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Chapter-I

Introduction: A Conceptual Framework

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Introduction

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka had been recognised by various names. The Prince Vijaya, Mahavamsa legendary, identified the island as *Tambapanni*. This landmass, in Mahabharata and Tamil epics, was named as Lanka and Elam respectively. The Greek geographer called the land as *Taprobana*. The Parisians and Arabs termed it *Serendipity* which is originated from the term *Cerentivu*. Portuguese domain termed the desert island *Ceilao* in 1505. The British colony specified the term of the landmass as *Ceylon*. Sri Lanka, a contemporary name in 1972, has been a combination of cultural ethnicities, religious and social groups with the significant majority of Sinhalese Buddhists (Low Country¹ and Kandyan²) who sought to shape the island in the unitary form of the state. For long years of western rule, this majority was ignored by the mainstream politics and governance.

In this regard, Jonathan Spencer illuminating observation in his “*Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*” (2002) seems to be pertinent here. He claimed that even their objections were not well thought-out with sympathetic consideration by the post-independence administrations (Spencer, 2002: 77). From the independence Sri Lanka, the Buddhists complained that Ceylon³ Tamils had an unequal and disproportionate portion of occupations in the governmental and private sections. Moreover, with the accumulation of one million anomalous Indian Tamils, they (Buddhists) incline to consider the whole Tamil people as a menace or security threat to the presence of the Sinhalese community.

The shapes of political paradigms and administrative behaviour had been systematically determined by demands of the Sinhalese Buddhists since the commencement of post-

independence of Sri Lanka. In 1948, the Colombo outlined its particular rules with respect to the national citizenship and the suffrage. This particular notion stands corroborated by J. K. Chopra's concept of citizenship. According to him, its acts in legislature in the issues of the Ceylon Citizenship Act, 1948 and the Indian inhabitants (Citizenship) Act No. 3 of 1949, set up legitimate system of the particular surroundings that conventional Sinhalese leading politicians had imagined from the 1930s and even before (Chopra, 2000: 73). In point of fact, there were several political leaders who realised that the situations were not challenging and sufficient.

According to the Sri Lankan citizenship act (No. 18 of 1948), there were two different types of ways of citizenship: (i) by descent; and (ii) by registration enrolment; and this law assumed the state of affairs under which citizenship-rights might be attained in separately of these types. In this connection, Chopra argued that the law provided an arbitrary control of power to grant the right of the citizenship to not more than 25 peoples a year, who executed outstanding services in different scopes of community life and /or were accepted as British subordinates in the island (Chopra, 2000: 88). The provisions of *the Citizenship Act of 1948* were not projected to protect, and envisaged to cover all Indian inhabitants in any way.

In the opinion of the community brotherhood, the ethno-national crisis in the sovereign state of Sri Lanka had significant implications and inferences for India due to the existence of Tamil community in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, who were sympathetic to their members in Sri Lanka. In this background, the government of Tamil Nadu played significant role and validated the superfluous consideration and accomplishment. In Indian Ocean zone, the threat perception to the security for India was mainly driven by the political change and military expansions in Sri Lanka. To find out the Indian benefits in the sovereign state of Sri Lanka, the problem of emigrant Tamils had presumed significance for India even in the pre-independence phase.

These Indian Tamils who were brought in Sri Lanka throughout the British Colonial regime and they were involved and worked in the tea and rubber farmstead in Sri Lankan society. Therefore, the socio-economic conditions of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka were different from the Sri Lankan Tamils who occupied the mainstream politics in the state. But the Indian Tamil politicians were not engaged in the mainstream Tamil political system in state of Sri Lanka and it did not advocate the reason of the separation of Tamil or their autonomy. In these circumstances, the problem of position and citizenship entitlement of Indian Tamils which ascended in the post-colonial phase was concerned by India.

Concerning the Sri Lankan Tamils who demanded to establish the autonomous state in the early month of 1976, for an extensive period of time New Delhi maintained the aloofness from such political variations and changes owing to the ethnic polarisations developed in the Sri Lanka. Consequently, with increasing favouritism in contradiction of Tamils and development of the rebellion ethnic revolutions in 1983, New Delhi expressed its concern for the security and pronounced for the protection of the Tamil common people who were residing in the state of Sri Lanka after the de-colonisation. When the ethnic crisis galvanised and moved between the Tamil and Sinhalese groups in July, 1983, India ascertained herself in an elusive condition. Indian government believed that it needed many moral accountabilities for the protection and security of the Indian Tamils in the several areas of Sri Lanka and consequently it overturned its past attitude and rushed into the Sri Lankan national problem. In this regard, M. S. Kulandaswamy argued that on the basis of moral accountably, India adopted the decision to interfere into the national problem (Kulandaswami, 2000: 1). An agreement was signed between New Delhi and Colombo, whereby Indian government decided to send the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to help the Sri Lankan military forces to bring-back the peace and synchronization in the country. But, the Indo-Lanka Pact (1987) did not solve the ethnic clash and the IPKF did not vanquish the LTTE's military mode and its regimental process. In

