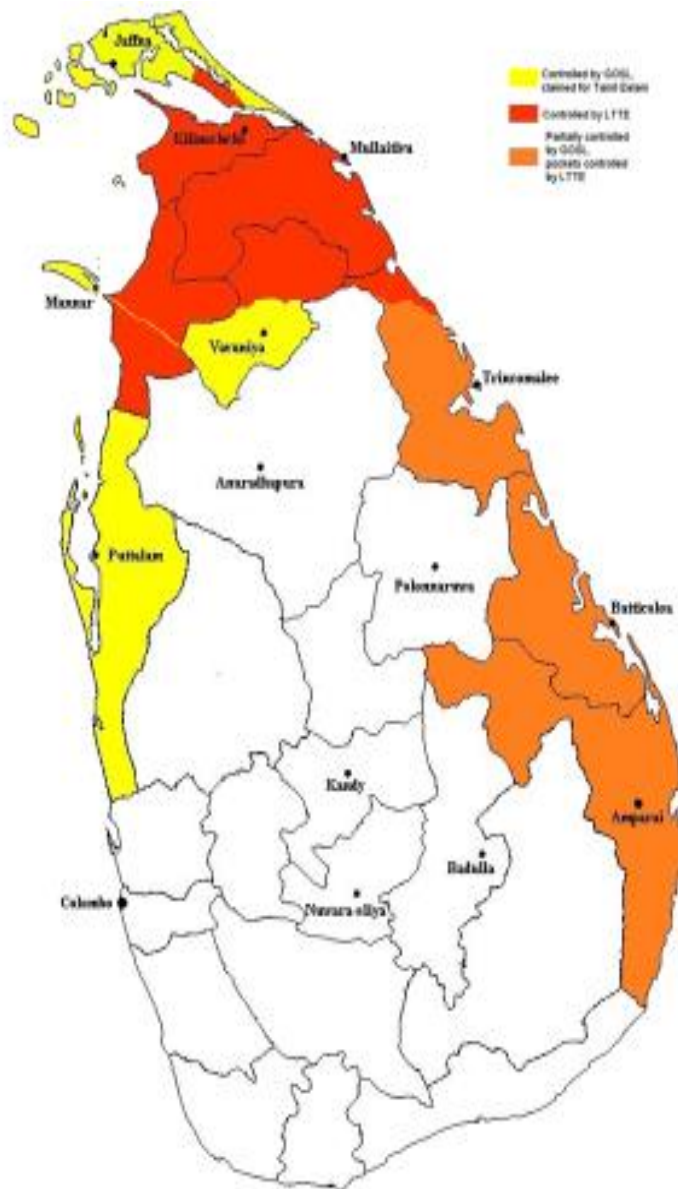


Chapter-III

Ethno-Nationalism: Challenges for Social Harmony in Contemporary Sri Lanka

Map-2: Areas controlled by LTTE & partially controlled by GOSL



Chapter-III

Ethno-Nationalism: Challenges for Social Harmony in Contemporary Sri Lanka

Introduction

The position of Sri Lanka has a strategic significance in the Indian Ocean. There are coexistences of different ethnic groups with regard to their languages, cultures, and customs coexist on the island. India's connection with Sri Lanka was extended by the expansion of Buddhist faith since 250-210 B.C.E. which added a significant attribute for the concept of ethno-nationality. The notion of ethnicity developed as the new domain of ethno-cultural considers in Sri Lanka. The complex nature of ethnic diaspora developed when a group of people lived together outside their homeland with their indigenous cultural customs which are the consequences of migration and it could be regarded as monolithic one in the multi-ethnic society.

The movement of Ethno-nationalism emerged as part of anti-colonial fights for confirming the ethno-cultural origins and traditions of aboriginal communities interacting with one another. The works on ethno-national separatist movements had generally been viewed as social activities taking the notions of another societal forces (for example, the aboriginal middle classes) formed under the imperialism (Chatterjee, 1993). After post-colonialism, the identity became an significant problem for South Asia. The ethno-national identity could be understood as the collective-tradition, shared customs and values, similar history, activities and shared linguistic communication and zone of origin. In this sense, the question of identity becomes an important factor for locating oneself in contemporary society. The attitudes of identity represent the idea of 'Self' and 'Others'. The sense of identity has been a phenomenon of fundamental practices and basic

rights developed in contemporary societies. India and Sri Lanka are also an integral part of this development. The study seeks to understand the subsequent studies: a) How did the ethno-national demand transformed its way into the rebellious struggle in Sri Lanka? b) How did ethno-national conflict promulgate as an encounter to social harmony and unity in Sri Lanka?

Rise of Ethno-Nationalism

After the extensive collapse of all negotiations stated in the second chapter, the Sri Lankan State came to a juncture of the credibleness due to the demand for the restoration of the rights of cultural autonomy and traditions. In this connection, this precise idea stands confirmed by Gunasingam's concept of national rights of Tamil people. According to him, if the rights of an ethnic group are restricted and it is exposed to the prejudice or discrimination and subjection of an elitist power or state power, it had the prerogative to find out a way to overcome it upcoming by preferring for freedom on the basis of a right to self-rule (Gunasingam: 161). The state had the authority to safeguard the human rights of people in its national boundary and jurisdiction. In order to protect the rights for autonomy and self-sufficiency, the state mechanisms were accountable to safeguard the shared features of shared traditions, self-recognition of different ethno-national groups, common-linguistic and religious convictions, and traditional custom of regional interconnection, etc.

Due to the historical evolution of the ethno-national conflict, the Tamil persons did not have the power to determine the opposition of the Sinhalese leaders, when they were obligated by the procedure of relegation from the mainstream realpolitik. Since 1948, the mainstream political growth was exaggerated with the mainstream population and their strategy to the ethnic purgative of majority assemblages in Sri Lanka through the application of a systematic procedure to eradicate Tamils. The demand for a separate Tamil Eelam emerged from this particular development. According to Murugar Gunasingam, a renowned writer, the strategy

for overthrowing the Tamil was developed due to the constant inferior complexities and there was general trepidation among the Sinhalese nationals in Sri Lanka (Gunasingam: 164). As the Sinhalese national communities did not exist anywhere in the world, they attempted to shape the foundation of a Sinhalese pro-self-rule attitude with a solid aspiration and tried to set up the whole landmass of Sri Lanka a land for Sinhala people (Gunasingam: 165). Thus, the presence of seventy million Tamils in India as a bordering state, sharing the mutual language, religious conviction, historical relations, cultural and ethno-national customs with the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, had developed the anxiety in the perceptions of the Sinhalese supporters.

However, the Tamil national groups did not have any intention to create any clash against the Sinhalese people in the unitary state of Sri Lanka. But progressively, they began to emerge as a power of counter-revolution in contradiction to the plan of Sinhalisation of the government and nature of the state. The Tamil movement was in contradiction to state-sponsored armed-forces and militant forces under the leadership of the Sinhala regulated administration. The Tamils were regarded as nationless at home as well as stateless within their own state. In the context of their displacement, they looked for outside intervention and involvement for the resolution of the ethno-national controversies in the state. They were at the juncture of socio-cultural unity and harmony which influenced their community life and, in this way of their progress, they were forced and compelled to survive as others within the territory of the state (Basu: 2012). They were compelled to detach from their household, groups, and associational attachments. Effectively, they were isolated from the legitimized and legal facilities in employment opportunities or governmental services, and societal opportunities such as health facilities, food and nutrition security, etc.

