

## **SUICIDE ASSASSINATIONS**

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### **Abstract:**

Assassination, as an extreme form of political violence, is documented by historians as occurring ever since the early civilizations. The forms in which it would be applied depended on technological advances, but the perpetrator has always been most exposed to the consequences of such an act. In the second half of the XIX century, with the development of explosives modern forms of suicide attacks come into play - suicide bombers. The use of improvised explosive devices and the manner of work intended to physically eliminate a particular person, politician or other prominent public figure, launched the era of the most destructive forms of assassination - assassination by suicide. This paper clarifies the terms assassination, suicide attack, as well as their product - suicide assassination. Presented are the main features of documented suicide assassinations worldwide, the target of attack, as well as the means of attack. Special emphasis is given to three suicide assassinations of political figures, committed by the Tamil Tigers (LTTE). They are examined through the prism of criminal and criminological analysis of the attacks. Finally, the data from the analyzed suicide bombings were summarized and recommendations are provided in regard to the protection of specific persons (VIP), which would be useful for the entities that provide such type of services.

**Keywords:** assassination, suicide bomber, suicide attack, suicide assassination, protection of specific persons.

### **Introduction**

If anybody really wanted to shoot the President of the United States it's not a very hard job...the day an assassin decides to trade his life for mine I will be a dead man.

- **John Fitzgerald Kennedy, shortly before his assassination** (Shekhar, Kavitha, 1991).

Assassinations as a form of violence against a specific person (usually persons who have political, economic, military or cultural importance in a society), with certain motivation, have been known for a long time now. Perhaps the earliest documented assassinations are the two attempts to assassinate the Chinese emperor Qin Shi Huang, 260-210 BC (Tejvan, 2015). The assassin Jing Ke tried to kill the emperor by a sword, which he managed to hide in the map that was intended to be presented as a gift for the emperor. The assassin failed in his intention and the emperor survived. Later, the second assassination attempt was executed, in which the assassin was a former friend of Jing Ke, a musician, whose name was Gao Jianli. This assassin also failed in his attempt and the emperor's life was again saved.

On the other hand, the first documented case where assassination was performed through a suicide attack is the case of the murder of the Russian tsar Alexander II, on 13.03.1881. The assassination was committed by Ignaty Grinevitsky, member of The People's Will, a left-wing terrorist group (Iain, Henry, 2013). The use of explosives, as *modus operandi*, to carry out the assassination undoubtedly makes the Russian tsar, Alexander II, the first victim of a suicide bomber, while Grinevitsky is the first suicide bomber in the history (Mara, 2016). Current data on suicide attacks by which assassinations are committed on a global level, according to the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) University of Maryland, show that in the period from 1989 to 2015 there were 224 suicide assassinations recorded. The database does not contain any records of terrorist incidents for the year 1993. In the previous period, from 1970 to 1988, there are no registered suicide assassinations. The situation as regards the registered suicide assassinations is as follows:

(1) In the period from 1989 to 2007 the number of committed acts ranged from 0-8, which is, in this period a total of 37 suicide assassinations were committed, representing 16.51% of the total number of attacks (224). In the next period, from 2008 to 2015, the number of committed acts ranged from 16-36, that is, in this period a total of 187 suicide attacks were performed, which represents 83.48% of the total number of attacks (224).

(2) In a total of 37 cases in the period from 1989 to 2007, targets of attack were mostly government, police and army officials, on which were performed 33 (cases of) suicide assassinations. In the period from 2008 to 2015, in a total of 187 cases, also the targets were mostly government, police and army officials on which were performed 143 (cases of) suicide assassinations.

(3) Most often as a means to carry out the mission, in the period 1989-2007, out of a total of 37 cases, in 36 were used explosives (explosives, bombs, dynamite) or a combination of explosives and firearms, while in one case only firearms were used. In the period 2008-2015, out of a total of 187 cases, in all explosives were used (explosives, bombs, dynamite), while in 15 cases a combination of explosives with firearms was used.

The growing number of committed suicide assassinations in the past period points to the need, and also is in the focus, of research by the authors of this paper, and therefore suicide assassinations will be examined through the prism of criminal and criminological analysis of the attacks (Tasevski, 2014).