contrast, the LTTE was strong because its demand to be the special demonstrative of the Tamil common people attained credibility. After the pulling out of Indian military forces in March 1990, the LTTE re-emerged in parts of Jaffna with aggressive stand towards the Sri Lankan administration. Thousands of people were forced to take shelter in the campsites or in external domains (Yogasundram, 2009). Afterward, the trends of Sri Lankan government were anticipated by Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga who was accountable to the administrative settlements and responsible to establish peace and security of nationals in the island. She made a statement to arrange a process for the negotiation with the rebellious group LTTE in the state of Sri Lanka without imposing any pre-conditions.

During the last phase of the civil-war in Sri Lanka (March 2007), the Sri Lankan Military forces started an aggressive attack in the LTTE-dominated Northern area of Mannar District. In the southern region of Sri Lanka, the LTTE meticulously targeted citizens that they can remove the army from the front line in the northern space and to undermine the SLFP (Sri Lankan Freedom Party) regime. In May 2009 the LTTE was defeated by the Sri Lankan military forces. This final stage of the warfare was only observed by the military forces, the LTTE and non-combatants caught in the explosives. According to Wickramasinghe, Reporters or press media, NGO workers and other representatives were not allowed to the battlefield and many of those previously inner parts had chosen not to stay on or persist due to the security (Wickramasinghe, 2014: 356).

Statement of the Problem

The Sri Lanka's ethnic struggle cannot properly be studied from the leading bipolar analysis that views it as a primordial concept of ethnic conflict between the Sinhala majority and the Tamil minority. Rather, a multipolar analysis of the complex interplay of political-economic and cultural forces at the local and regional levels is needed. The research aims to focus on the

separatist conflicts in Sri Lanka and shows how the form and content of ethnicity are shaped by historical forces. The study takes into account diverse ethnic groups, intra-ethnic, and other variables as well. The focal point of the present study has been to focus on the ethnic crises in Sri Lanka that have evolved since 1950s. this study deals with the implications for India's security in the background of ethnic crises in Sri Lanka

Review of Literature

The following literatures have been of immense help in shaping my research framework.

Berkley Center for Religion published an article on "*Sri Lanka: Civil War along Ethnoreligious Lines*" (2013). This article addressed that the ethnic crisis emerged in Sri Lanka (1983-2009), which was fuelled and led by the LTTE. This crisis was developed to protect the socio-political rights of Hindu Tamil section in the state. The ethnic conflict was a counter movement which did not support the majority domination in the island. This work made by Berkley Center for Religion explored four relative understanding; (i) the historic backgrounds of the struggle in the state of Sri Lanka; (ii) the relation between the ethnic demand for autonomy and internal religious factors; (iii) How eventful were global religious factors and political drives; (iv) the function of the socio-economic aspects played during the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis? But this written-document did not consider original grounds of the ethnic polarisation, Tamil nationality& their nonconformities, and the functions of peripheral powers in Sri Lanka.

Murugar Gunasingam's book "*Tamil Eelam Liberation Struggle State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing 1948-2009*" (2012) described the demand of Tamil Eelam and the democratic struggle movement which fuelled the process of internal displaced persons in Sri Lanka. This volume concerned with the origin of the self-determination movement for Tamil Eelam in the island. It developed the sequential record of the actions originated in the state. He elaborated a comprehensive antiquity of the Tamil fight for freedom and autonomy in the late 20th century.

It covered themes like failure of democratic struggle, the rise of armed militancy and the connection of India in the struggle movement. It congruently finished that the extreme usage of the military forces had led to the ethnic purgative, imprisonment, assault and agony which finally fuelled the demand of state autonomy and the development of the LTTE. Gunasingam presented his ideas on the upcoming of the fight for Tamil Eelam in the island.

“Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History” (2006) by Nira Wickramasinghe encompassed the compels of colonization and erected diverse form the identities in the society. In modern times, Sri Lanka verified the contemporary antiquity of the landmass in an available yet eccentric modes and means. While other historical literatures tended to emphasis on the failure of the state to fulfil the requirements and demands of the marginalised minority groups, Wickramasinghe favoured the claims combined with the social, political and economic requirements and needs of other groups, parties, and organisations and outlining their ancestries and connections to the colonization phase. In the post-colonial period, she wrote the people’s history in Sri Lanka rather than an antiquity of the country. Subsequently, she covered the brutal history of Sri Lankan civil war and pointed out the nature of post-civil war state as a repressive stability of democracy in Sri Lanka.