The Sri Lankan government under the control of the United National Front imposed a resolution to utilize state apparatuses to counter against the Tamils community and in that way

to refute or reject the claims for their motherland and cultural freedom and ethno-national sovereignty (Silva, 1997). Consequently, the Tamil community took suitable actions to protect their ethno-religious and cultural uniqueness and therefore, they were against the administrative organizations like the police department, merchant navy, and air armies, etc. The warfare for civil rights could be regarded as the *counter-revolution* for the fortification of the human civil rights and security of life, freedom, and the property rights of the Tamil people in the national boundary of the state (Wickramasinghe, 2014).

These strategies opposed and jeopardised the security and peace procedure to the landmass of Sri Lanka. The demand for the minority civil-rights and the cultural independence resisted the emergence of the majoritarian rule which fuelled the fragmentation of socio-political integration and resulted in the violent activities in the state of Sri Lanka. This course of process led to the intensification of the separatist movement for the demand of socio-cultural independence. The rise and development of violent or aggressive Tamil chauvinism confronted and challenged the Sri Lankan state and sought to establish a Tamil motherland for their cultural autonomy in North-Eastern parts under the control and management of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Gunasingam, 2012: 161). The demand for autonomy played an important role in creating a separate motherland for the Tamil citizens in particular areas of the state. People who demanded the right of self-determination unveiled the common features of (Diaz, 2002: 1): (i) a shared antique custom; (ii) self-autonomy of a distinct social group; (iii) a common language; (iv) a common religious faith; and (v) a conventional territorial bond.

All of these were actually interrelated. The Buddhist Committee had in its Information 1958 imposed prohibition on Christian events and it was specially stated in that the Ceylon should not be allowed to be an Eastern base of the Vatican. Apart from this, the Committee insisted that (Chopra, 2000: 79): (a) the statutory-law arrangements will be formed for the chief of state;

the Prime Minister, the Heads of the military armies and heads of all central departments of state who should be from Sinhalese Buddhists; (b) university admission and the government services should be in ratio of ethnic and religious structure and outline of the island; and (c) that the state admired the customs of the antique Sinhalese empire, recognized the Buddhism for formal ritualistic events and provided it the position of an administrative religious trust.

The All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress¹, at its 41st meeting held at Amparai in December 1959, recommended the appointment of an inquiry commission to look into the functions of the Catholic activity programme and in fact, they nominated a 16-member committee to report from its positions to inform about the problem. All Ceylon Buddhist Congress investigated and identified some important characteristics such as (Jaitley, 2000: 444): (i) the scope to which religious organization or institution could intervene in the administrative functions of the state; (ii) the existence of an utmost proportion of Catholics in the military forces of the landmass; and (iii) the employment and promotion in administrative services were determined by the advent of the new religious sights. Another significant matter was that the Tamil persons in Sri Lanka continued to maintain the caste structure in the social order which had been attained in the Tamil people '*a loosely bound ethnic group*' in contrast to the Sinhalese ethno-national group in the society (Upadhyay, 37).

According to the census report (Chapter-II) of Sri Lanka, twenty-one million people belonged to the multi-national, multi-linguistic and multi-religious beliefs culturally attributable to hegemonic Sinhala Buddhist ethno-national recognition (Manor, 1984; Senaratne, 1997). Sri Lanka followed the nature of democratic pattern safeguarding which safeguarded the larger participation and involvement of its population since its nation-building. But the socio-cultural legacy of Sri Lanka has been promptly associated with the growth and development of ethnocentric chauvinism of the majority, attempting to get rid of the recognition of cultural

autonomy of other communities in the social order. According to S. S. Upadhyay, the well-established multi-cultural and multi-religious belief and tradition of Sri Lanka got divided and disintegrated with the outgrowth of the hostile ethno-national forces or development of conflicting ethno-nationalism (Upadhyay, 37). The expansion of abrogated ethno-nationalism amongst the Sinhalese community based on Buddhist religion and the Tamil community based on Hindu religion in Sri Lanka created the notion of autonomy, self-identities and self-consciousness within themselves with respect to relations of cultural values, linguistic, ethnic structures, and religious conviction.

The Low Country Sinhalese², as mentioned in the previous chapter, particularly in the oceanic zones, were related to Portuguese, Dutch and British impressions (Chopra, 2000: 96). As a result, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, the Roman-Dutch rule and a relatively larger expansion of English academy had highly influenced the low-land Sinhalese. The Kandyan Sinhalese were consequently capable to maintain and sustain their own societal arrangement, and it was this community which demonstrated greatly in their rules and norms in respect of weddings, marginal section, acceptance, legitimate authority, parent and orphan, endow, intestate progression and service period and tenacities (Chopra, 2000: 96).

In this way, there were two important political parties that followed the Sinhalese affection in Sri Lankan state i.e. Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna³ (JVP)-The People's Liberation Front and Jathika Hela Urumya⁴ (JHU)-The National Heritage Party. The JVP was considered as the extremist Sinhalese nationalist political party which came into existence in 1965. It followed the way of the socialist uprising in the state of Sri Lanka. In this respect, Frydenlund's elucidating comment seems to be appropriate here. He argues that the JVP was supporting the Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism named as the Patriotic Nationalist Movement against Tamil national people and LTTE. Alternatively, JHU was a Conservative nationalist political

organization under the control of Buddhist religious-monk (Frydenlund, 2005: 14). In 2004, it was founded by the Sinhala nationalist political parties. This political party was led by the trio Uduwe Dhammaloka Thero, Kolonnawe Sumangala Thero, and Thilak Karunaratne. They controlled a materialistic Sinhala nationalist political organization. With this background, the party organizers placed their trust in statement of progress uttering that the Sinhalese did not create any political organization like Sri Lankan Tamil, and Indian Tamil, which also popularly shaped their particular political organizations founded on the ethno-national desire for their recognition. They undertook to assure that the sentiments of the maximum Sinhalese people were understood. They attempted to forcibly remove and eliminate the Tamil's national demand and Tamil Tigers from the existing set of society.

Sri Lanka state had not been able to provide the social opportunities and prospects for the various ethno-national groups in the society. The disillusionment in the state was due to several reasons: social dearth, joblessness, underdevelopment, segregation, and centralism in government regime and political authority. The power to have political rights was demanded by the ethno-national groups for the restoration of the traditions and cultural autonomy (Gunasingam, 266). Sri Lankan state followed the system of the uniform and monolithic aspect and took the path of rejecting the variety of ethno-cultural differences in the course of nation-building procedure.

Sri Lanka adopted the unitary state apparatuses based on the precepts of unitary policies and it intensified the centralized political apprehension. The concentrated state-building policies led to an extensive manner of ethnic-vulnerability and created a threat and jeopardy to the prevailing system of social solidarity. The Political disintegration emerged in the society on account of the polarization of ethnicity based on the principles of the identity and cultural autonomy. Two following significant facts, which formed the basis for the separatist movement

in Sri Lanka were: (a) Tamil's insurgency for self-government founded on the self-autonomy and cultural-identity; (b) the Sinhalese aggressive revolution which was regarded as the armed conflict for transforming the prevailing political rule and system of governance. This ethnic struggle was not just the ethno-national rivalry but there was also inconsistency in the developing functions and outcomes of the nation-building procedure that was founded on the basis of developing strategies of state. The courses of unequal development plan adopted by the Sri Lankan government and state motivated its political clash and thus, galvanized the civil war in the state and society. Consequently, the ethnic crisis emerged due to the downgrading and identity crisis or self-determining nationality of the group. Unequal allocation of resources and incongruent development prospects generated a context for the growth and development of ethno-national crisis in the state of Sri Lanka.

