government's humanitarian assistance, socioeconomic development programs and political engagement to empower the Tamils and the LTTE's atrocities of holding civilians as a human shield and using civilians posts such as schools and hospitals to operate heavy weaponry, while diverting focus to the collateral civilian deaths and injuries and of terrorist cadres.
Historically, Sri Lanka was a model for ethnic coexistence and religious harmony until colonial administrations and post-colonial politicians engaged in ethno-nationalist politics to retain or come to power. The lack of robust legislation and procedures, and national will and visionary leadership, as well as the failure to enforce the law and promote moderation required to hold all communities together, led to a thirty-year conflict. All parts of Sri Lanka are known to have been multi-ethnic and multi-religious in composition from its earliest recorded history. Etymological studies clearly show the Sinhala origin of most place names in the North and East of Sri Lanka, although original Tamil place names also exist (Tamilized place names were used instead of the Sinhala ones from the 18th century by the Dutch and British colonial administrations). There are more than 200 ancient Buddhist sites in the North and East, while many more are still to be studied or excavated (Tamil
also Buddhist at certain periods in history, and some of Sri Lanka’s most formidable monks have been Tamil in ethnicity). Ancient texts in Sri Lanka and overseas also dispute the racist Tamils who argue that the North and East are traditional Tamil lands. In 1985, before the ethnic cleansing of the Sinhalese and Muslims from the North and East by the LTTE, the Eastern Province was 58% Sinhalese and Muslim in ethnic composition. At present, the population of the east and the commercial capital of Colombo are approximately evenly divided between the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. Except those indoctrinated by racist politicians in the South and the North, Sri Lankans are not communal-minded.

Immediately after the Independence of Sri Lanka, and then again after the Sinhala Only Act in the backdrop of the Dravidian movement in India, a separatist campaign for an independent Tamil state in northern and eastern Sri Lanka began. This demand by a segment of Tamil politicians entailed the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be seceded from the rest of the island to create a mono-ethnic “Tamil Eelam.” The invented “Tamil Eelam” territory covered one-third of Sri Lanka’s land mass and two-thirds of its coastline. Gradually, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) indoctrinated the Tamils with the idea of a Tamil homeland in the North and East of the island. The LTTE has its genesis in the racist politics of the Tamil United Front (TUF), and its successor TULF.

The LTTE rode on the fabricated rhetoric of the TULF that Sri Lanka’s Tamil ethnic minority in Sri Lanka, comprising 12% of the population, was persecuted by the Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese majority, comprising 74% of the population. After the ethnic riots of 1983, provoked by an LTTE attack on an army patrol
in Jaffna, the Tamils and Sinhalese were polarized. Tamils who left Sri Lanka, formed the Tamil diaspora now numbering 1 million to 1.5 million people. With the support of the TULF leader Appapillai Amirthalingam, a Member of Parliament, the LTTE built a network to politicise and radicalise the Tamils living overseas and raise funds to procure arms and other equipment. Driven by Cold War politics, Indian covert (1983-1987) and overt (1987-1990) intervention strengthened the LTTE. Thus, the LTTE took control over the Northern areas. Until Jaffna was recovered by the Sri Lankan security forces, the LTTE murdered any Tamil who opposed them, including democratically elected leaders and the leadership of rival Tamil militant groups.

While all parties and groups abandoned separatism after the Indo-Lanka Accord of July 1987, the LTTE persisted. After dismantling the rival Tamil groups by killing their leaders, the LTTE usurped the mandate of the TULF. Until May 2009, the main instrument of Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka was the LTTE, and thereafter the TNA, a proxy of the LTTE. While collateral deaths of Tamils by the security forces were less compared to the Tamils deliberately killed by the LTTE during the war, the LTTE and TNA launched an aggressive disinformation campaign overseas falsely accusing the Sri Lankan government of discrimination and war crimes.

The LTTE possessed a two-tier structure: a powerful military wing led by Prabhakaran and a political wing to support it led by Nadesan. While Pottu Amman led intelligence, Veerakathy Manivannan also known as (a.k.a.) Castro led the International Secretariat that managed the LTTE’s overseas network. The key LTTE political counsellors in its international network were the late Tillai Jeyakumar based
in Australia, Manuel Mariyadas based in Canada, Nadarajah Illango based in France, Father S. J. Emmanuel based in Germany and later in the United Kingdom, Rudrakumaran based in the United States, A.C. Shanthan based in the United Kingdom and Anton Ponrajah based in Switzerland. All these leaders operated through LTTE front, cover and sympathetic organisations. For example, the LTTE operated the Centre for Justice, Peace and Democracy in Geneva and the International Federation of Tamils.