L. R. Reddy focused on the developing strategies of the state and economic policies in Sri Lanka. In the book *“Sri Lanka: Past & Present”* (2003) L. R. Reddy said that Sri Lanka had been exaggerated by the rise and development of civil-war. He censoriously examined that the state was mostly passive throughout the British colonial periods in Sri Lanka but later independence in 1948, the mainstream Sinhala (74 Percent) strengthened shapes of state-recognised discriminativeness in contradiction of the sectional Tamils (18 Percent). Subsequently the LTTE generated a counter movement and started attacking on the government of Sri Lanka in 1984. The Sinhala & Tamils were brutally murdered, and he

pointed out that thousands further were domestically displaced in the state due to the emergence of the identity crisis. The book comprised a series of interconnected sections like the property, the demographic population, their ethno-cultural traditions, and history, background of the economic settings, cultivation conditions of the state and so on.

In book “*India in Sri Lanka between Lion and the Tigers*” (2004) Avtar Singh Bhasin, renowned writer, analysed the Indo-Sri Lankan cooperative relations. This book included the Indo-Sri Lankan relations during the cold war and post-cold war era. He encompasses the Sri Lankan nationwide perception as the significant portion of this analytical considerations. Bhasin incorporated the several issues like the growing demand for self-rule, separatist movement, upsurge Tamil violence and aggressiveness, Indian’s policy of involvement and intervention in Sri Lankan national crisis and its arbitrating character, and Rajiv Gandhi’s murder. However, the book too confined facts about Tamil-ethnic matters and their synchronization contracts along with an allusion of LTTE’s character and its struggle with the IPKF. In short, the book outlined multi-dimensional issues of ethno-national struggle between Sinhalese and Tamil in Sri Lanka. This analysis evidenced to be enormously supportive in the analysis between India and Sri Lankan relations.

Rajeev Sharma’s book “*Beyond the Tigers: Tracking Rajiv Gandhi’s Assassination*” was published in 2013. The volume broadly stressed on the ruthless assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, and the subsequent effect of the progressive development. This volume considered the case of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and analysed a solid case for the administration to order new law enforcement agency or police inquiries into the dusky parts of Rajiv’s murder.

In the book “*Dynamics of India-Sri Lanka Relationship: Since Independence*” (2012) Gurnam Chand critically analysed the India-Sri Lanka relations. According to him, this relation was

founded on attachment and geo-cultural closeness. He emphasised on the multi-dimensional opinions of these relations. He identified four significant facets; *First* geo-political, and socio-economic arrangement of two states, *secondly*, the traditional connection from myths to British colonial administrative rule in the island, *thirdly*, oceanic border problems pre and post-civil war setup, issue of extremism, migration problems, fishermen issues; and *fourth*, was last-not-least contemporary external effects and influences. In addition to that he analysed several deals and agreements between India and Sri Lanka like Nehru-Kotelawala 1954, Sirimavo-Shastri agreement 1964, monetary treaties such as Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement, Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA), and CEPA etc.

In the article “*India-Sri Lanka Relations: In Post-Civil War Era in Sri Lanka*” (2014), Osantha N. Thalpwila critically analysed the Indo-Sri Lankan relations in the framework of the Sri Lanka’s post-civil war period. This article was published in the International Journal of Social Science. However, he pointed out that India had been energetically related in supporting Sri Lanka to reconstruct the war effected-areas. Few controversial matters were emphasized in this article. Firstly, the problems of ethnic conflict and violence of the human rights in Sri Lanka extremely; and secondly, angling problems of trawlers of Tamil Nadu in Indian Ocean. The maximum significant portion of this writing had been the power and functions of Tamil Nadu state government which motivated and shaped the strategies of New Delhi regarding Sri Lanka.

In the article “*The Logic of the ‘Fight and Talk Cycle’ in Sri Lanka and the Final defeat of the LTTE*” (2015) Ibrahim Can Sezgin analysed the decisive activities of the ethno-national crisis in Sri Lanka. He argued that the ineffectiveness attitudes of the LTTE headship led to an incapability to change increased benefits on the battleground into probable gains during peaceful dialogs with the government of Sri Lanka between 2001 and 2006. According to him, the LTTE, rebellion group, transformed the several state areas into a quasi-autocratic systems

and de-facto government. He mentioned that LTTE lost their legitimacy both transnationally and regionally. This ethno-national and political crisis shaped new prospects for the Sri Lankan state to breakdown the regular clash.