The context of the independence of Bangladesh encouraged specific section of people especially Tamil people of the Sri Lanka for the way to Eelam and it intensified their beliefs concerning the attainable functional role of New Delhi to render assistance them to attain the self-autonomy and ethno-national control of freedom. Afterward in 1977, the newly organized TULF⁵ (4th May 1972) brought the Six-point claims according to the six-point strategies prepared by Mujibur Rahaman and Awami League for their political grievance in Bangladesh for the separatist and pro-autonomy movement. The TULF formed their political demands and rights for the progress of Tamil national people in the North-Eastern area of the island. In this regard, Kulandaswamy's illuminating observation seems to be relevant here. He contends that the following claims were made for ensuring the cultural autonomy and identity in the political arena (Kulandaswamy, 42); (a) to recognize Tamil as official and administrative language; (b) to declare Sri Lanka as a Secular country; (c) to develop the new government and administrative management on the basis of decentralized rules; (d) to adopt and safeguard the fundamental constitutional rights of minority sections in the Sri Lankan; (e) to eliminate the

caste classification in the existing set up of the social order; (f) to safeguard the constitutional rights of citizenship and nationality for Sri Lankan persons.

In spite of this, Sri Lanka did not formulate the common single identity which was equivalent and uniform for all citizens. Under this circumstance, the identity for recognition turned out to be a perilous threat in contradiction of the certain societal harmony and power relations. The ethno-national groups focused on the desire for cultural freedom and recognition of identity in the social order. In this situation, the origin of power transmuted into the ethno-national dealings and recognition which was divergent and different. Then again, aside from the Tamil radical units Sinhalese radical groups and institutions emerged to set up the recognition of their identity and cultural values on the basis of majoritarian principles (Jagath, 1997). They formed and elevated majoritarian nationalism in the ethno-national multiplicities which turned out to be a perilous threat to social unity and harmony.

The JVP and JHU supported the military resolution to the ethno-national conflict. They insisted to preserve the unaffected or feeble delegation of power to solve the ethno-national violence in Sri Lanka. The expansion of radicalism or extremist actions progressively concerned with the revolutionary resolutions confronting the societal integration of the country. The Society was regulated on the ground of ethno-national recognition of identity which proved to be harmful to the societal integration and cohesion of the state. The Sri Lankan ethno-national conflict and expansion of ethnonationalism developed on the following three key factors:

- (a) The ongoing domination of various ethnonationalism like Sinhalese group, Tamil group, and Muslim group over a comprehensive nationalism and chauvinism of Sri Lanka as the harmony and integrity of State;
- (b) It presupposed the party system based on majority supremacy over the minority people or the marginal sections. The demand for ethno-national autonomy become ineffective

within the afresh recognized country. The political domination was grounded on ethnic-group to the ethno-national separation in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese absolute-majority control ruled the Sri Lankan state that was established against the Tamil opposition. Consequently, the new confrontation became a stumbling block in the nation-building procedure;

- (c) The third significant issue was that the interchanging design of politics in Sri Lanka and the changing prospects of political benefits and comforts of various leaderships developed significant components of the rise of ethno-national conflict which was considered as the democratic fight. This democratic struggle was compounded with the individual urgencies of the various political leaders.

On October 2, 1973, Chelvanayakam, founder leader of TULF and a Political leader of all Ceylon Tamil Congress, did not agree with the Sri Lankan Government concerning the afresh constitution. He itemized that *“if I lose, I give up my policy. If the government loses, let it not say that the Tamil people support its policy and its constitution”* (Gunasingam, 2012: 51). This declaration made by Chelvanayakam seemed to be more significant as it seemed to function like a self-realization prediction. For the first time in 25 years, after the establishment of FP, he exposed indications of an objective to pursue a strategy of self-autonomy and determination. This stage (1977-1980s) was the antiquity of Sinhalese political leaders who ruled the state under the headship of Jayewardene with the expansion of Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist political orientations and beliefs.

It is important to mention that the Tamil politicians were interested to develop and ensure the political rights of Tamil persons asking for the establishment of self-government and cultural autonomy in the state. Tamils people realized about their position and status as the inferior group or second-class citizen in the nation-state. The Tamil ethno-national group was a shared

conventional power to the Sri Lankan Tamil chauvinism and Dravidian ultra-nationalism. They obviously evolved from diverse societal organizations and created autonomous political alternatives. Though the logical system of electoral political activities and reverse competition frequently supposed that the Dravidian groups attempted to surpass the other in oratorical adopting the reasons of several Tamil expatriate communities, this oratorical-way had never changed into any concrete of material affirming for the Tamil reasons and needs in Sri Lanka (Kulandaswamy, 2000: 41). The doubt of ethno-nationality and valorisation of a definitely autonomous pattern of the state had collectively formed a trend for Tamil people to be here and here and to amalgamate them into an indigenous threat or jeopardy to the nation-State processes.

Although the Sinhala were the mainstream ethno-national assemblage in Sri Lanka, there were orthodox differences between Kandyan Sinhala and Low Country Sinhala. These Sinhalese clusters were respectively classified into several caste positions on the basis of the principles of endogamy. Approximately fifty percent of the Sinhala people belonged to the Goigama caste status enjoying, the uppermost position in the hierarchical structure of the Sinhala caste system in the society. There were other different 15 caste clusters in the Sinhalese groups. In the context of the demographic order, they were actually concentrated in some parts of the state. In the recent decades, the difference between the Kandyans and Low Country Sinhala had gradually impoverished owing to the disposition of various inhabitants among the Low Country and Kandyan regions over and above on account of endogamy (Sharma, 2002: 208). In spite of several demographic changes in the state, caste positions and differences were preserved by the extension of intermarriage system, especially in village expanses due to extension in caste exact family terms and the party-political oppression of caste identifications and attitudes especially throughout the electoral process.

The demographic nature of the Sri Lankan population correspondingly ensured that ethno-national groups followed the geo-population plans of action. In this series of consecutive years, the accumulation of the Tamil populace in the Jaffna region was the foremost significant reason for their separation from the mainstream of national government and political functions in the country. The nature of Sri Lankan demographic design consistently highlighted the decisive aspect of the ethno-national crisis which fuelled and stimulated the emergence of the conflict in a society (Upadhyay, 2007: 42). There was a specific provincial boundary for the Sri Lankan Tamils in the state. They demanded self-government, federation and coalition, recognition of identity for their culture and thus segregation or separation on the basis of the principle of the geographical and in demographical shape.

In the 1990s, the intensity of war between Tamil rebellious groups and the military forces of the Sri Lankan government in the Jaffna areas, Eastern areas and Vanni province did not only led to the simple loss of life but also annihilation of the Tamil persons who were entrenched in these areas. A similar continuous condition sustained until the settlement for peace dialogues were introduced by Norway (1990). During this time (1990-2008) thousands of Tamil people were brutally killed by the Sri Lankan military forces. Tamil people in Sri Lanka were forcefully displaced on account of the development of threats and accusations. Many Tamil females were assaulted or gang raped, they were widowed and the people of Tamils were disappeared and failed to preserve their land-areas (Gunasingam, 234). The Sri Lankan military, merchant navy, and the air armies destroyed the hundreds of Hindu holy-places and the temples and abolished Christian ministers, academic institutions, ethno-cultural institutions, business organizations, marketing complex, houses and even health arrangements like hospitals.

The interrelationships between diverse ethno-national communities were dependent upon the monetary benefits helping to create the employment prospects in the stable financial arrangements. The uneven economic structure fuelled the development of the ethnic-based concerned communities in the social system which propelled the division from another ethnic-community. In this way, S S Upadhyay, an eminent writer, expressed that Sinhalese gained the authoritative-power of governing bodies and opportunities based on majoritarian rights facilitating them the usage of the state apparatuses for their socio-political beneficiaries in the state (Upadhyay, 2000: 42). On the basis of religious empathy, the Sinhalese political authority was recognized and legalized and other ethno-national community in the country ignored.