## **Concepts of Suicide Attack and Assassination**

The term suicide attack is traditionally defined as an attack whose success is dependent on the death of the perpetrator (Pedahzur, 2006) or "suicide attack is operational method in which the very act of attack is dependent on death the perpetrator - this is a unique situation in which the terrorist is fully aware that if she/he does not kill her/himself, the planned attack will not be considered as implemented, or the perpetrator cannot fulfil his/her mission and at the same time stay alive" (IDC Herzliya-Israel, ICT). Alex Mintz favours a broader definition in which a suicide attack is defined as "any attack where the suicide act of the terrorist was the priority objective of the mission" (Pedahzur, 2006).

Mintz, Chatagnier, and Brule (Pedahzur, 2006) make a distinction regarding the definition of a suicide attack. They speak of a general and an operational definition. The general definition of a suicide attack includes "any attack where the suicide act of the terrorist is the priority objective of the mission", while the operational definition classifies suicide attacks as: (1) instances in which the very act of attack "is dependent upon the death of the perpetrator" (i.e. the narrow definition), or (2) instances in which the attacker commits suicide during the attack, although the very act of attack is not dependent upon his or her death. Still, most analysts of suicide terrorism, Moghadam 2002; Bloom 2005; Gambetta 2005; Hafez 2005 seem to adhere to the narrow definition of suicide attacks (Pedahzur, 2006). The authors of this paper accept the so-called narrow definition, where as suicide attacks are considered all those instances in which the very act of attack is dependent upon the death of the perpetrator.

The term "atentat" (assassination in English), comes from Latin (atentatum) (Dorevski, 1997) and it was first used in Roman law to signify an unlawful assault, violence, and most often it denoted a premeditated murder or attempted murder of a ruler or other prominent political figure initiated by political motives. In Western literature, particularly in English language, the commonly used term for "atentat" is "assassination", and for the perpetrator "assassin". The genesis of the term is from the Islamic sect - Assassins (Hashshashin), which appeared and acted on the Persian territory from 1092 to 1265. Etymologically, the word "assassin" (Chaliand, Blin, 2009) is of Arabic origin and is closely associated with the name of the sect. The meaning of the word is killing of an individual, politician or other famous figure (Chaliand, Blin, 2009). The two terms, substantially and operationally, have the same meaning, planned murder of politicians or of strategically important persons with special motives, methods and goals. In view of assassination (Tasevski, 2014), as a special kind of murder, the authors of the paper state the following main elements:

- a. Unlawfulness (act of violence)
- b. Function of the victim (ruler, leader)
- c. The motive of the perpetrator (political, ideological).

## **Suicide attack - Modus Operandi for the Attack Performance**

Suicide attack, as modus operandi for performance of assassination, is a fanatical form of physical elimination of a specific target/person. By their nature assassinations have limited objectives - "of destroying an enemy, frustrating a government, or simply eliminating a rival", (South Asia Terrorism Portal. Suicide Killings- An Overview. Institute for Conflict Management). Unlike military operations, death of the perpetrator is certain in a suicide attack. The attacker is fully aware of his/ her impending death, but nevertheless proceeds with the performance of the act. (South Asia Terrorism Portal). Or, if we simplify the process, we would say that a suicide attack aimed at committing assassination is known as a *suicide assassination*.

One of the most well-known terrorist organizations possessing operational capacity to carry out suicide assassinations were the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) 1976-2009. The LTTE had suicide bombers integrated into combat units for carrying out operations on land and sea, known as the Karum Puligal-Black Tigers. (South Asia Terrorism Portal). This organization, during its existence, has committed numerous suicide assassinations of prominent political leaders, a total of 47, including the assassinations of the former Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, and the Presidents of Sri Lanka Ranasinghe Premadasa and Chandrika Kumaratunga (South Asia Terrorism Portal). The mentioned assassinations will be analyzed in accordance with the criminal and criminological analysis of the attacks.