The article “*Indo-Sri Lanka Relations after the LTTE: Problems & Prospects*” (2016) was published by S. M. Aliff. He emphasized on some of the complexities and possibilities relating to the Indo-Sri Lankan bilateral affairs in the background of ethnic crises in Sri Lanka. This article elevated the subsequent important issues and made an attempt to uncover the answers: (a) what are the issues shaping the Indo-Sri Lankan relationships? (b) how the extra-regional powers fuelled the bilateral relations? (c) Are there any uncertain wings in the bilateral relations? However, in this article the author argued that India’s diplomatic attempts have succeeded neither in taking about the resolution of political conflict between Sinhalese and Tamil national identity; nor in reducing the ethnic crisis or tensions. It did not examine the vital grounds of the ethnic crisis, national identities of the Tamil people & constitutional rights of the minority groups, and the functions of foreign powers in Sri Lanka. The article did not find out the inter-relations between the role of non-state armed groups in India and Sri Lanka.

In *Daily Times* (Lahore, Pakistan, March 7, 2015), the article “*Controlling Asia: China-Sri Lanka Relations*”, published by Ghulam Ali and Ejaz Hussain intensely examined the tendencies of Sri Lanka-Chinese bilateral relationships after the Sri Lankan Presidential polls in 2015. Mahindra Rajapakse was defeated by Maithripala Srisena who became the President of Sri Lanka in 2015. Ghulam Ali and Ejaz Hussain viewed the Rajapakse’s period as pro-China regime and argued about the Sri Lanka’s relations with Pakistan, and very meticulously side-lined India. But then again, the Sri Lankan government shifted its policy from the China and came nearer to the Indo-US partnership by changing of its foreign policies. The author shows how and why Sirisena’s government reviewed all the treaties signed earlier and decided

to developed the strategically significant Hambantota port in collaboration with China. After the similar proposal was rejected by the government of India.

The erudite and illuminating academic paper entitled “*Changing Political Dynamics in Sri Lanka: Implications for India-Sri Lanka Relations*” penned by Sheet Kant Sharma brings to focus the dynamic paradigm of Sri Lankan politics. Sri Lanka’s territorial strategic stance in the current scenario subsumes interconnected realms that have been explored from crucial standpoints by Sharma. The decisive role played by India’s Prime Minister, Narendra Modi in opening up the floodgate of collaborative and reciprocal exchange between the two nations strengthened the position of Presidency in Sri Lanka. It conformed to the alteration of leadership in Sri Lanka. The evolvement of the leading position of headship contributed to the switching over from Beijing to strike a kind of counter balance with India. What has not been touched upon in the article is the exposition of the determining part of non-state players in the establishment bilateral nexus and the examination of ethnic factors as the catalyst for Indo-Sri Lanka relationship.

Mohamed Imtiyaz Abdul Razak and Ben Stavis published an article “*Ethno-Political Conflict in Sri Lanka*” (2008) in the *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol 25, No 2, Fall 2008. In this work, he examined ethno-national crisis in Sri Lankan government. He analysed about the politicization of ethno-national differences by dominant political parties had provoked the ethno-national crisis in Sri Lanka. He addressed an interactive method and approach to realise aggressiveness of both parties. He identified about the role of elites who played significant functions in the power allocation and emphasizing ethno-national pressures. In this work, he correspondingly considered various important issues that played a role in realizing the ethno-national crisis in Sri Lankan state.

Paranjpe Shrikant and Rajendra Abhyankar published a book “*India and Sri Lanka: Future Imperfect*”. In this book, they categorised the future of Sri Lanka-India relations in the context of the economic and political benefits accompanied by the security apprehensions with Sri Lanka. They identified the various issues like sea lines in Indian Ocean, the LTTE risks, Tamil influences, security of fishermen of both states etc. had been significant for determining factors in the reciprocated relations of Indo-Sri Lanka. The extending interests of Beijing in Colombo in field of financial cooperation had shortened India’s in South-Asian region. The Indo-China cold-war and China’s increasing presence in the shared interest of neighbouring states had been perilous threat to the leadership of India.

Rajeswari Pilli Rajagopalan, N. Sathiyamoorthy, K. Yhone, Rahul Prakash and Wilson John published a book “*Looking Beyond the Conflict: Changing Dynamic of India- Sri Lanka Ties*” in 2013. She argued that India maintained its relations with Sri Lanka due to fulfil two main purposes (a) to maintain the sovereignty and territorial unity; and (b) to repel the external impact antagonistic to India’s attempts in the state of Sri Lanka. They identified that Tamil Nadu reason and LTTE jeopardy were the most important limitations in the Indo-Sri Lankan relations. In the post-LTTE period, India shifted its approaches and maintained to stability with Sri Lanka for attaining the monetary purpose & cooperation and geo-political amalgamation. Indian Ocean, the geographical position of Sri Lanka attracts other states too who attempt to get the position in the island. She highlighted the Sri Lanka-China bonds, Lanka Pakistan links, Sri Lanka-West connections and their influences could be considered as a threat to Indian harmonises. Consequently, New Delhi focussed on solving problems of oceanic border problems, energy security benefits with Colombo and maintenance the territorial unity and its sovereignty. In this way, India attempted to solve the bilateral disputes in a peaceful manner and took further realistic method for the Sri Lanka to resolve the obscurity in the bilateral

relationship. This book did not analyse the dynamic role of the states in the island after the elimination of LTTE.