But North-Eastern provinces in Sri Lanka, where Tamil were in majority in number, had continuously been underprivileged and marginalised as they were unable to access the natural resources as land was parched, waterless and unfertile. Consequently, the Tamils people realized their inhabiting stalemate in these respective areas, and they lay emphasise on the strategy of education systems as the way out for economic progress and development. The Indian Tamil people were frugally marginalized national communities in the eastern region. The Sinhalese nationalism infused the monetary frontage of nationalization which in fact further favoured employment opportunities and communism for Sinhalese ethnic group only. The low-altitude of external investment and decrease in government service opportunities in the North-Eastern regions and had affected the crisis of the nationality, mobilising and stimulating the armed insurgency in the state.

In this background, the JHU, another Sinhalese ethno-national force, was established in 2004. It shaped the majoritarian political strategies to defend and promulgate Buddhist concerns. These people maintained their ethno-cultural chauvinism and emphasized upon their ancestries. In the all actualities, the party-system in Sri Lanka laid emphasize on the Sinhalese

nationalistic attitude in its political-dominance. They attempted to eliminate the Tamil national-people by force. the ethno-national crisis in Sri Lanka might be understood as an extension and outcome of the organizational growth of the Sri Lankan political-economy generated in multi-ethnic society in the post-independence period. The economic and societal objectives were transformed into the ethno-national resurgence. According to S.S. Upadhyay, there were unsatisfactory and unequal echelons of progress in the twenty-four district regions of the island (Upadhyay, 2007: 42). The government service opportunities and unequal allocation of financial funds for growth were main antagonistic problems amongst the Sinhalese and the Tamils national people.

Root causes of Ethnic Conflict

In Sri Lanka, the British adopted a general administrative structure during their rule in the entire island and used the common language named *English* as the administrative language of the land. In this respect, they accumulated two different ethno-national groups who existed distinctly through the phases of development. When it was clear that the British were prepared to transform the legitimate-authorities and decentralize their secretarial powers with the local bodies and influential leaders for the administrative management of the island, the ethno-national divisions could be seen between the Sinhalese people and Tamils people that emerged to be superficial. Nira Wickramasinghe contended that in 1945 when the British government intended to transfer the administrative-power and the legitimate authorities to the persons of this nation, the Ministers' Board presented their suggestions to prepare a separate new-fangled constitution for a new sovereign state (Wickramasinghe, 183). In this context, The Tamils practically in single proclaim refused their recommendations collectively as they were counted as the minority sections of the state of Ceylon. It was a subordinate status and dependent on the ethno-national majority domination.

There were various reasons and grounds for the emergence of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka which were strictly linked and interrelated. But, beside this problem, it would not be appropriate to mention that other factors were the portion of direct historic procedures where one factor determined the other (Root Causes of the Ethnic Conflict...). Very often, various factors could be considered as main happenings that took place within a solitary but broader background and somewhat in the same way. It was mainly considered in the background of ethno-national politics which concentrated on the issue of official-linguistic and education procedures in the state. In this situation of political transformation, the four fundamental effects that fuelled the clashes between the Sinhalese people and Tamils people were (Perumal and Thandavan, 2000: 458):

- (a) Language policy and government services;
- (b) Provincial Independence;
- (c) Land Resolution and settlement;
- (d) Admission to the higher learning systems.

In the state, there were two main spoken-languages i.e. Sinhala and Tamil, and English was used for the communication-conversation among the people of the country. The Sinhalese occupied south and central provinces in Sri Lanka, the Tamils, in the majority resided in the North-Eastern part of the island. The Indian Tamils were brought into the island during British rule especially in nineteenth-century for the tea plantation, identified as wage-labour for the Estate and they settled and started residing in the Central uplands which were Sinhalese zones, where the British urbanized and established the industrial belt on the basis of tea, genus-Coffee and another farmstead. The colonial money-economy during the British rule created conflict and opposition among the Tamils people and the Sinhalese people which changed into the ethno-national form of conflict. On the other hand, the ethno-national conflict emerged due to

the inclusion of the Citizenship Act⁶. No.18 of 1948 and No. 3 of 1949 which was enacted and endorsed by the Government of Sri Lanka. According to Nira Wickramasinghe, the renowned writer, stated these regulations and Legislative voting Act No. 48 of 1949 were premeditated and considered to reject the recognition of citizenship and excluded the political rights to Indian Tamils owing to the divide the Tamils people in the country (Wickramasinghe: 179). Therefore, Indian Tamils were not considered as the citizen of the state and lost their previous electoral rights on account of the inclusion of the citizenship act of 1949, and drove a wedge between two national people for the political recognition in the state. In this way, the ethnic clash transmuted into a secessionist and separatist revolution and divulged the ethno-cultural polarization in the island.

The Tamils people of Sri Lanka prepared a memorandum and submitted it to the representatives of the 20th Commonwealth Conference which was scheduled on 1st September 1974 in Sri Lanka. They acknowledged it and the worldwide consciousness was woken up about the existing situations of deprivation of Tamil people in the sovereign state. This particular idea stands supported by Ajay Darshan Behera's concept of violation of human rights in Sri Lanka. according to him, they were subjected to rejection and violation of human rights, different arrangements of ethnic discrimination or favouratism and other activities that might lead to the massacre and racial extermination of the Tamils in the state functions (Behera, 2000). In view of these deprivations, the Tamil people demanded the establishment a sovereign nation-state to be separated from the Sinhalese nationality by the territorial-boundaries, indigenous-language, religious belief, and conventional-cultural autonomy.

Moreover, the Tamil people expected that the administrative organs and divisions adopted by the colonial government in Ceylon would be sustained for the administrative functions and in this way to the following significant proposals were made:

- (i) **The Balanced Representation:** the Tamil's first demand was to arrange the well-adjusted representative depiction in the parliamentary system as encouraged and supported by the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for Colonies. The well-adjusted representative depiction would support the decentralization of power among several ethnic groups that would guarantee its equitable allocation of powers among various groups and the ethno-national people as a whole. But the Soulbury Commission, headed by D. S. Senanayake, rejected the proposal of well-adjusted representation or balanced representation;
- (ii) **The Claim for Federal Constitution:** while the situations of Tamil people deteriorated within a year of Sri Lanka's independence, a federal form of government was demanded to safeguard the Tamil nationals. It was believed that the federal form of government might be the only system of holding together two separate ethno-nationalities in one nation.

It is important to state here that S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake effectively supported the system of federalism in the government rule as far back as in May 1926 or even prior to that, but did not accept it after it attained the power of the state. On 17th July 1974, Bandaranayake told if they carefully analyze the past-history, they would perceive that there were three community groups i.e. the Tamils, the Kandyan Sinhalese and the Low-country Sinhalese who had been living for over a thousand years of ages in Ceylon and did not expose any propensity to combine or unite themselves in the state. Consequently, the central system of Government would support the homogeneity of one nation.

- (iii) **The Constitution of 1972 and the Six-point** (described above) **formula:** Thirdly, these proposals were not ultimately accepted and in 1972, the new constitution was one-sidedly implemented. This Constitution carried off even the insufficient protections

granted in the Soulbury Constitution and this constitution insisted more on incapacities of the non-Sinhalese and non-Buddhist people. It united the Tamils under the collective banner of the Tamil United Front (TUF) which included all Tamil organizations, most important business alliance and protuberant non-party Tamils. Consequently, the TUF was established by the various Tamil organizations as the active voice of the Tamil community in the state.