The funds that were raised for the LTTE were transferred to Shanmuganathan Kumaran Tharmalingam, a.k.a Kumaran Pathmanathan, a.k.a. Selvarasa Pathmanathan, a.k.a. KP, the weapons procurement officer. KP was removed in 2003 and replaced by Castro, but in January 2009, KP was appointed as head of International Affairs by Prabhakaran. From 2003-2008, Castro who was in the Vanni, and Ponniah Anantharajah, a U.S. citizen based in Southeast Asia, ran the international activities. Declared as the new leader of the LTTE after Prabhakaran’s death in May 2009, KP was arrested by the Malaysian police and deported to Sri Lanka. KP was then engaged by the Sri Lankan government and reintegrated into society. Today, KP looks after children orphaned by the conflict. Karuna, a former child combatant and Eastern Commander of the LTTE who later defected from the LTTE, is a Minister in the government and a senior leader of the ruling party. The government also rehabilitated 12,000 LTTE cadres - called beneficiaries - who surrendered or were identified by the authorities, rather than prosecuting them. The majority of the beneficiaries engaged in combat, while one third of them engaged in terrorism, massacres, bombings, assassinations or committed torture.
About a third of the beneficiaries have now joined their relatives and friends in the West. Except for a handful of leaders and under a hundred members, the reintegrated beneficiaries did not re-join the LTTE, and lead peaceful lives today with their families. Not a single former combatant returned to terrorism after being rehabilitated: only three relapsed into common crime. Promoted by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research (UNICRI) for its best practices, Sri Lanka’s rehabilitation program is today a model for other countries.
LTTE’s New Network:

Upon Prabhakaran’s death, the rivalry between LTTE leaders to control resources factionalized the LTTE, and led to the creation of four networks centred in North America and Europe. These four networks wage a relentless disinformation campaign against the Sri Lankan state. The political lobbying against the Sri Lankan state is conducted through LTTE front, cover and sympathetic organisations who have reorganised themselves around human rights issues, although they have not rejected violence and embraced peace. The Global Tamil Forum (GTF), Castro Faction and the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE) politically engage with host foreign governments through propaganda. They disseminate misinformation and engage in systematic fundraising. In contrast, the Headquarters Group led by Vinayagam leads the LTTE’s elaborate covert criminal network. There is a convergence between these four factions of the LTTE, especially the GTF and Castro Faction.
1. Global Tamil Forum (GTF) led by Father S.J. Emmanuel

The headquarters of the Global Tamil Forum (GTF) is physically located in the United Kingdom. However, it has constituent organisations across the world that makes up the forum. The GTF is an umbrella organisation providing a space for separatist organisations that justified the LTTE to meet and discuss their new goals, objectives and strategies. Conceptualized during the final war between the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka, the first face-to-face GTF meeting was held in Paris in September 2009. During this meeting, the GTF formed a constitution for the forum. The inaugural General Meeting
of the GTF in February 2010 was held in the House of Parliament in the UK. With British political parties fighting for the minority votes, the former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and former Foreign Secretary David Miliband addressed the gathering. The presence of Miliband at the inaugural GTF convention did not surprise many. Miliband’s campaign to champion international aid and human rights during May 2009 in Sri Lanka was driven largely by the need to win the votes of the UK’s large Sri Lankan Tamil population, according to recent WikiLeaks releases. WikiLeaks also cites Tim Waite of the British Foreign Office stating that, “much of HMG and ministerial attention to Sri Lanka is due to the ‘very vocal’ Tamil diaspora in the UK, numbering over 300,000 and who have been protesting in front of Parliament since April 6.” He said that with the UK elections on the horizon and many Tamils living in Labour constituencies with slim majorities, the government is paying particular attention to Sri Lanka, with Miliband recently remarking to Waite that he was spending “60 percent of his time at the moment on Sri Lanka.”
The GTF is managed by a Board of Directors and its President, S. J. Emmanuel, many of whom are known for separatist activities. The GTF has representatives from each of the country organisations or founding member organisations. The founding member organisations are spread out globally, mostly in Western countries or in countries hosting significant Tamil communities. GTF is connected to many other anti-Sri Lanka organisations staffed by LTTE activists, such as "Tamils Against Genocide" and "Boycott Sri Lanka." Based in Germany and in the United Kingdom, Emmanuel served as a political ideologue for the LTTE. Emmanuel compared the former LTTE leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, to Jesus Christ and sought to justify suicide attacks. He worked with Arjunan Ediriweerasingham, a leader of the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO), the LTTE front for raising and transferring funds. In lobbying activities, Emmanuel is assisted by Suren Surendran, who is the spokesman for both the Global Tamil Forum (GTF) and its affiliate, the British Tamils Forum (BTF).