Rumel Dahiya and Ashok K Behuria published an edited book on “*India’s Neighborhood Challenges in the Next Two Decades*” in 2012. In this book, they considered the neighborhoods policy of India and its significance power and position since cold war period. They advocated that India maintained the cooperative relations with the neighboring states and took the favourable security strategies. Subsequently, the important aspect of the geo-political condition in the region was likely to shift gradually trusting on outside influences in regional political policies. They also think that there were ongoing anti-India views in various South Asian states and there was correspondingly larger aspiration for the financial cooperation, regional support and consolidation of the representative originations. He supposed that as India might confront the security encounters in the days to come, she had been trying to maintain the cooperative relations with Southbound Asian states. In this context, India continued to unfold the various fields of cooperation like political, economic and military etc. The authors specified that the foremost problems in Sri Lanka is economic and the solution of the ethnic crisis by 2030.

In the book “*Intra-State Conflict and Inter-State Relations Perspectives on India-Sri Lanka Relations*” (2011), Sumanasiri Liyanage, P. Sahadevan and Anisha Kinra focused on the intra-state clashes, and often exploded by the ethno-national spirits. In the globalisation era, particularly in 1990s, the Identity became a significant category of discrimination. Several post-colonial states were suffering from the problems of the ethnic challenges which fuelled the militarized struggles. The spill-over influences of the armed conflict effected predominantly on the connecting countries which included the global dimensions and intercontinental extents. This book analysed the international factors of Sri Lanka’s racial clash

in which India remained a major external aspect since 1980s. The book elevated some relevant issues and tried to point out responses: (a) India's reaction to the national question in Sri Lanka; (b) the factors which exaggerated India-Sri Lanka affairs; (c) shifting dimensions of the policies and stratagems of the India's foreign policy after 1990s which led to change of its approaches towards neighbouring states and their discourses in the region. Captivating an antique perpetuation of the ever-changing shapes of Indo-Sri Lanka affairs, the volume attempted to cover these issues. Though Sumanasiri Liyanage, P. Sahadevan and Anisha Kinra's method of analysis seemed to be positive degree in the aforementioned political connection between New Delhi and Colombo, the existing opinions were not apparently uttered by them.

In the article "*The Ethic Question in India-Sri Lanka Relations in the Post-LTTE Phase*" (2013) Amali Wedagedara considered the problems of the nationality in state of Sri Lanka, even afterward the downfall of the LTTE which reminded a views of doubt, ambiguity and even a probable struggle for the benefits or advantages in the otherwise strong and multi-layered connection between Indian state and Sri Lankan state. The written document assumed different models originated on or after the positional notation study and he assumed three main mediators in Indo-Sri Lankan cooperative relations like, the Sri Lankan Government; the New Delhi; and; the Tamil Nadu Government. He argued that the Sri Lankan Government stood now more satisfactory fitted to solve the national problems, particularly due to the vicissitudes of the viewpoint of New Delhi and Tamil Nadu. But he did not assess the role of the non-state armed groups which strengthen the battlefield in the island as well as regional areas of Indian ocean.

Jonas Lindberg, Camilla Orjuela, Siemon Wezeman, and Linda Akerstorm wrote the book "*Arms Trade with Sri Lanka Global Business, Local Costs*" in 2011. They emphasized on the Sri Lanka's tactical affairs with the great powers and its acute attention in military trade and

business. They argued that Beijing decided to supply the arms to Colombo and further advocated that China assisted the government of Sri Lanka to overthrow and eliminate the LTTE. According to them, China's uninterrupted arms assistance and support to Sri Lankan government provided backbone to Sri Lankan army allowing it to encounter the armed resolution in the archipelago. It studied the benefits of several states trading weapons to the state of Sri Lanka and their significant benefits on ethno-national struggle. But it did not analyze the public security conditions, ethno-national separation and peaceful settlement procedure required to achieve the political privileges along with monetary improvements.