The assassination of the former Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi (1944-1991), took place on 21.05.1991 during an election rally (Indian National Congress) in Sriperumbudur-Tamil Nadu (India), in the afternoon 10:10 pm (Ophir, Henry, 2009). The assassination was committed by a female suicide bomber, Thenmuli Rajaratnam, also known as Gayatri Dhanu, in the form of a suicide attack. The assassin was wearing an explosive belt under her clothes and waited for the moment when the former Prime Minister of India, Gandhi, arrived at a campaign rally near a school where he was welcomed by local residents, and then the assassin approached Gandhi to greet and garland the former Prime Minister. The moment the assassin bowed before Gandhi, that is, found herself in his immediate vicinity, she detonated the explosive (700 grams-RDX). In the explosion, except the assassin Dhanu, were also killed the former Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, and 14 other persons, or a total of 16 people (Ophir, Henry, 2009).

Organizers and executors of the assassination are the LTTE (South Asia Terrorism Portal). This incident demonstrates the unique characteristics of the terrorist organization LTTE, including the use of a female suicide bomber, explosive belt or explosive vest, as well as the use of suicide tactics in order to carry out the assassination (Ophir, Henry, 2009). On May 22, 1991, the case was handed over to The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and a Special Investigation Team (SIT) headed by D R Karthikeyan was formed to probe the case and the probe confirmed the role of LTTE in the assassination, which was upheld by the Supreme Court of India (Narasimhan, 2014). The motive for committing the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, according to the ruling of the Supreme Court, was the personal animosity which the leader of the LTTE-Prabhakaran felt towards him (Ophir, Henry, 2009). Probably the reason for this antagonism was the fact that Gandhi (IPKF

were deployed earlier in the period 1987-90 in Sri Lanka, i.e. at the time when Rajiv Gandhi was prime minister of India, 1984-89. In this period a conflict occurred between the IPKF and the Tamils and a number of Tamils were killed by Indian soldiers. Here from arises the desire of the leader of the LTTE for revenge on Gandhi and also the belief that IPKF will be again sent to Sri Lanka (NDTV, 2016), wanted to get involved in the conflict that lasted at that time in Sri Lanka between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government. In an interview in 1990, Gandhi said that if he had taken power in India he would have sent the Indian Peacekeeping Forces (IPKF) to disarm the members of the LTTE. Although he was repeatedly warned about the threat to his life, given that there was certain information on the preparation of the assassination even back in 1987, Gandhi, did not pay attention to the threats. He was focused on the upcoming election campaign where he was a candidate for prime minister. In the aftermath of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India banned the LTTE, which previously had a privileged position in Tamil Nadu and declared the LTTE leader Prabhakaran and the chief of the intelligence service of the LTTE-Pottu Amman, perpetrators of the assassination (NDTV, 2016). The support for Tamil separatism also disappeared.

The assassination of the President of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa (1924-1993), took place on 1.05.1993 in Colombo (Sachi, 2008), Sri Lanka, at a time when the President was performing monitoring of the preparations of the United National Party-UNP (At the time the President Ranasinghe Premadasa was a leader of the UNP) in connection with the rally scheduled for May Day, at the Armour Street-Grand Pass Junction, in the afternoon, 12:45pm (Rajan, 2014) or 12:48pm (Ferdinando, 2012). The assassination was committed by a suicide bomber-Kulaveerasingam Veerakumar (23) alias Babu, from Jaffna (Rajan, 2014) in the form of a suicide attack. According to the statement of Amarasena Rajapakse, Deputy Inspector General (DIG) - Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of Sri Lanka, the assassin Babu arrived with a bike that he left near the vehicle that was carrying the President of Sri Lanka and headed toward him. At that moment three members of the security service of the President tried to stop him, but the person called E.M.P. Mohideen, employed as a personal servant of the President and a person he trusted, signalled the security guards to let Kulaveerasingam Veerakumar alias Babu pass, following which the security guards let him through (Rajan, 2014). This reaction of Mohideen was due to the fact that he, and part of the security guards of the President (25 members), knew very well Kulaveerasingam Veerakumar, who in turn used their weaknesses to liquor and women. In this way Babu became so close to the security personnel that he even travelled with them to at least five locations across the country in the team serving as the advance party of the President. After Babu had approached to a distance of about 2.43 to 3 meters (8 to 10 feet) from the President Ranasinghe Premadasa, he detonated the explosives strapped to his body, 0.907 kg (2 pounds) of plastic explosive (UPI, 1993). In the explosion, except the assassin Babu, were also killed President Ranasinghe Premadasa and more than 20 other people, including E.M.P. Mohideen. Organizers and executors of the assassination are the LTTE (*South Asia Terrorism Portal*). This incident also demonstrates the unique characteristics of the terrorist organization LTTE, including the use of a suicide bomber, explosives placed on the body in the form of explosive belt or explosive vest, and the use of suicide tactics in order to carry out the assassination. Ranasinghe Premadasa was known as a hardliner