**Structure of the Global Tamil Forum (GTF): An Umbrella Organisation**
Geneva’s Human Rights Chameleons:

Global Tamil Forum (GTF): Founding Member Organisations

- Swedish Tamil Forum (STF)
- Norwegian Council of Eelam Tamils (NCET)
- Malaysian Tamil Forum (MTF)
- Canadian Tamil Congress (CTC)
- Holland Tamil Cultural Centre (HTCC/TKCV)
- British Tamils Forum (BTF)
- Australian Tamil Congress (ATC)
Other organisations affiliated to the Global Tamil Forum (GTF) include:

- New Zealand Tamil Society (NZTS)
- Wellington Tamil Society - New Zealand (WTS)
- House of Eelam Tamils (La Maison du Tamil Eelam)
- Tamil Relief Fund Malaysia
- European Tamil Union (Union de Tamuls’Europe)
- Danish Federation of Tamil Associations (DFTA)
- World Thamil Organization (WTO) – USA
- International Council of Eelam Tamils (ICET)
- Ilankai Tamil Sangam - USA
- Tamils for Obama - USA
- Tamil Youth Front - USA
- Center for War Victims and Human Rights - Canada
- Thamil Creative Writers Association - Canada
- Swiss Tamil Forum
Geneva’s Human Rights Chameleons:

Other organisations affiliated to the Global Tamil Forum (GTF) include:

- Giovani Tamil (Tamil Youth Organisation - Italy)
- World Tamil Federation – Malaysian Chapter
- Coalition of Malaysian Indian Non-Governmental Organizations
- Academy of Tamil Studies - Malaysia
- Group of Concerned Citizens - Malaysia
- Malaysian Dravidian Association
- Malaysian Hindu Youth Council
- Malaysian Indian Historical Association
- Malaysia Tamil Artiste Association
- Malaysia Tamil Neri Kalagam
- Tamil Cultural Centre - India
2. Castro Faction led by Irumporai

Based in New Zealand, Irumporai was formerly a member of the LTTE’s International Secretariat under Veerakathy Manivannan, a.k.a. Castro. After Castro committed suicide in May 2009, his associates overseas came together to form a faction in his honour, which included Nediyanvan, Seelan, Nanthagopan, Irumporai and others. The leadership of the Castro Faction constitutes about 32 members of the LTTE. Irumporai provided leadership to the Castro Faction after Perinpanayagam Sivapalan, a.k.a. Nediyanvan, was advised by the Norwegian government against attempts to use Oslo as a base to revive the LTTE. The Castro Faction is strong in Scandinavia. They operate through LTTE front, cover and sympathetic organisations in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands. Initially based in Oslo, Norway, the Castro Faction is also known as the Nediyanvan Faction. The Castro Faction operates all over the world through the offices of the Tamil Coordinating Committee (TCC), one of the oldest LTTE front organisations. The Castro Faction is also strong in Europe and Canada. The faction maintains active projects to engage Tamil Nadu politicians and activities in India. TamilNet, the LTTE’s propaganda website, is led by Jeyachandran in Oslo, Norway and Sreetharan in Bethesda, Maryland, USA. Aligned to the Castro Faction, they not only attack the Sri Lankan state, but also other Tamil groups that rival them.

Nediyanvan considered himself to be the leader of the LTTE after the death of Prabhakaran - as Irumporai does now. Although the LTTE’s leader in Sri Lanka in May 2009 entrusted KP with the mantle of
leadership, Nediyavan did not honour it. As the coordinator for TCC offices worldwide, Nediyavan carried out demonstrations all over the world to protest against Sri Lanka. Nediyavan was the leading organiser of the LTTE’s demonstrations in Oslo, and even authorised attacks against Sri Lankan diplomatic missions and Sinhalese communities. Other LTTE front, cover and sympathetic organisations collaborate and work with the Castro Faction.