Anthony Kellett in his book "*China's Periphery: South Asia*" (2010) argued that Beijing's connection with Colombo was identical diplomatic which continuously intended at attaining its aims of the external strategy in South Asian area. He identified that China was wholly involved in supplying the military assistances and supports to Sri Lanka. Therefore, China's military supports and assistance helped the Sri Lankan military to downfall LTTE in the island. Much connection of Beijing assisted Colombo alternate proceedings, generated the military and financial assistance from New Delhi also.

Vibhuti Singh Shekhawat published a book "*Sri Lanka: The Politics of Tamil Eelam*", in 2010. This volume evidently illustrated the junctures of Sri Lankan national crisis between Sinhala segment and Tamil nonconformity. It outlined the reasons for the retarded rebellion movements. Ethno-nationality and discrepancy of language were the fundamental reasons of this dilemma which provoked the Tamils to consume the weapons to establish a sovereign state or the Tamil Eelam. In malice of the appearance, that this manuscript comprised six portions which constitute the assertions interconnected to one another.

Nath Yogasundram's book "*The Indian Connection*" (2009) emphasized the relations between India and Sri Lanka from ancient-times to the present-day. It was a well-adjusted and neutral

framework that gave the person who reads a clear and decipherable explanation on the historical expansion of the relations between the two independent states. These relations had shaped the Sri Lanka's ethno-cultural, financial and societal progress. and could continue in the future.

Harkirat Singh wrote a book "*Intervention in Sri Lanka: The IPKF Experience Retold*" in 2009. In this book, the writer stretches an overview of the functions and activities of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. He illustrated, in details, the trials and hardships of the IPKF because it was effectively involved with the functional situation involving the politics. The book described an understanding into how imperfectly organized the IPKF and elucidated how problematic it was to fight against the LTTE paramilitary, particularly when the government of India itself was uncertain almost the military and political goals and objectives. It put emphasise on the IPKF's operations and actions in Sri Lanka and tried to establish several issues including the laying down of weapons by the LTTE, and the famous vessel calamity. Harkirat Singh argued that the IPKF was send to Colombo as peacekeeping troops who were responsible to disarm the LTTE, a rebellious group in Sri Lanka and they if essential, by force, were accountable to maintain the law and orders in the sovereign state of Sri Lanka. But the clear-cut guidelines about probable IPKF combat against the LTTE ascertained itself at a drawback. This persuasive description was a significant addition to the wide-ranging works on the Indian army in Sri Lanka.

In the article, "*The Politics of Foreign Aid in Sri Lanka: Promoting Markets and Supporting Peace*", (2009) Sunil Bastian detailed the statement concerning Sri Lanka's programme for free market-economic system. This brief analysis established some significant issues which brought the relationship between aid, conflict and capitalist development. He realised that the help was mostly from US, Japan, China, and European states. According to him, there was

continuously a rich veiled-plan behind these assistants and supports and the supporter states sought to make a diplomatic situation in the Indian-Ocean and subsequently upsurge the dimensions of the marketplace rendering to their benefits and national-interests. He did not examine the Indo-Sri Lankan policies and nexus in context of the geo-strategical issues and role of non-state armed groups.

Sanath de Silva published an article on “*Sharing Maritime Boundary with India: Sri Lankan Experience*” from Strategic Studies Centre in 2008. He analysed the India-Sri Lanka relation in the context of the oceanic positions. According to him, the bilateral relations begun from ancient period through the linking with Palk Strait which had formed the governmental, logistic assistance and security issues for both states. Sri Lanka had drilled naval Power over its seaports and the connecting the maritime. He mentioned the importance of Palk straight which divided the two states but there had been a strong cultural bond which combined the people of South India especially Tamil Nadu in India. In this work, he advocated both states to work together. He momentarily touched upon a few portions of the sea border problems between India and Sri Lanka and he identified several issues like refugee issues Kachchativu issue, cross boundary violence, fisherman complications and smuggling and trafficking and the Sethu-Samudran seaway scheme. The shared-borders had a main requirement in keeping the good governance at maritime to accomplish the jeopardies postured by the terrorist groups.

In the book “*India- Sri Lanka Partnership in the 21th Century*” (2007) Adluri Raju Subramanyam discussed about the pro-active role of political and military activities India in Sri Lanka till 1990 and at that time India adopted the non-interference strategy towards Sri Lankan issues in the sphere of geo-strategical, monetary and naval collaboration. The Indo-Sri Lankan relations were developed owing advent of the monetary cooperation and upcoming projections of business profits and advantages. The complications in Indo-Sri Lankan

cooperation, considered in this article, were largely sea-tigers, geo-strategical complications, terrorist act and ethnic violence etc. India instantly acknowledged Sri Lanka's geo-political position beyond its security interests.