The TULF did not accept the Constitution and presented a six-point plan as the minimum precondition and requirement for sustaining the twofold ethno-national groups together in the state. The state would be the protective institution in terms of the national territory, language, religious and cultural synchronization and unity of the Tamils in its territory. The Tamil United Front requested to revise the Constitution for ensuring the security and restoration of the Tamil desires with regard to the following settings:

- (a) To confirm equal constitutional status of the *Tamil language* like the *Sinhala language*;
- (b) To ensure the constitutional rights of citizenship of all Tamil-speaking persons who adopted the state of Sri Lanka as their homeland. There should be no separate divisions of citizenships and no basic cognitive process among them. And congruently, the state would not have any power to withhold any citizenship rights in the country;
- (c) The state must be secular and equivalent protective-security to be provided to all religious people in the state;
- (d) To provide the constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights ensuring the equality of all persons irrespective of caste, race, religion, and ethnicity in the state;
- (e) The Constitutional provisions to be made against untouchability and might abolish the caste-division;

- (f) In the democratic and socialist state, the state apparatuses would be formed on the basis of the decentralization policies which would ensure the participatory democracy where people could enjoy the socio-political power and rights rather than centralized nature of the state.

The main objective of Sinhalese dominant leaders was to transform the bi-national, bi-linguistic, multi-religious belief state of Ceylon into a uni-lingual and uni-national state making it one Sinhalese-nation, a uniformed country for the Sinhala only. The state was maintaining the policy of one religion-Buddhism, which was against the Tamils nationality. On 27th August 1974, this objective was authenticated with the declaration made by a Cabinet Minister to the media, newspapers and published a report in the *Ceylon Daily News* that several Indian Tamils who were previously separated, learned Sinhala and accepted the Sinhala titles and religious belief as a part of the societal acculturation. The Cabinet Minister told that:

“In fact, one of the things happening now is that, many Indian Tamils who were earlier isolated are now learning Sinhala and even adopting our names and religion. This is part of the social assimilation”.

The following six areas were significant for the Tamil marginalization in the state:

- (i) **Citizenship and Disfranchisement:** after attaining independence, Sinhalese influential leaders neglected and ignored all their commitments and pledges that they had made and assured to the Tamil people, and a million Tamil people became stateless due to the implementation of the *Citizenship Act. No. 19 of 1948*. Before the implementation of the act, Tamil people were enjoying similar rights as ‘other’ Ceylonese.

This law in totality disenfranchised the Tamil people in the state. Those who were Tamil people had to bring in evidence of Citizenship in respect of various subjects related to the Government for all purposes and services. The following are some of governmental purposes (Memorandum...1974):

- (a) Administrative and engagement in government employment;
- (b) The issuance of Passport ID or other travel-related papers and records;
- (c) The citizenship certificates and verifications of documents regarding records of citizenship;
- (d) The facilities of Rice-Ration records;
- (e) Addition of names and families in the list of election records;
- (f) The recordkeeping of handovers of assets or property;
- (g) Other areas earmarked partially or totally for Sri Lankan people.

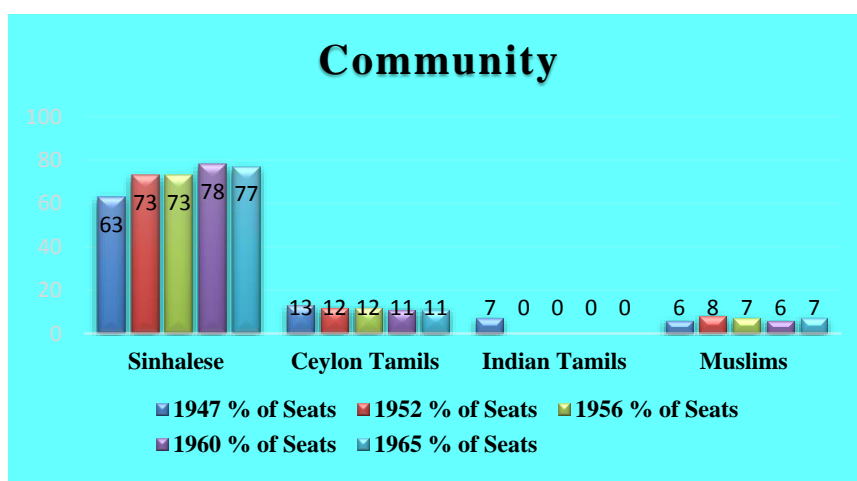
In 1949, Ceylon Parliament (CP) passed the *Elections Amendment Act*.⁷ No. 48 of 1949 and excluded the Tamil people. This act again denied the voting rights of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. At no time did the Board of Ministers (all Sinhalese) of the State Council of Ceylon take any positive steps and made any policy to include the Tamils in mainstream politics. In this way, the Ceylon Government had deprived the suffrage rights of half the Tamil people who were constantly marginalized in the sphere of political-society (Bandarage, 2009: 43). But then, in the constitutional amendments, they formulated a structure of representation in the constitutional reforms. They projected the Sinhalese to have 58 seats, Ceylon Tamils⁸ 15 seats, and Indian Tamils⁹ 7 seats.

Table-4: The weakening situation can be realized in the following table (Memorandum...1974):

Table-4: Weakening Situation of Tamil People in Sri Lanka

Ethnic groups	1947	1952	1956	1960	1965
	Seats (%)	Seats (%)	Seats (%)	Seats (%)	Seats (%)
Sinhalese	63	73	73	78	77
Ceylon Tamils	13	12	12	11	11
Indian Tamils	7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Muslims	6	8	7	6	7

Memorandum from the Tamils of Ceylon to All Delegates Attending the 20th Commonwealth Conference by SJV Chelvanayagam, September 1974, transcribed by N. Ethirveerasingam, http://sangam.org/2008/04/Memorandum_Commonwealth.php?uid=2861 [Accessed on-17/12/2016].



The above statistical representation illustrates that the constitutional arrangements were created and formed to give advantage in representation to minority sections, but it had deprived Indian Tamils to provide the benefits to the majority.

- (ii) **Colonization Policy of Tamil Region:** The Ceylon Government executed systems of State-sponsored colonization of conventional Tamil regions by Sinhalese people and afterward, the voting capacity was acquired by Sinhalese people in the assembly.

As there were adequate opportunities for the Sinhalese people to put their representatives in the Sri Lankan Parliament, the colonization of the Eastern area, a Tamil zone, has been rapidly occupied by the Sinhalese dominated government since the 1950s. In addition to the colonization, certain provisions of the license were made and provided for the Sinhalese people to acquire the lands in Tamil regions. Illegitimate crouching on Crown lands by Sinhalese was fortified and legally legitimized while Tamil people were being penalized and dispossessed by the administrative apparatuses. All this was not a normal movement of people but by a Government-regulated strategy and policies.

- (iii) **Language Policy**¹⁰: Language was another significant issue in Sri Lanka. It was in respect to the right to practice their linguistic on the basis of equivalence with their associated people that the Tamil people faced extreme deprivation and dissatisfaction. Until 1955, there was no doubt that Sinhala and Tamil would be on the principle of equality and relish the equal of position or status. The State Council decided to recognize the Sinhala and Tamil as official languages. This decision was agreed upon by the absolute majority.