Organisations Associated with the Castro Faction

Organisations which collaborate with the Castro Faction:

- Global Tamil Forum (GTF)
- British Tamils Forum (BTF)
- Australian Tamil Congress (ATC)
- Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE)
- National Council of Canadian Tamils (NCCT)
- United States Tamil Political Action Council (USTPAC)
- Malaysian Tamils Forum (MTF)
Organisations which collaborate with the Castro Faction:

- Federation of Tamil Organisations of Norway
- Tamil Sangam of Norway
- Norway Hindu Culture Centre
- Tamil Youth Organisation - Norway
- Tamil Women’s Organisation - Norway
- Tamil - Dutch Solidarity Group
- Tamil Centre for Human Rights - Netherlands
- Tamil Youth Organisation - Sweden
- Holland Tamil Cultural Centre
- Swedish Tamil Forum (STF)
- Danish Federation of Tamil Associations (DFTA)
- Norwegian Council of Eelam Tamils (NCET)
3. Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE) led by Visvanathan Rudrakumaran

Based in New York, Visvanathan Rudrakumaran styles himself the Prime Minister of the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE), a government-in-exile. Rudrakumaran is the son of a former Mayor of Jaffna and studied Law in Sri Lanka. Working with the LTTE since the 1980s, he was appointed the international legal advisor to the LTTE. When in the LTTE, he was considered a hardliner as he always opposed a negotiated solution to the conflict. In Oslo, when a federal solution was discussed, many LTTE negotiators led by Anton Balasingham expressed unhappiness when Rudrakumaran took a strident position. Rudrakumaran sided with Prabhakaran and Karuna, with Balasingham paving the way for the fragmentation of the LTTE. After the defeat of the LTTE in May 2009, TGTE was conceptualized and operationalised by Rudrakumaran, working with KP. As the successor to Prabhakaran, KP appointed a Working Committee or Formation Committee under the leadership of Rudrakumaran. With KP’s arrest in Kuala Lumpur on 5 August, 2009, Rudrakumaran took over the reins of the organisation, first as the Coordinator/Chairman and then later as the elected ‘Prime Minister’ in October 2010.

The TGTE has various branches in the form of country offices across the globe. While the ‘Prime Minister’ of the TGTE is based in New York, the three ‘Deputy Prime Ministers’ are based in Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia. Linking the Tamil diaspora communities, the structure emulates the transnational nature the TGTE claims
in its nomenclature. The participation of TGTE’s Sri Lankan Tamils based in the U.S. is significant. In June 2009, an Advisory Committee was formed comprising of Tamils and non-Tamils. It was established to discuss strategies and objectives of the TGTE as well as support the Formation Committee. The Advisory Committee also handled interim matters such as the issue of the Internally Displaced Persons immediately after the military defeat of the LTTE. The Advisory Committee comprised of the following individuals: Francis Boyle (based in the USA), Joseph Chandrakanthan (based in Canada), Nagalingam Jeyalingam (based in the USA), Jeyaprakash Jeyalingam (based in the USA), Karen Parker (based in the USA), Palaniappan Ramasamy (based in Malaysia), Visuvanathan Rudrakumar (based in the USA), Peter Schalk (based in Sweden), Sivanendran Seevanayagam (based in Australia), Nadarajah Sriskandarajah (based in Sweden), Muttucumaraswamy Sornarajah (based in the UK) and Amuthu Louis Vasanthakumar (based in the UK).

The TGTE has not received official recognition from the United States or any other country. Although the United States designated the LTTE as a terrorist organisation in 1997, Washington has also not taken any action against the TGTE. Nonetheless, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has worked to monitor, suspend and curtail the activities of some of the LTTE’s front, cover and sympathetic organisations such as the World Tamil Association (WTA), World Tamil Movement (WTM), the Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT) and the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO). Over the years, a very small number of United States politicians have been lobbied by Tamil diaspora groups linked to the LTTE, such as the
United States Tamil Political Action Council (USTPAC), Federation of Tamil Associations of North America (FeTNA), Canadian Tamil Congress (CTC), National Council of Canadian Tamils (NCCT), Ilankai Tamil Sangam (ITS), North Carolinians for Peace, People for Relief and Equality in Sri Lanka (PEARL), Tamils for Obama, Tamils Against Genocide (TAG), Americans for Peace in Sri Lanka, World Thamil Organization (WTO) – USA, HELP Advocates Sri Lanka, Tamils of California, Tamils of New England, Tamils of Ohio and Naam Thamilar – North America.