A state's historical base had been a significant gesture of its future. National structure in Sri Lanka had continuously been the almost significant issue in its politics. The book by S. S. Upadhyay entitled: "*India and Sri Lanka: Economic and Political Relations*" (2007) postulated the existence of several ethnic groups and the role performed by many Sri Lankan political parties in the nation building process of Sri Lanka. He critically analysed that India-Sri Lanka agreement and killing of Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, were two most substantial actions that involve to modify relations between these states. The book presented the increasing economic relations of these states with especial importance on how India comprehensively broadened its cooperative assistance to Sri Lanka in numerous infrastructure ontogenesis schemes and ventures. This book likewise embraced the free-trade pact between India and Sri Lanka. The final chapter of this volume covers with the recent political progresses and development between two states.

Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly presented a serious review of numerous theoretical methods of analysis on ethno-nationality and nation-building process in their book "*Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia*" (2001). They described the ethno-national arrangements of the South Asian area and considered the detail of the state buildings of the various states. Furthermore, the book examined several movements for nationality and ethnic identity in these states and covered the evolutions of the ethno-national conflicts in the regional parts of the respective area.

The Sri Lankan ethno-national struggle had serious influences, extrapolations and implications for India due to the existence of the Tamil multitudes and pluralities in Tamil Nadu. The Tamils

in Tamil Nadu who express sympathy with their associates in Sri Lanka. India's perceptual experience of threat to its security measures in the Indian Ocean was mostly controlled and driven by the political and military expansions in Sri Lanka. Consequently, with increasing discrimination and prejudice against Tamils and grievous revolutions for nationality in 1983, India expressed her interest for the security and protection of the Tamils in the island. The Sri Lankan state suffered from the crisis of authoritative integrity to govern and control the entire north-eastern region of the inland including Jaffna Peninsula. Since 1990s, The LTTE controlled over the region which turned out to be serious hazard. India trooped into the diplomatic and strategical evacuate and extended to arbitrate with all sections worried if they were consistent. The book entitled "*Sri Lankan Crisis Anatomy of Ethnicity, Peace, and Security*" (2000) by M S Kulandaswamy broadly analysed the ethno-national conflict and related expansions in a very methodical manner.

Research gap

A lot of literatures are available on the subject but there are hardly any book or articles that extensively focuses on the co-relations between political fragmentation and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The present study focuses on the post war developments in Sri Lanka and their implications on India's security as well as bilateral relations between Colombo and New Delhi.

India's role in Sri Lanka as well as in the region has become more important in respect of post-civil war reconstruction of Sri Lanka. The present work emphasizes on the political fragmentation with the development of the ethnic conflict and the understanding of the ethnic intolerance in nation building process of Sri Lanka. The growing presence of China in Sri Lanka adds a new dimension to Sri Lanka's bilateral relations with India. Therefore, Sri Lanka's bilateral relations with India particularly in the security field that has undergone major

transformation in the post-civil war period needs to be studied with empirical factors and developments.

The Significance of the Study

The ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka had a far-reaching impact in the backdrop that LTTE had become an enormously powerful organisation because of the support they received from the Naval Forces, Armed Forces and Air Forces. The end of the civil war in Sri Lanka in 2009 led to the emergence of a new era in the internal politics of Sri Lanka which had a direct bearing on its bilateral relations with India. In this context, the stand taken by the government of Tamil Nadu had added a new dimension to the bilateral equation between the two countries which needs to be studied in depth.

The objective of the Study

The present study emphasises on the overview of the rights of minority and transition from the civil rights to military revolution for the autonomy in the northern province of Sri Lanka which has serious security implications for India. The aim of the study is to find out the root causes of the ethnic conflicts in the mainstream of Sri Lanka. For this purpose, I concentrate on the problems of Sri Lanka in which India had been compelled to interfere in the civil war. The present study seeks to analyse the factors which influenced the people to join in the revolutionary activities and military organization led by LTTE. This study also explores the linkage between the state policies and the militancy in the socio-political sphere. The study focuses on the following specific areas:

- i. To critically examine the root causes of the emergence of the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka.
- ii. To discuss about the process of ethnicity and nation building in Sri Lanka.

- iii. To examine the nature of India's security concerns arose due to internal ethnicity and political developments in Sri Lanka since independence.
- iv. To study the nature of India's involvement and the reason for it.
- v. To understand the intricacies involved in India-Sri Lanka bilateral relations since 1987 with special emphasis on the role played by the government of Tamil Nadu.

Methodology

This study has been conducted on the basis of historical cum analytical methods. The study is also based on the qualitative research framework corroborated by ethnographic study. During my field visit to Sri Lanka, I met with academicians and scholars from Colombo University, Library of Colombo University, Peradeniya University and International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo. I also had the opportunity to visit the areas affected by civil war in Batticaloa, Trincomallee, Mannar, Mullaitivu Kilinochchi, and Jaffna conducted interviews with specialists, experts and research scholars in the field. The format of the questions has been open-ended. With open-ended questions, participants were free to answer in their own words and these responses were more complex than a simple yes/no. The format of data has been textual e.g. obtained from video-tape, audio-tape and field notes. The field study has been conducted in different region/parts of Sri Lanka. This apart, the research work has been conducted on the basis of data collected from the primary sources like Government Reports, Official documents, Agreements. Research articles, Journals and books along with the use of different websites resources have been of immense help in completing this study. The primary sources of information include government documents, statistical data and official speeches were taken into consideration.

Research Questions

My study emphasizes the dynamics of politics and existence of multi-ethnic nature in Sri Lanka with the emergence of ethnic identity which compelled India to implicate with the crisis due to the ethnic affinity in both countries.

The study deals with the following key research questions:

- a. What is the nature of ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka and how it affects the process of nation building?
- b. To what extent the rise of ethno-nationalism has affected the course of social harmony in Sri Lanka since independence?
- c. How far ethnic politics in Sri Lanka has posed security challenges before India?
- d. What has been India's response towards the internal challenges in Sri Lanka?
- e. How far the role played by the government of Tamil Nadu has shaped bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka?
- f. What have been the trends of bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka in the post-LTTE conflict?

Research Hypotheses

The study involves the following hypotheses:

1. Rise of ethno-nationalism has affected the course of political development in Sri Lanka since independence;
2. Ethnic and political developments in Sri Lanka since 1980s have resulted in far-reaching security implications for India;

3. Pro-active role played by the Government of India has been instrumental in resolving the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka;
4. Pro-active role by China in post-civil war reconstruction in Sri Lanka has affected the course of India-Sri Lanka bilateral relations in some way.

The Scope of the Study

The present work seeks to understand the internal ethnic conflict and political polarisation in the nation-building process of Sri Lanka. The objective of the study emphasizes on how the demand of the homeland, self-determination, and identity created the social fragmentation which has an impact on India. It analyses the circumstances and conditions under which India and Sri Lanka were implicated to each other in the sphere of the security. In this work, I propose to highlight the changing aspects of domestic politics as a product of ethno-political polarisation in Sri Lanka. This study also focuses on the role of India in the Sri Lankan civil war and it highlights India's strategies and policies towards Sri Lanka. The study also incorporates India's role and approach towards the ethnic conflict after the civil war in 2009.

Limitations

The study has been conducted mainly on the basis of available secondary source materials on the subject. Primary sources have been used to a very limited extent. During my visit to Sri Lanka, I had to communicate with select people in English language only, since Sinhala and Tamil languages are not known to me.

Chapterisation

Chapter-I: Introduction: Introduction: A Conceptual Framework: This chapter analyses the unique hypothetical extraction, apparatuses and notions to find out the objectives, research gaps and significance of the study.

Chapter-II: Ethnicity and the Process of Nation Building in Sri Lanka since Independence: Second Chapter analyzed the ways in which different communities negotiated for the accommodative politics of nationalities in the unitary system of state. It looks at the demands of people's rights in the framework unitary state of Sri Lanka.

Chapter-III: Ethno-Nationalism: Challenges for Social Harmony in Contemporary Sri Lanka: Third chapter focuses on the formation of racially grounded political identities which led to the ethno-nationalism in Sri Lanka. This chapter discusses the emergence of ethnic conflict and how it challenged the social integrity.

Chapter-IV: India's Role in Ethnic Crisis of Sri Lanka (1987-2009): Chapter four deals with the Indo-Sri Lankan dialogue towards the accommodation of Tamil and the role of India in the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict through governmental initiatives. Another two aspects of this chapter are (a) trade relations between India and Sri Lanka after ISFTA (b) role of Non-State Militant Groups: Cross-border Linkages and Implications of India and Sri Lanka. The connection of non-state militant groups in both states was very important dimension of my analysis.

Chapter-V: India-Sri Lanka Bilateral Relations since Post-Civil War: Security Concerns before New Delhi: Chapter five is drawn the multi-agent model after the defeat of LTTE. This analysis identifies the role of three agents i.e. Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL), The Government of India and Tamil Nadu (TN). It focuses the dynamic role of India in the post-

civil war reconstruction. Another factor, highlighted in this chapter, is growing factor of China in Sri Lanka that led to India for its implication during the post-civil war period. It assesses trends of the India's cooperative relations with Sri Lanka during post-civil war period.

Chapter-VI: Conclusion: While summing up the analysis, the last concluding chapter assesses outcomes of the nation building process in Sri Lanka and implications for India's security; from the perspective of the present researcher.