On the official occasion, S. W. R. D Bandaranayake told that Language was one of the most significant elements of nationality because the language was the vehicle of the enthusiasm, the victories of communities and desires which were protected and well-maintained (Official Report State...). Bandarnayake insisted on the usage and practice of language as an important component of nationality. In this context, he stated that:

“I do not see that there would be any harm at all in recognizing the Tamil language also as an official language. It is necessary to bring about that amity, that confidence among the various communities which we are all striving to achieve within reasonable limits. Therefore, on the

second point, I have no personal objection to both these languages being considered official languages; nor do I see any particular harm or danger or difficulty arising from it”.

But, the Language Act No. 33 of 1956 recognized the constitutional status of Sinhala language as the only one administrative Language in the state of Ceylon and not Tamil language. The Tamil people took this into consideration as this language policy adopted by the government was a total betrayal and did not stop their movement for equivalent of position for the Tamil Language in the state. In 1961, the Tamil people organized the Satyagraha movement for 57-day outside the main administrative headquarters in the major towns of the Tamil region like Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Jaffna, Mannar, -so creating the government offices and administrative functions in these provinces to shut down.

The Government decided to enforce emergency power in these areas and insisted to deploy the Military Forces to set free the public of dread and horror in these regions of the state. The Tamil M Ps and influential Tamil leaders like Kanthiah Vaithianathan were imprisoned under the detention law. When several lawmaking provisions were arranged and prepared for the usage of the Tamil linguistic in the North-Eastern regions, Sinhala people decided to continue the extensive use of Sinhala language in the administrative systems of government which was detrimental to the Tamil people and had produced the awkwardness, discomfiture, and disgrace for the Tamil speaking people.

(iv) **Education:** Tamil political leading identified the following exact areas of serious discriminatory policies in the educational systems detrimental to the Tamil nationality (Bajoria, 2009):

(a) Sri Lankan government passed the Education Amending Acts Nos. 5 of 1960 and 8 of 1961. On the basis of the new educational policies, the Tamils and Christian denominated educational institutions were occupied by the

government in the 1960s. As these schools were under the new education law, several obligations were imposed over these institutions by the central administration. On the other hand, Buddhist academic Institutes were permitted to carry on as charitable educational institutions with government assistance;

- (b) The Estate academic institutions for kids of Tamil farm labours were not taken-over and always remained to live in enormously poor quality of life and conditions;
- (c) It is important to state that the Sinhala medium academic intuitions were established in Tamil parts and consequently, forcing them to convert from the Tamil medium academic institutions to Sinhala medium academic institutions where the Tamil students were bound to study the Sinhala language.
- (d) Taking control-over the academic institutions, major Tamil children were reading in some academic institutions in Southern Ceylon, but these institutions were forcefully transformed into Sinhala medium academic institutions. As there were no alternative provisions for the Tamil-speaking children, they were bound to study in the Sinhala language;
- (e) It is significant to state that four academic institutions in the northern area adopted the Sinhala medium of instruction. Consequently, the Tamil medium schools in the Norther Province were gradually converted into Sinhala medium.

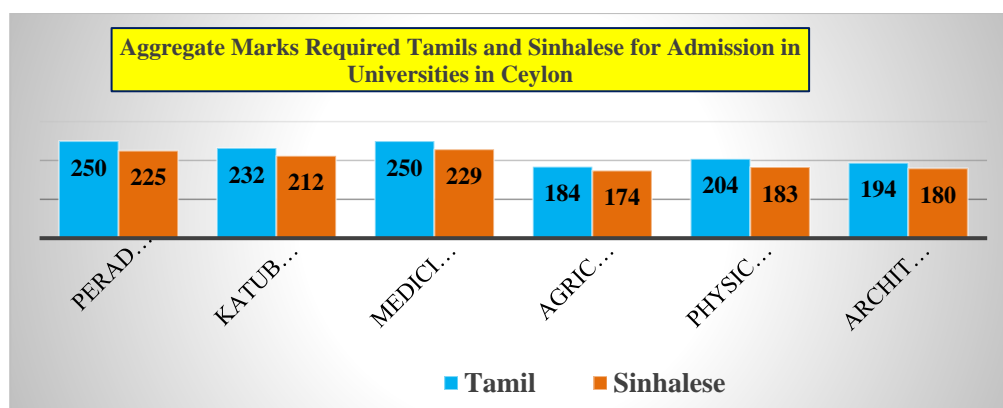
Since the 1970s, the Sri Lankan Government adopted the ethnic discriminatory policy to access the Higher Education and inequitable arrangements were made for the admission in the educational institutions. The Racial discrimination was observed in the admission of higher education. The merit for admission in academic institutions was violated. In this context, the

Government introduced an ethnic classification for the admission. The following minimum combined scores for the university admission were to be secured of Tamil and Sinhalese scholars respectively throughout the 1970s (Memorandum... 1974):

Table-5: Ethnic Classification for the admission in Higher Educational Organisations

Organization	Tamil Student	Sinhalese Student
Peradeniya-Engineering	250	225
Katubedde- Engineering	232	212
Medicine and Dentistry	250	229
Agriculture, Veterinary & Bio-Science	184	174
Physical Science	204	183
Architecture	194	180

A Memorandum from the Tamils of Ceylon to All Delegates Attending the 20th Commonwealth Conference by SJV Chelvanayagam, September 1974, transcribed by N. Ethirveerasingam, http://sangam.org/2008/04/Memorandum_Commonwealth.php?uid=2861 [Accessed on 1/02/2015].



In the 1970s, the education system was ethnicised by the administrative arrangement of the government on the island. Besides, various features of academy like the organizational form schools and universities, subject matter of books and teacher's training systems were affected by the ethno-national struggle. Many Tamils were interested and concerned about the English medium academic institutions which were very important to access the sophisticated education

in higher classes that helped to attain better positions in public services in government sectors during the colonial phase. The dramatic change came into existence in the year 1972. The Constitution recognized the Sinhalese as the only official language and reinforced the Buddhist religious faith, along with their academic strategies influencing numerous Tamils who were regarded or considered as a peripheral ethno-national group.

As a result, the standardization policies and region quotas systems of the government were projected to eliminate the Tamil students for admission in higher education. Also, Tamil students needed higher score than Sinhalese students to get admission in the universities of the state. This also meant that for the first time, the integrity of university admissions plan was scattered on the basis of ethnicity (Memorandum...1974). In 1972, an area quota structure was adopted to provide opportunities to those not having sufficient access to academic benefits within their language. These changes influenced structure of the demographic arrangements of university admission.

Generally, these strategies not only affected the opportunities for Tamil students to attain admission to higher academy but correspondingly, on the general procedure of ethno-national connections and relationships as well. The admission procedure on the basis of language was eradicated in 1977 and subsequently, the several accommodative-regulations were brought out on the basis of quality, district wise quotas systems, underprivileged zones quotas systems, etc. (Memorandum... 1974) When the observable ethnic-linguistic racial-discrimination of the 1971 strategy had long been removed, several young people still realized that they were discriminated for getting admission in the higher educational institutions.

In addition, Sri Lanka's ethnic categories had a tendency to get manifested in the arrangements or institutional frameworks of education in different ways i.e. the structural framework of academic establishments, the teachers' training systems and the courses of books and

curriculums which were more extensive or long-term and extensively harmful than the much observable ethno-national and language strategies of the 1970s. In the early part of the 1980s, many of these had emphasized on the functions of texts-books which played significant roles in determining ethno-national connective relations in the state. Ideally, academic texts like textbooks used for education, religious conviction, and linguistic, social educations were representing the nature of the multi-cultural veracity of Sri Lankan state. The state agencies were responsible to transcribe, administer, produce and allocate the School texts-books in the society. As a result, the policies and objectives of the state were reflected in their contents. Always, ethno-national politics were explained in the procedure of text composition and production (Memorandum... 1974). Some problematic and challenging issues in these books were cancelled and deleted in the process of revision and re-drafting of texts. Paradoxically, however, the antagonistic features of ethno-nationality and several forms of contradictory issues in some manuscripts were wiped out.