After its U.S. network was disrupted by the FBI, the LTTE in North America reorganised and operated through the Ilankai Tamil Sangam, New York Tamil Sangam and other Tamil Sangams. Political lobbying in the U.S. was revived by Dr. Elias Jeyarajah, President of the United States Tamil Political Action Council (USTPAC) and Grace Pusparani Williams using K Street lobbying firms such as CJR. It is on public record that the Jeyarajah family gave US $10,965 to the Obama and Clinton campaigns in 2008. It is on record that Dr. Jeyarajah has personally given US $1,565 to the Obama campaign, $1,500 to the Clinton campaign and $500 to the North Carolina Democratic Party. Creating the impression that they do not support the LTTE and also wanted LTTE violations investigated, they have attempted to lobby Samantha Powers, Richard Boucher, Susan Rice, Robert Blake, Patricia Butenis and other U.S. officials to act against Sri Lanka. USTPAC arranged for the LTTE front Global Tamil Forum (GTF)’s delegation to meet with Robert Blake, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia, on 28 March, 2011 at the U.S. State Department in Washington. Jeyarajah and Williams
represented USTPAC, while Emmanuel and Surendran represented GTF. Representing both GTF and his parent organisation, the British Tamils Forum (BTF), Suren Surendran also attempted to lobby the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon and Indian Congress Party leader Sonia Gandhi, whose husband the LTTE killed. A few academics who graduated from the universities of Colombo, Peradeniya and Jaffna in Sri Lanka spearhead and support these actions. Seeking to revive the LTTE, they work with their European counterparts and lobby the governments of the United States and Canada to get the LTTE delisted as a terrorist organisation. Rudrakumaran is actively leading this effort, although from behind the scenes.

As Rudrakumaran openly campaigned for the LTTE in the United States, he came under the scrutiny of the United States during the FBI operations that ruptured the backbone of the LTTE in North America.
which began in the mid-2000s. Rudrakumaran was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1993. An immigration lawyer by profession, he represented several hundred asylum cases, many of them refugee applications. On 15 February, 2013, a panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, a federal appellate court in New York City, issued an order reprimanding Rudrakumaran publicly for, inter alia, professional poor practice such as missing filing deadlines and ignoring judicial scheduling orders during the time period 2006 - 2010. The court’s order adopted a disciplinary committee report that attributed Rudrakumaran’s defaults to his “negligent practice management and apparently overwhelming obligations between his practice and his public service commitments.” The committee’s report noted that the Court has the power to impose “a range of sanctions, including disbarment, suspension, public or private reprimand, monetary sanction, removal from pro bono or Criminal Justice Act panels, referral to other disciplinary bodies, supervision by a special master, counseling or treatment or such other disciplinary or corrective measures as the circumstances may warrant.” The court’s disciplinary order required Mr. Rudrakumaran to devote eight hours of his biennial mandatory continuing legal education (CLE) requirement to classes on law practice management, file reports concerning his compliance with judicial scheduling orders and to make good on his voluntary offer to refund one client’s legal fee, either by finding the client (who has voluntarily left the United States) and paying him, or by depositing the fee with the Lawyers’ Fund for Client Protection maintained by the State of New York.
4. Headquarters Group led by Segarampillai Vinayagamoorthy a.k.a. Vinayagam

As Vinayagam’s group consist of those LTTE cadres who fled Sri Lanka, it is called the Headquarters Group. Working under Pottu Amman, Vinayagam was a leader of the LTTE’s intelligence wing that mounted the largest proportion of suicide attacks including the killing of two world leaders, Rajiv Gandhi of India and Ranasinghe Premadasa of Sri Lanka. Vinayagam was personally involved in attacks in the South, including against the airport in Katunayake and several other bombings and assassinations in Colombo. While the strength of Vinayagam is in Belgium, France and Germany, he is expanding his influence worldwide. Under Vinayagam, leaders and cells operating in southern India and Western countries are attempting to create unrest and revive terrorism. While the other three groups seek to hamper political reconciliation and economic development in Sri Lanka by continuing to present a distorted view of Sri Lanka and seeking international action against the Sri Lankan state, Vinayagam’s group continue to radicalise Tamil youth living outside of Sri Lanka to mount attacks. While other groups fundraise through legitimate and other means, Vinayagam’s Headquarters Group engages in illegal activities such as credit card fraud.
The Future:

The most difficult period Sri Lanka has had to face in its post-Independence history is now over. The LTTE, the group that aimed to establish a separate state for Sri Lanka’s Tamil population comprising the northern and eastern regions of the country, has ceased to exist as a terrorist entity. Nonetheless, its remnants overseas and its political proxies - the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) and Tamil National People’s Front (TNPF) - continue to deny the historical realities of Sri Lanka in which all parts of the island were multi-ethnic. They deny demographic and social realities of Sri Lanka in which about half of the Tamil population lives in the south and other parts of the country in harmony with other ethnic groups. Beginning its international campaign of disinformation in the 1980s, the communal-minded Tamil ethno-nationalists successfully portrayed the Sri Lankan government as being guilty of discrimination. They achieved this through a sophisticated and comprehensive system of propaganda machinery involving the international circulation of articles, videos
and books via the internet, radio, television and print mediums. Indeed, about 80% of over 40 Tamil newspapers in North Atlantic countries are either managed by the LTTE or its affiliates. The LTTE’s overseas network has funded the production of media products which have been circulated internationally in the post-conflict years which have attempted to undermine the moral legitimacy of the present Sri Lankan government, by charging war crimes due to alleged high numbers of Tamil civilian casualties and cases of torture. These media reports never attribute names to their sources, or reveal that any civilian death or injury which occurred in the final phases of the war in Sri Lanka was primarily due to the LTTE using civilians as a human shield and the LTTE deliberately using civilian posts such as hospitals and schools to operate heavy weaponry.

Since the end of the Sri Lankan conflict, the majority of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora do not wish to engage in terrorist or extremist activities. Although 10 to 20 percent are politically active, they seek more to control the Tamil political landscape. For instance, when the Global Tamil Forum (GTF) organises a protest in London, those who participate are mostly unemployed Tamil youth. Although the mandatory contribution every Tamil family had to make has ended, the LTTE’s international network still engages the diaspora communities for financial contributions. Thus, the Sri Lankan diplomatic missions overseas must work pro-actively and continuously to win over the Tamil communities exploited by the LTTE’s front, cover and sympathetic organisations in various parts of the world. Historically, a major source of financial support for the LTTE in Sri Lanka came from the Tamil diaspora. Some estimates place a figure of up to US $ 5 million to 10 million being sent to the LTTE every month. Today, a major portion of the money that went
into financing terrorist activities is used to fund the LTTE’s human rights lobby. The Canadian Tamil Congress (CTC), an affiliate of GTF, contributed 50,000 Canadian dollars to Amnesty International in Canada in January 2012. Meanwhile, Sahil Sabaratnam, who was the Director of Communications for the CTC in 2005, is serving 25 years in a U.S. prison for procuring weapons for the LTTE. Sabaratnam was arrested in New York in August 2006 for buying twenty SA-18 heat seeking missiles, ten missile launchers, five hundred AK 47 weapons and other military equipment. From 2003 to 2005, he operated with his brother-in-law Thani Thanigasalam, who headed the cell, and with Satha Sarachandran, President of the Tamil Youth Organisation (TYO), another LTTE front organisation in Canada.

Thus, today, those who directly supported violence from overseas for several decades have adopted a different strategy. Rather than raising funds to buy weapons to wage terror, they have legitimized themselves by investing heavily in propaganda and lobbying. Funds are also collected through membership fees for the Global Tamil Forum (GTF) in which Founding Member and Country Organisations have to make a payment of US $1,000 to join. If no founding member or country organisation exists in a particular country and an individual seeks to join the GTF, they can do so by paying $75. The GTF also has a donate button on their website which leads to a sub-committee called “The Thousand Club” in which donations are accepted in the order of, for example, US $1,200 for a 12-month period, or any other stipulated amount. Overseas activities of fundraising and political lobbying for “Eelam” are expected to continue, and to increase in the months prior to the biannual UNHRC sessions held in March and September 2014. The LTTE chameleons wearing three-piece suits, fluent in duplicitous talk and determined to retain private wealth and political influence
derived from the LTTE’s overseas network, will be parading in Geneva, and prior to that in Western capitals, from Ottawa to Washington D.C., London to New Delhi.