who ordered a major military operation against militants belonging to Sinhalese-Janata Vimukti Peramuna, JVP (Sachi 2008), and guerrillas belonging to the Tamil minority in the country, LTTE (Iqbal, 1993). In his four year period as President the following achievements were also attributed to him. First, he managed to make their neighbour, India, withdraw the remaining troops stationed in Sri Lanka before the deadline specified in the peace agreement between India and Sri Lanka in 1987. Then he entered into peace talks with the LTTE, the first after nearly two decades and agreed a ceasefire that lasted nearly 15 months, which represented a local record. And perhaps most importantly, he neutralized the growing threat of the Marxist movement of Sinhalese (JVP), which was the main threat to the Sinhalese society, rather than the LTTE (Bruce, 1993). Nevertheless, Premadasa also had the reputation of a political thug among the elite of Sri Lanka (Bruce, 1993). In the media there is information which shows that the assassination of President Premadasa took place a week after the killing of his main political opponent, Lalith W. Athulathmudali, for whose murder the critics accused President Premadasa (Iqbal, 1993).

Findings about threats to the life of President Premadasa existed in early March, in the same year, when the LTTE were planning to poison the food consumed by President Premadasa. These findings, according to Amarasena Rajapakse (DIG-CID), were shared with the Security Service of the President (UPI 1993), and thus the President never consumed food outside, it was always served by his staff even when travelling by plane (Ferdinando, 2012). Nevertheless, Premadasa did not take seriously the warnings of the services responsible for his protection, about a possible attempt by a suicide attack of the LTTE on his life, and he did not want to give up his routines. He believed that those who were responsible for his safety and protection need to accept the challenge of the LTTE. Even, a week before his assassination, President Premadasa asked that additional police officers should not be deployed during a visit to his property in Ambanpola (Ferdinando, 2012). In the aftermath of the assassination of Premadasa a vacuum was created at the top of the country's political parties, government and opposition, as well as fears that Sri Lanka has lost the capacity for leadership that will end the spiral of violence in this country (Sachi, 2008). After all, the Democratic United National Front (DUNF), whose leader Lalith W. Athulathmudali was a week earlier assassinated, blamed the Sri Lankan government for the assassination of Premadasa (Amarnath, 1993). In addition, the assassination was a blow to the armed forces that were supposed to bring under their control the region controlled by the LTTE, taking into account the statement of Premadasa given in India the previous month, which indicated that there would be no peace talks with the LTTE until they laid down their arms (Amarnath, 1993).

The assassination of the Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga, (first woman president in the history of Sri Lanka) took place on 18.12.1999 during the last rally of the People's Alliance (PA), whose leader Chandrika Kumaratunga was, on the eve of the presidential elections, at 9:15 pm (Dexter, Waruna, 1999). The assassination was committed by a female suicide bomber in the form of a suicide attack. The suicide attack occurred at the moment when President Chandrika Kumaratunga finished her speech before her supporters at the City Hall in Colombo and started walking to the car. At that moment the assassin-suicide bomber tried to jump over the security fence that divided her from her target, but was prevented by the security officers

following which she detonated the explosive device she was carrying strapped to her body (Wije, 1999). In the explosion were killed at least 14 people (Dexter, Waruna, 1999), or according to other sources 36 people (Wije, 1999), but President Chandrika Kumaratunga survived the attack with bodily injuries, losing her sight in the right eye hit by shrapnel. Organizers and executors of the assassination were the LTTE. This incident also demonstrates the unique characteristics of the terrorist organization LTTE, including the use of a female suicide bomber, explosive belt or explosive vest, and the use of suicide tactics in order to carry out the assassination.

President Kumaratunga, in the previous election in 1994, when she won the presidency, had promised talks aimed at putting an end to the war in this country. At the upcoming presidential election, Chandrika Kumaratunga won again and received another six-year mandate. Several months after winning the mandate, the talks began, only quickly to collapse, and the government of PA not only continued the war, but it escalated. New stricter security limitations were introduced, especially against the Tamil population. In her statement following the suicide attack, Kumaratunga practically ruled out any possibility for negotiations with the LTTE and accused them that the only politics they knew was the politics of terrorism (Wije, 1999). Later, she promised that the pressure against the LTTE terrorists would continue, but she would negotiate with the moderate elements of the Tamil population. During that time the fights in the country, between the government and the LTTE, were continued.

Suicide assassinations committed against persons under protection (VIP) - Rajiv Gandhi, Ranasinghe Premadasa and Chandrika Kumaratunga shall be set in the framework of criminal - criminological analysis of the attacks. All three suicide assassinations enter the domain of the attacks that have occurred in public places, because persons under protection (VIP), attended public events or supervised the preparation of upcoming events, more specifically, the very act of suicide assassination took place on the route of movement when the VIP was travelling from a specific point to a particular destination (from point A to point B).

From the aspect of criminal assessment: **1.** According to the place of commission, the suicide assassinations were committed in public places, that is, on the route of movement of the VIP, when they were trying to enter the vehicle by which they travelled (Chandrika Kumaratunga); they were walking to a particular point in order to deliver a speech (Rajiv Gandhi) or were moving along a certain trajectory in order to monitor certain preparations for the upcoming event (Ranasinghe Premadasa). **2.** Assassinations according to the time of commission - all three suicide attacks took place in the afternoon, Ranasinghe Premadasa (12:45 pm or 12:48 pm), Chandrika Kumaratunga (9:15 pm), Rajiv Gandhi (10:10 pm). **3.** Assassinations according to the means of commission - in all three cases, for suicide assassinations are used explosives (improvised explosive device - IED, explosive belt or explosive vest) - Ranasinghe Premadasa (907 grams), Rajiv Gandhi (700 grams), while about Chandrika Kumaratunga there is only information on the use of explosives without indicating the quantity and type; **4.** Position-distance between the perpetrator and the target of the attack. In the case of Rajiv Gandhi the assassin was located directly in front of his feet (at the moment she bowed before him), in the case of Ranasinghe Premadasa the assassin was located at a distance of about 2.43 to 3 meters. Both cases come under the category of short

distances (direct contact with cold weapons, revolvers, pistols, explosives). Concerning the suicide attack on Chandrika Kumaratunga, taking into account that the assassin was thwarted in her decision to get closer to the target, we could say that it was a distance that varies from the category of short distances to a medium distance (up to 25 meters gun distance and explosives). **5.** Analysis by perpetrators of assassinations - in all three suicide attacks, according to the data, the perpetrators belonged to an organization that had designed and implemented the entire process. **6.** Assassinations by the consequences of the assassination - Rajiv Gandhi and Ranasinghe Premadasa fall into the category of injuries with fatal consequences, while Chandrika Kumaratunga into the category of severe injuries, as she lost her sight in her right eye.

From the aspect of criminological assessment: **1.** Conditions for the assassination - all three cases of suicide assassinations are committed in conditions of socio-economic and ethno-national divisions in society. **2.** Reasons for the assassination - all three cases of suicide assassinations are the result of a conflict of interest in the political and social sphere. **3.** Profile of the assassin/s - given that we do not have sufficient information on disposal for personality profiling except that in the cases of Rajiv Gandhi and Chandrika Kumaratunga the assassins were female suicide bombers, whereas in the case of Ranasinghe Premadasa - a male suicide bomber. The general perception of the assassins shows that there is no profile of an assassin, neither of their characteristics can provide for any regularity according to which the assassins would be categorized under certain type of delinquents (Tasevski, 2014). Nevertheless, there are certain findings about the assassins and their behaviour that could also be used in our cases, in general for all three suicide assassins. These are the following (Tasevski, 2014): The assassins commit the assassination of the VIP person rationally, with premeditation, and often their actions and thoughts are observable; The assassins use violence as a means to achieve their goal, or it is a solution to their problem; Individual motives and choice of target are directly connected. **4.** Motives of assassins - Usually the causes of the assassination indicate the motives of the perpetrators - assassins. The social circumstances in all three cases of suicide assassinations suggest layered problems of political and social nature, which played a key role on interpersonal level in the process of making the final decision-suicide assassins. **5.** The most common oversights and mistakes in the provision of security services to certain persons - Here, the fact should be mentioned that the oversights and mistakes in the provision of security of certain persons - VIP, is in correlation with the security culture of the protected person. Securing a VIP in public places is an extremely complex task. It requires comprehensive measures as well as expertise, intelligence and experience of the management team that plans the security measures. In the example of Ranasinghe Premadasa, where the influence of a person from the personal service of the President on the persons responsible for the security of the president and the weaknesses of a part of the security service members and the servants (women, liquor), used by the suicide assassin, had impact on the professional performance of the task - protection of a VIP. Also, regarding the security of Rajiv Gandhi and Chandrika Kumaratunga flaws can be detected in terms of the security measures undertaken, taking into account the exposure of the VIP to the murdering perimeter of the suicide assassins. At this point, the following can be added to the list: The "choke points", (Part of the route through which must



pass a VIP person), are not analyzed and identified as well as the ideal places for the attack that are part of the “choke points.” Appropriate measures or countermeasures are not undertaken as regards the means that can endanger the person. Failure to apply the principle of thoroughness in the carrying out of security measures. The “area of responsibility” is not protected etc. **6.** VIP - As mentioned in the previous point, the omissions and errors in the provision of security of a certain VIP is correlated with the security culture of the protected person. Noticing by the security officers of the threat to the life of Rajiv Gandhi and his ignoring of the danger to his life ended tragically. The case of Ranasinghe Premadasa has the same characteristics - in spite of the security services indicating the threat to his life by certain terrorist organization, the President did not pay enough attention to these warnings. On the contrary, sometimes he even insisted on reduction of the measures for his protection when travelling - the example with the deployment of police officers during his visit to his property in Ambanpola. The protected person cannot be a separate, divided and unrelated element in the daily activities, but rather it must be part of the security system through which the security function is implemented. **7.** Phenomenology of assassination - Every assassination is previously planned and it consists of several phases (Tasevski, 2014): *a.* phase of initial selection of the target - phase in which the inspirers, (As inspirers of assassination appear subjects who feel threatened by the actions of the target, in other words, expect the liquidation of the target to eliminate the threat to their interests.), depending on the goal they want to achieve, select the target (president of state, parliament, government, etc.); *b.* phase of secret observation and gathering of intelligence on the target; *c.* phase of selection of the target - the assassination organizer presents the collected information to the inspirers and based on it, decision is made on the final selection of the target, which mostly corresponds to their goal; *d.* phase of so-called pre-attack of the target - the organizer of the assassination personally, by his/her presence on the ground, checks the reliability of the previously gathered information, and confirms it; *e.* phase of planning of the assassination - based on the analysis of the information, the organizer determines the manner of attack (*modus operandi*); *f.* phase of exercises and testing of the attack - the perpetrators are tactically prepared and the tasks are concretized (depending on the nature of the attack, a test can be performed); *g.* attack of the target; *h.* phase of withdrawal, hiding and exploitation - in all three cases of suicide assassinations that have been presented this phase has not been taken into account, given the nature of the attack; **8.** Post-assassination period, assassination impact - As a consequence of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India banned the LTTE, which had previously have a privileged position in Tamil Nadu and declared the LTTE leader Prabhakaran and the head of LTTE intelligence - Pottu Amman perpetrators/inspirers of the assassination. The support for Tamil separatism also disappeared. As a consequence of the assassination of Ranasinghe Premadasa a vacuum was created at the top of the political parties in the country, government and opposition, as well as fears that Sri Lanka has lost the capacity for leadership that will end the spiral of violence in this country. In addition, the assassination was a blow to the armed forces that were supposed to bring the region controlled by the LTTE under their control, taking into account the Premadasa’s statement, made in India, where he indicated that there would be no peace talks with the LTTE until they laid down their arms. President Chandrika

Kumaratunga, who survived the suicide attack, won the presidential election in Sri Lanka and was given another mandate. At the beginning of her mandate the negotiations with the LTTE collapsed and the war escalated. New stricter security limitations were introduced, especially against the Tamil population. Later, she promised to continue with the pressure against the LTTE terrorists, but would negotiate with the moderate elements of the Tamil population. During that time the fights in the country between the government and the LTTE were continued.

## **Conclusion**

Suicide assassinations, according to our analysis, occurred in certain complex socio-economic and ethno-national conditions in the societies, which created a conflict of interest in the political and social sphere. In such a constellation of conditions, the services in charge of security of senior state officials (VIP) did not stay immune to these circumstances. On the one hand, the security culture of the protected person played a major role in the function of the personal safety of the VIP and the entire team in charge of security. After all, as mentioned before, the protected person cannot be a separate, divided and unrelated element in the everyday activities of the security system. But on the other hand, the presented suicide attacks present an extremely complex matter and a challenge for the services responsible for security of VIP persons in the performance of their activities in the public domain.

The general conclusion (1989-2015 year) is that the use of explosives (IED, explosive belt or explosive vest) is present in almost all cases (223 out of 224) except in one where a firearm was used. The targets of the attacks were mostly government, police and military officials. The situation of the committed suicide assassinations developed in the direction from using a combination of explosives (IED) with a firearm (in 36 of a total of 37 suicide attacks) in the period 1989-2007, with a tendency of reduction of the combination of explosives (IED) - firearms (only 15 cases out of 187) in the period 2008-2015 and constant use of explosives (IED) in the performance of suicide attacks, in all 187 cases (2008 - 2015).

The focus of this paper is exactly on the security services responsible for the protection of VIP persons and the analysis of the presented suicide assassinations (Rajiv Gandhi, Ranasinghe Premadasa, and Chandrika Kumaratunga) conducted through the prism of criminal-criminological method. One common characteristics of the suicide assassinations committed against Rajiv Gandhi, Ranasinghe Premadasa, Chandrika Kumaratunga, is that they were performed in public or on the trajectory of movement (route). Also, all attacks were performed in the afternoon, with the cases of Rajiv Gandhi (10:10 pm) and Chandrika Kumaratunga (9:15 pm) occurring in conditions of reduced visibility (night time). All suicide assassinations were carried out using explosives, or IED, Rajiv Gandhi (700 grams, RDX), Ranasinghe Premadasa (907 grams, plastic explosive), while about Chandrika Kumaratunga there is only information on the use of explosives without indicating the quantity and type. The position-distance between the perpetrator and the target of the attack range from a short distance to a medium distance (Rajiv Gandhi), close proximity of the assassin (Ranasinghe Premadasa) from about 2.43 to 3 meters, while for Chandrika Kumaratunga

the distance varies from the category of short distances to a medium distance (up to 25 meters). All perpetrators of suicide attacks belonged to the same terrorist organization (LTTE). The consequences for the physical integrity of the VIP persons ranged from deadly consequences in the cases of Rajiv Gandhi and Ranasinghe Premadasa to severe injuries in the case of Chandrika Kumaratunga.

The general conclusion is that there is no distinctive profile of an assassin, which also applies in our cases. The anomalies of the kind of moral weaknesses, lack of analysis and identification of "choke points", and the ideal locations for attack that are within the "choke points", as in all three cases the assassins were sufficiently close to the target (VIP), ensured that the final epilogue was tragic for the protected person and the security team. The failure to undertake appropriate measures or countermeasures regarding the ways and means which might endanger the person (the use of a suicide bomber as an assassin), would later result in an almost impossible mission to protect the relevant person. These parameters indicate that it is required to have a strict control of a given perimeter around the VIP. The failure to apply the principle of thoroughness in the implementation of the protective measures, the area of responsibility not being protected, as well as other measures and activities which are also observed as deficiencies in all three cases of suicide assassinations. One of the crucial activities which is of vital importance for the detection and prevention of assassinations, especially suicide assassinations is the phenomenology of the assassination, specifically the phases included in every assassination. Here from arise the main directions in terms of equipping a service responsible for providing security to persons under protection (VIP). Skilled and experienced personnel are required. Professional services within the structure of the security service with appropriate material and technical resources, with compulsory distribution of tasks and undertaking of protection measures in a specific order. Monitoring of the situation and developments in the country and abroad as well as constant education concerning the technological innovations aimed at protecting of very important persons. Cooperation with the services in the field of intelligence is extremely important in order to obtain relevant information regarding the possible endangerment of persons under protection.

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