- (v) **Violence against Tamils:** The Tamils were exposed to violence in several times 1956, 1957, 1959, 1961 and 1974. In 1958, Tamil people beyond the Tamil province were assaulted by the Sinhalese groups and brutally killed, tortured, raped and plundered. In 1961, it was forcefully carried out to scatter the followers of the Satyagraha; in 1974 aggressive violence took place to break up the large assemble attending to an apolitical cultural speech and lecture where nine participants were decisively assassinated. The Police forces and Military forces frequently thrust violence and dread over such gathering more than the specified limits.
- (vi) **Hunger and Death:** Economic-backbone of the state was founded on the establishment of the plantation and business-industry of rubber plantation, tea gardening, and coconut plantation. It was a misfortune of unpleasant magnitude that the role and functions of state act ignored the Tamil estates-workers which was the

main labour to develop the economic life of this state. However, one million Tamil persons were forced to starve and death on account of the joblessness, insecurity of minimum wages, and lack of adequate food supply to them. In such circumstances, the growing impact of all these led to increase in their mortality rate and the family-members and estate-plantation labors were compelled to shift from the rural areas to the urban areas to beg for essential foods.

Chelvanayakam, the Tamil dominant politician of TULF, identified that Tamil faced the following serious problems and difficulties in the sovereign state (Memorandum...1974):

- (a) Deprivation of equal service opportunities in public sectors and government-regulated organizations;
- (a) The grant of constitutional status to Buddhism and enforcing the same on the country a statutory obligation to defend and promote that religious faith;
- (b) Constant movement and campaign against Tamil speaking people through content of textbooks of academic institutions endorsed by state government;
- (c) To reject the right for peaceful gathering and organizations;
- (d) No alternative arrangement was made in the Constitutional provisions to defend the Fundamental Rights of minority sections and human rights of the marginal people in the state;
- (e) Constant presence of Police forces and Military actions in Tamil dominated regions;
- (f) Rejection of the right to live the state of various Tamils and Tamil dominant politicians;
- (g) Random detentions and custodies during 1974 and at that time, forty-two Tamils were detained and;

- (h) The ruthless and inhuman action during arrest and detention.

Consequently, any effort to consider the Tamil issue as a domestic concern of the Sri Lankan state, would turn out to be a circumvention of identifying the socio-political facts in the state. From all explanations, the Tamils of Sri Lanka were demanding their civil-rights through dialogue, negotiation, and peaceable methods. The ethno-national conflict occurred due to authoritative control over the cultural values of the society. Moreover, the relation among ethno-national variation, crisis and extremism was not automatic, but also affecting outside the bipolarity between Sinhala people and Tamil people embodying the ethno-national antagonism and antipathy to reveal how the ethnic arrangements were moulded by the community powers.

Ethnic Violence and Challenges for Society

Pfaffenberger (1990) claimed that encounters against the Vellalar authority in Jaffna region started at ceremonial realm where the untouchable classes tried to enter the renowned Maviddapuram which was a place of worship in 1968. The Vellalar landowners crumpled in this encounter with physical aggression (Silva, 1999). According to Pfaffenberger, this provoked and fostered the conventional Tamil political headship to set up the defensive chauvinism or protective nationalism due to the unification of the Tamil groups and encourage the mutual ethno-national unifications as a defense in contradiction of caste-division in the society. It is important to state that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was founded under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran on 5th May 1976 for the protection of the civil and political rights of Tamil people attempting to ensure cultural autonomy in the socio-political and economic sphere. The organisational form of LTTE sought to safeguard the downgraded people in North-Eastern areas of state. It was organized on the basis of the principle of classified system which sought to establish the sovereign state for the protection of the Tamil people in contradiction of the Sinhalasation policy in the state of Sri Lanka.

Emergence of LTTE



LTTE leaders at Sirumalai Camp, Tamil Nadu, India in 1984 while they were being trained by RAW with Prabhakaran's bodyguard Lingam (Hungarian AK), Batticaloa commander Aruna (Beretta Model 38 SMG), Lte founder-leader Prabhakaran (Pistol), Trincomallee commander Pulendran (AK-47), Mannar commander Victor (M203) and Chief of Intelligence Pottu Amman (M16)
<https://www.google.co.in/search?q=LTTE+leaders+at+Sirumalai+Camp,+Tamil+Nadu,+India+in+1984+while+they+were+being+trained+by+R> [Accessed on 10/03/2015].

The essential aim of the freedom struggle in Sri Lanka was to ensure the motherland, ethno-cultural autonomy and self-rule. This strategy of autonomy was consistently agreed by all the political parties to attain cultural-freedom in the state. They participated in the meeting which was organised at Vaddukoddai in 1976 (Gunasingam, 276). The structures of LTTE were constituted with the extension of the networks within and outside the state. It was not only developed and established, but organised as an offensive alternate voice in the movement of democratic rights. The LTTE was regarded as the outcome of ethno-national and political clash between Sinhalese group and Tamil group in the North-Eastern areas of Sri Lanka.

In, the very beginning of 1980s, some violent incidents occurred in Sri Lanka which transformed into a full-fledged paramilitary and revolutionary war. On 23rd July 1983, The LTTE killed 13 Sinhalese armed forces in Jaffna. The murder of 13 armed forces was the instant reaction for upsurge of anti-Tamil aggression. The ethnic conflict was intensified and enhanced at the neck of land in Jaffna. This incident significantly disgraced the Sri Lanka's

impression and compelled Tamil refugees to migrate from Sri Lanka to India. In this context, the Tamils organised the LTTE which consisted of nine branches (Reddy, 2003): (a) an Elite Guerrilla Rebel Force¹¹ regarded as the Charles Anthony Troop; (b) The Black Tigers Unit¹² recognized as effective for suicide attacks, (c) The Military-wing of Women¹³, (d) The Sea Tigers¹⁴, who were the naval wing; (e) Arms Procurement System¹⁵; (f) Research and Development wing¹⁶; (g) Security Intelligence Group¹⁷; (h) Leopard Task Force¹⁸; and (i) Military offenses group¹⁹. These branches were administered and controlled by the Central Governing Committee (CGC)²⁰ which was under the direction and leadership of Vellupillai Prabhakaran, who made all the significant decisive decisions in the discussion with other leading persons.

The LTTE constituted the administrative structure in the specific zones of Sri Lanka. This administrative structure was regarded as the De-Facto administration in Tamil dominated areas of Sri Lanka. It sought to establish the stable and group relations within the mutual civic life in the social order. The armed-movement of LTTE was to establish socio-political rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka. In the North-Eastern area, LTTE as a de-facto government was founded with various organizational apparatuses as administrative structures like Post-office facilities, Courts of justice, department of Police systems, Banking services, Radio-communication etc. These administrative organizations were arranged on the basis of the rules of law (Gunasingam, 293). The Tamils' struggle for autonomy was galvanized with a few of battalions in 1974 and during the period of movement, had fully extended into the armed militaries comprising of thousands of male and female battalions. There were about 4000 battalions in 1990 and 6000 in 1992. In 1996, the armed-force number surprisingly grew up to 14000 for the protection of their cultural nationality in the state. The growth of Tigers had brought the changing dimension of war and movement in the state. The conflict was intensified with the emergence of marginalisation of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The financial backbone of the organisation was founded on the taxes, levies and revenue collection from the Tamil dominated areas in Sri Lanka. The LTTE and its offices recruited females and young men from Tamil groups. It is significant to mention that 30 percent rebellious corps and war-cadre of LTTE recruitments were the female corps. The children crops were recruited as LTTE troops to maintain the front-line battlefield. Many young boys were brought from the refugee-shelters and living-areas or poorhouses in the Tamil subjugated regions of Sri Lanka. Its decisive aspiration was to achieve the autonomy and socio-political rights of the Tamil people in the society. They thought that Tamils had a unique ethno-cultural identity which stimulated and fostered them to establish the conventional motherland.

Genesis of Civil War

Eelam War-I (July 1983-to July 1987): This was the period when Sri Lankan armed forces and Tamil rebel forces controlled by the LTTE were combatting until July 1987, India then interfered and compelled Sri Lankan military force from eliminating the rebels of Tamil. Peace-keeping forces, which has been discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, were deployed by the government of India to carry out the objectives of Indo-Lankan Peace Agreement (1987) that Colombo had agreed under extensive pressure from New Delhi. But the Tamil group and LTTE were not willing to surrender their weapons but they agreed to assume the formation of regional bodies with decentralization of powers and authorities that the peace-agreement planned to resolve the ethno-national warfare. The LTTE became very critical to New Delhi, fought in contradiction of the Indian Peace-Keeping Forces. (Samarasinghe, 2009: 442) The existence of the Indian military forces (thirty-two months of the IPKF) was neither aspired by the military forces nor by LTTE and therefore, the New Delhi decided to withdraw the Indian peace-keeping militants from Colombo in early 1990. The government of Sri Lanka and the

LTTE were involved in mutual settlement and dialogues, but their efforts failed to establish the early peaceful resolution.

Eelam War-II (July 1990- July 1994): The ferocious actions sustained and it resulted in absolute massacre. The Eelam War-II was another stage of equipped struggle between Sri Lankan armed forces and the nationalist LTTE. The peace talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE failed to resolve the conflict. The let-down of peace dialogue resulted in the second phase of warfare. The stages of the warfare were started by the LTTE, Tamil rebellion group, who killed nearly 600 Sinhalese armed forces after they were challenged by Sri Lankan government when they were forcing the LTTE to give up their arms (Sri Lanka: Chronology...). The conflict broke down on 10th June 1990 when the LTTE expelled around twenty-ethnic thousand Muslims who were living in Jaffna region. At that time, the LTTE's eastern cadre-units were controlled by then-LTTE Commander Karuna Amman who killed 774 police personnel posted in the Eastern area after they had relinquished to them on instructions from the administration. The period of the conflict sustained about four years. The aggressive war ended when the new regime in Sri Lanka was formed in 1994. The new People's coalition government under the leadership of Chandrika Kumartunga, who conducted a remarkable Tamil secret ballot after discussions with the Tamil revolutionary group from August 1994 to April 1995 but the dialogue turned out to be unsuccessful and ineffective (Samarasinghe, 2009: 443).

Eelam War-III (May 1995 to December 2001): The Conflict started quickly as when the dialogue processes weakened, and this phase continued for seven years from 1995 to 2001. In late 1995, the Jaffna was captured by the Sri Lankan administration from the LTTE, who made an effort to move to the Vanni region. The third phase was perhaps the most savage and ferocious stage of the conflict. Large number of killing took place in the battlefield on both

wings. LTTE started a series of guerrilla attacks and outbreaks in Colombo and various places of southern parts of Sri Lanka. On 5th December 1995, Sri Lankan defence Minister Colonel Anuruddha Ratwatte hosted the national flag inside the Jaffna fort. The government assessed that roughly 2500 soldiers and rebels were brutally killed and almost 7000 were injured. Many inhabitants died in this conflict as many 125 citizens died in the Navaly Church bombing (Sri Lankan army hails...). This period of conflict continued until ceasefire treaty which was signed between the LTTE and the Chandrika Kumartunga, President of Sri Lanka, who was also elected in 2001 (Samarasinghe, 2009: 443). The treaty was coordinated by followers of monitoring mission represented by Scandinavian states like Norway. The ceasefire treaty was condemned by all sections. A number of experts observed that the central administration of Sri Lanka hassled for the global support to counter against the LTTE and stressed to acquire armaments. Others experts revealed that this treaty as an opportunity fully supporting the LTTE and allowed the LTTE to intensify its crucial-powers to make for a concluding warfare to constitute a sovereign state for Tamil people in the North-Eastern part of Sri Lanka (Peiris, 2009). Other experts observed it was the lost-opportunity for the negotiators for the perpetual or long-lasting diplomatic political resolution.

Eelam War IV (July 2006 to May 2009): On 17th November 2005, Mahinda Rajapakse was elected as the President of Sri Lanka from the coalition party United Peoples Freedom Alliance²¹ (UPFA), an inter-party alliance led by the SLFP. In the election manifesto, Rajapakse promised to maintain the country united, and carry on the nationwide consent for peace with honour. Moreover, his stage speeches obviously advocated a further aggressive reaction to the LTTE and some of his supporters directly expressed their opinion in favour of armed resolution. He got strong support and backing from the Sinhalese people in the state, but very limited support from Tamil or Muslim ballots (Samarasinghe, 2009: 443). He attempted to arrange another round of discussion with LTTE leaders in Geneva but failed to find out the

constructive outcomes. In this context, the fourth Eelam War erupted in July 2006. There was an extensive western force to forcefully bring to an end the warfare in the country and the administration of Sri Lanka refused various forms of appeals and requests. And in the end it finished in May 2009 with full elimination of the LTTE army unit.

It is significant to mention that the government of Rajapakse decided to defeat the LTTE and eliminate the warfare as the administration realised that the LTTE leaders were not attentive in the conflict resolution. LTTE due to the ethno-cultural uniqueness, sought to divide the state and attempted to establish a sovereign state in the North-Eastern portion of the Sri Lanka. The Western countries exerted pressure on the central administration to stop the domestic warfare and requested the government to arrange the peace-process of discussions with the LTTE leaders. (Samarasinghe, 2009: 443) It indicated that the LTTE earlier used armistices and established its military supremacy. Therefore, the government did not want to compromise on the issue and tricked once more. In January 2009, the LTTE was compelled to shift from its founding base in the city of Kilinochchi to the North-Eastern part with its non-combatant-population. By May 2009, 26 years civil-war came to end. The ethno-national warfare of Sri Lanka was shaped as a state of disintegrated political system, militarism and deep ethno-national separations in the island.

Conclusion

The above-stated developments in Sri Lanka suggest that the ethno-cultural nationalism intensified the challenges in the community spheres and the national politics encountered and challenged the organic cohesion of social unity and integration in the state. The range of the militarization of the ethnic struggle in relations to the loss of lives and demolition of resource led to the destruction of the countless inhabitants in the island to making them understand what the battlefield is and accepting the demarcation. And the quick militarization of the conflict was a result of the

almost total devastation of the trust and confidence in traditional political strategies faced by various sections of youth within the Tamil social order. This also indicated that the democratic organizations and its functional process had been extremely destabilized over the ages. For nearly twenty-six years (1983-2009), Sri Lankan state was involved in an unpleasant and violent political rivalry between the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society.

It is important to state that any upcoming plans for the resolution of crisis and contradiction need to build up the self-confidence in the systematic structure of governance, especially in the functions of democracy and democratic organizations which have been undermined or deteriorated. On the other hand, aggressive ethno-nationalism might get involved to overpower the various statuses in the society. So, the different systems of disparity were considered as the fundamental grounds of the ethno-national militarism.