Unless the Sri Lankan government, Sri Lankans, especially the Tamil elite and the international community understand these developments in perspective, an opportunity to sustain peace in Sri Lanka may be lost. While the government of Sri Lanka faces significant challenges in achieving post-conflict reconciliation, the most formidable threat to its hard-won peace remains the LTTE’s remnant factions, especially their financing and propaganda units that have survived abroad. Upon U.S. and British officials inviting LTTE remnants to their capitals after the war ended in Sri Lanka, the underground international network of the LTTE resurfaced, and its proxy in Sri Lanka, the TNA publicly articulated separatist sentiments. Sri Lankan leaders should not forget that unless they get geopolitics and strategy right, India and the West will destabilise Sri Lanka. Over geopolitical differences, India’s displeasure towards Sri Lanka culminated in the Indian state sponsorship of a generation of terror in Sri Lanka. Over strategic differences, will the U.S., and, over constituency pressure, the U.K., permit the LTTE’s rise and its proxy, the TNA to destabilise Sri Lanka? Should the Sri Lankan government craft a strategy similar to what it developed to dismantle the LTTE in Sri Lanka? To shape a stable future, it should be a strategy of flexible response to restore relations with the West, engage human rights bodies, include the Tamil diaspora to invest and develop Sri Lanka, create legislation against the TNA and groom a generation of non-racist Tamil politicians, bring home to justice the incurable LTTE activists overseas that funded terror and spur and sustain reconciliation at home.
**Conclusion:**

Sri Lanka’s progress since the end of the conflict in May 2009 has been extraordinary. Most development indicators of Sri Lanka surpass those of South Asia, and are comparable to those of Southeast Asia. Sri Lanka ranks well above its South Asian neighbours in the UNDP Human Development Index, has made impressive strides in meeting the Millennium Development Goals in education and health and was reclassified as a middle income nation in 2010 by the World Bank. Colombo is the cleanest city in Asia. Sri Lanka is also blessed with natural beauty, resources and a manageable population. Today, increasing tourism, labour remittances, and investment and trade support, as well as expanding communications and road and physical infrastructure are contributing to Sri Lanka’s post-conflict development. Nonetheless, Sri Lankans have to think harder and work smarter to ensure long-term stability.

With the death of Prabhakaran and the defeat of the LTTE in Sri Lanka, the Government of Sri Lanka faces a new challenge from the LTTE’s overseas network. Although a very small percentage of Tamils remain
committed to violence at home and overseas, the majority of the radicalised segments of the Tamil diaspora no longer wish to support violence. However, they are not committed to reconciliation - the ideas of moderation, toleration and coexistence - but choose to relive the past. Those with links to the LTTE, especially those who lost their family members, seek revenge from Sri Lanka. Even so, Sri Lankan and Indian Tamil sympathy and support for the LTTE has dwindled. After the LTTE held 280,000 Tamils hostage in 2009 and after Rajiv Gandhi’s killing in Tamil Nadu by a female LTTE suicide bomber in 1991, Tamil attitudes and opinions have transformed that their future is not in a totalitarian organisation led by a dictator.

Although the LTTE was dismantled in Sri Lanka, its support network and a few leaders survived overseas. The natural progression of the support base carrying the LTTE ideology is to attempt to continue to break-up Sri Lanka, but this time primarily through dirty politics and diplomacy. As Sri Lanka maintains a robust security platform, their modus operandi is to take their campaign to the international level wearing the human rights mask. The LTTE remnants work with the radicalised Tamil diaspora overseas and the TNA at home to build influence in the international system to take punitive action against Sri Lanka. The TNA lobbies the Western missions in Colombo posing as human rights activists. The LTTE overseas engages Western politicians who are susceptible to financial contributions and votes, also posing as human rights activists. In turn, these Western politicians pressurize their officials and bureaucracies to punish Sri Lanka. In most instances, these Western politicians are wholly ignorant of the Sri Lankan conflict, not even knowing where Sri Lanka is geographically located in some cases, and only parrot the LTTE’s statements. In desperate politicians hungry for minority votes and campaign contributions, the LTTE has found a new friend!
The politicians who accepted funds and votes under obligation to the erstwhile terrorists and their supporters are small numerically, but exercise a disproportionate influence. Of 650 British parliamentarians, for example, predominately twenty Labour parliamentarians received LTTE funds and votes. To quote the Sri Lankan High Commissioner to the U.K., Dr. Chris Nonis, “Even if Sri Lanka becomes heaven, these twenty hardcore Labour MPs will wage an aggressive campaign against Sri Lanka.”1 Traditionally, the LTTE supported the Labour Party in the U.K., but today, the Conservatives are trying to win the marginal seats on the mistaken assumption that the Tamil vote is more significant than the Sri Lankan Muslim and Sinhala votes. To canvass Tamil votes, British politicians engage in a series of activities from making statements in parliament, writing articles to the newspapers, giving press, radio and television interviews, and addressing international fora from CHOGM to UNHRC on issues, the context of which they do not understand. Lack of international legislation that criminalize terrorist activities, especially propaganda and financing, has created this predicament. Furthermore, manipulated politicians lack a code of conduct to regulate their vulnerability to votes and funds. To placate their supporters and constituencies the politicians have built a nexus with the LTTE activists who attempt to legitimize terrorism through propaganda and who funded the LTTE’s campaign of political violence and terrorism. With its growing mastery in manipulating ethnic votes and funds, the new LTTE has been able to penetrate Western political parties from the U.K. to Canada. Using votes and funds, the LTTE propagandists have been able to manipulate the truth by hiding the fact that it was the LTTE that held civilians by force in the last stages of the war in Sri Lanka and shot at civilians attempting to escape on foot and by boat. After shifting the blame to the security forces that rescued the civilians held hostage by the LTTE, the propagandists have managed to convince a

1. Chris Nonis, Interview (14 February, 2014)
segment of the international community that the Sri Lankan security forces deliberately targeted civilians. Sri Lankans and others in the international community who have no personal or political agenda see attempts by the U.K., Canada and U.S. to bring resolutions against Sri Lanka as a mockery of justice. Referring to the colossal loss of human lives in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as in historical wars, they state that the U.S. and U.K. have lost their moral right to preach. Furthermore, in Sri Lanka’s case, those who parade the human rights bogey in Geneva and call for investigations, are the very financiers and propagandists of terrorism. Those who killed the terrorists and rescued the civilians stand accused, while those who funded and campaigned to legitimise the LTTE are free.

Sri Lanka itself has neither built a diplomatic capacity to restore relations with the West nor a strategic communications platform to counter the false propaganda. Those who know the Sri Lankan conflict could not be hoodwinked, but those who were driven by votes and campaign contributions turned a blind eye to the LTTE’s atrocities. To save the LTTE leader, when the activists charged Sri Lanka of “genocide”, Lord Naseby, Conservative Peer and Chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Sri Lanka said on 11 March, 2009, that if there is any genocide in Sri Lanka it is by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who hold civilian Tamils by force as a human shield in the war. He added that, “This talk about genocide is rubbish. The only people who are causing genocide are the LTTE who are holding the civilians as a human shield.”

Thus, to disrupt the stability in Sri Lanka, the LTTE remnants overseas have revived the fight against Sri Lanka through an international disinformation campaign and lobbying using the human rights canard.

Geneva’s Human Rights Chameleons:

The political oxygen for their revival was provided by human rights NGOs susceptible to the LTTE’s lobbying and funds and Western political leaders greedy for votes and funds. Through their front, cover and sympathetic organisations, the LTTE has lobbied the West by exploiting its geopolitical and strategic differences with Sri Lanka and have harnessed diaspora funds and votes to initiate a war crimes investigation against Sri Lanka. Although the Sri Lankan government successfully defeated terrorism, it failed to defeat ideological extremism at home and engage India and Western countries over geopolitical and strategic differences. A great opportunity to build social cohesion and unity in Sri Lanka will be lost if the 12,000 LTTE cadres have to be rearrested, charged and prosecuted, and similarly security forces personnel responsible for dismantling the LTTE are brought to trial.

The next step in the LTTE’s strategy is to work with the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) and Tamil National People’s Front (TNPF) to revive the separatist agenda through political, economic and diplomatic means. The initial efforts towards this was witnessed when rehabilitated LTTE cadres were approached by the National Council of Canadian Tamils (NCCT) of the Castro Faction to participate in a TNA protest organised in Jaffna and a TNPF protest (by Gajendrakumar Ponnambalam) in Vavuniya on 15 February, 2014. With the LTTE’s international network pursuing its agenda again in Sri Lanka, it is paramount for the Sri Lankan government to criminalise extremist activity, in the same way Germany developed legislation to prevent a revival of Nazism. As ideological extremism leads to terrorism, Sri Lanka should enact legislation that criminalise symbolism and rhetoric that will otherwise incite violence. The Sri Lankan government should also encourage by all possible means the grooming of a new generation of mainstream Tamil leaders that will succeed the proxy TNA and TNPF. After a hiatus of five years in terrorist activity, the LTTE is determined to return to Sri Lanka.
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Geneva’s Human Rights Chameleons: