India-Sri Lanka Conflict: An Overview

Dr. Aftabuddin Ahammad

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Bhairab Ganguly College, Belgharia, Kolkata,West Bengal, India.

I. INTRODUCTION:

The conflict between India and Sri Lanka is deeply rooted in the ethnic tensions between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. The Tamils, who are predominantly Hindu, have historical, cultural, and familial ties to the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. These tensions escalated into a full-scale civil war in Sri Lanka from 1983 to 2009, primarily between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a militant organization seeking an independent Tamil state.

India's involvement in the conflict has been multifaceted, including diplomatic efforts, military intervention, and humanitarian assistance. In the 1980s, India initially supported the Tamil cause, providing training and support to Tamil militants. However, this support became a complex issue, leading to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) being deployed in Sri Lanka from 1987 to 1990, which resulted in controversial and challenging military engagements.

The India-Sri Lanka conflict has had lasting impacts on bilateral relations, regional security, and ethnic politics within Sri Lanka, influencing both countries' domestic and foreign policies over the decades.

Historical Background:
Ancient and Colonial Periods
Early Interactions: The historical relationship between India and Sri Lanka dates back to ancient times with significant cultural, religious, and trade interactions. Buddhism, which originated in India, was introduced to Sri Lanka in the 3rd century BCE.

Colonial Influence: Both nations experienced European colonialism, with Sri Lanka under Portuguese, Dutch, and eventually British control, similar to parts of India. These colonial periods altered social structures and inter-ethnic relations, laying the groundwork for future conflicts.

Post-Independence Era
Independence and Ethnic Tensions: Sri Lanka gained independence from Britain in 1948. Post-independence, the Sinhalese-dominated government implemented policies perceived as discriminatory against the Tamil minority, such as the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, which made Sinhala the sole official language.

Rise of Tamil Militancy: In response to perceived marginalization, Tamil demands for greater autonomy grew. By the 1970s, these demands evolved into a call for an independent Tamil state, Tamil Eelam, in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) emerged as the leading militant group advocating for this cause.

1980s: Escalation and India's Involvement
Civil War Outbreak: The early 1980s saw increased violence and the outbreak of civil war between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil militants. The 1983 anti-Tamil pogrom, known as Black July, marked a significant escalation in the conflict.

India's Initial Support: Initially, India, particularly the state of Tamil Nadu, provided covert support to Tamil militant groups. This was partly due to cultural and ethnic ties, as well as political pressures within India.

Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)
Indo-Sri Lanka Accord (1987): To stabilize the situation, India and Sri Lanka signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in 1987. The accord aimed to devolve power to Tamil-majority areas and included the deployment of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to enforce peace.

IPKF Mission: The IPKF's mission became controversial. They faced hostility from both the LTTE and segments of the Sinhalese population, leading to a protracted and bloody engagement. The IPKF eventually withdrew in 1990 without achieving lasting peace.

Post-IPKF Period and Civil War Continuation
Renewed Hostilities: Following the IPKF withdrawal, the civil war intensified. The LTTE and the Sri Lankan government continued their brutal conflict through the 1990s and early 2000s.

Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi (1991): In a significant incident, former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by an LTTE suicide bomber in 1991, profoundly affecting Indian policy towards the conflict.

End of the Civil War
Decisive Military Campaign: The Sri Lankan government launched a final military offensive in 2006, eventually defeating the LTTE in 2009. This marked the end of the 26-year civil war.

Post-War Period: Post-war Sri Lanka has focused on reconstruction and reconciliation, although ethnic tensions and human rights concerns remain.

The India-Sri Lanka conflict, deeply rooted in ethnic tensions and geopolitical interests, has significantly influenced the political landscapes of both nations, shaping their domestic and foreign policies in complex ways.

Reasons Behind India-Sri Lanka Conflict:
1. Ethnic Tensions
Sinhalese and Tamil Rivalry: The majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil populations have long-standing ethnic tensions. Tamils, who have significant ties to the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, felt marginalized by the Sinhalese-dominated government.

Discriminatory Policies: Policies like the Sinhala Only Act (1956), which made Sinhala the sole official language, alienated Tamils. Educational and employment opportunities were perceived to be biased against Tamils, leading to widespread discontent.

2. Political and Economic Marginalization
Citizenship Issues: Post-independence, many Indian Tamils brought to Sri Lanka by the British for plantation work were denied citizenship, leading to statelessness and economic hardship.

Lack of Political Representation: Tamil demands for greater political autonomy and representation were largely ignored, exacerbating feelings of disenfranchisement.

3. Rise of Tamil Militancy
Formation of the LTTE: In response to systemic discrimination, militant groups like the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) emerged in the 1970s, demanding an independent Tamil state (Tamil Eelam).

Militarization: The LTTE's violent tactics, including assassinations and bombings, led to a cycle of reprisals and escalating violence with the Sri Lankan government.

4. India's Role and Interests
Ethnic and Cultural Ties: The Tamil population in India, particularly in Tamil Nadu, shared strong cultural and familial ties with Sri Lankan Tamils, leading to political pressure on the Indian government to support their cause.

Geopolitical Strategy: India initially provided covert support to Tamil militants to counter perceived Sri Lankan alignment with the United States and Pakistan during the Cold War.

5. Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)
Indo-Sri Lanka Accord (1987): India sought to mediate the conflict through the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, which aimed to devolve power to Tamil regions and included the deployment of the IPKF.

IPKF's Controversial Role: The IPKF faced resistance from both the LTTE and Sinhalese nationalists, leading to a protracted and unpopular military engagement, which strained India-Sri Lanka relations.

6. Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi
Impact on Indian Policy: The assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by an LTTE suicide bomber in 1991 led to a hardening of Indian policy towards the LTTE and reduced direct intervention in the conflict.

7. Human Rights Violations
Widespread Atrocities: Both the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE were accused of severe human rights violations, including civilian massacres, forced disappearances, and use of child soldiers, which intensified international scrutiny and intervention efforts.

8. International Dimensions
Global Tamil Diaspora: The global Tamil diaspora played a significant role in funding and supporting the LTTE, while international human rights organizations pressured for accountability and resolution of the conflict.

Strategic Interests: International actors, including the United States, China, and Pakistan, had varying degrees of involvement and interest in the region, influencing the dynamics of the conflict.

The complex interplay of ethnic tensions, political marginalization, militant insurgency, and international geopolitics created a protracted and multifaceted conflict between India and Sri Lanka, with lasting impacts on regional stability and bilateral relations.

Consequences of India-Sri Lanka Conflict:
1. Humanitarian Impact
Loss of Lives: The conflict resulted in significant loss of life, with estimates suggesting that over 100,000 people were killed during the civil war.
Displacement: Hundreds of thousands of people were displaced, both internally within Sri Lanka and as refugees in other countries, including India.
Human Rights Violations: Widespread human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, and the use of child soldiers, were reported by both sides.

2. Economic Consequences
Economic Disruption: The protracted conflict severely disrupted the Sri Lankan economy, particularly in the northern and eastern regions, leading to destruction of infrastructure, loss of livelihoods, and stunted economic growth.
Tourism Decline: Sri Lanka's tourism industry, a significant source of revenue, was adversely affected by the conflict, deterring international visitors due to safety concerns.

3. Political Repercussions
Political Instability: The conflict contributed to ongoing political instability in Sri Lanka, with frequent changes in government and challenges in establishing stable governance.
Militarization of Society: The extended period of conflict led to the militarization of Sri Lankan society, with a significant portion of national resources devoted to defence and security.

4. Impact on India
Domestic Pressures: The conflict had a significant impact on Tamil Nadu, where there was strong support for the Tamil cause, leading to political and social pressures on the Indian government.
Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi: The assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by an LTTE suicide bomber in 1991 had a profound impact on Indian politics and its approach to the conflict.
Refugee Crisis: India faced an influx of Tamil refugees, leading to humanitarian and economic challenges, particularly in Tamil Nadu.

5. Diplomatic Relations
Strained Bilateral Ties: The conflict led to strained diplomatic relations between India and Sri Lanka, particularly during the period of IPKF involvement and the subsequent assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.
Regional Geopolitics: The conflict influenced regional geopolitics, with countries like the United States, China, and Pakistan having strategic interests in Sri Lanka, complicating India's position.

6. Post-War Reconciliation and Reconstruction
Reconstruction Efforts: Post-war, Sri Lanka focused on reconstruction and rehabilitation, particularly in the war-affected northern and eastern regions, although progress has been slow and uneven.
Reconciliation Challenges: Efforts at ethnic reconciliation have faced significant challenges, with ongoing tensions and a lack of comprehensive political solutions to address Tamil grievances.

7. Legacy of the LTTE
End of Armed Struggle: The military defeat of the LTTE in 2009 marked the end of armed struggle for Tamil Eelam, but the underlying issues of ethnic discrimination and political autonomy remain unresolved.
Diaspora Influence: The Tamil diaspora continues to play a role in advocating for Tamil rights and accountability for wartime atrocities, influencing international perceptions and policies towards Sri Lanka.

8. International Accountability and Human Rights
War Crimes Allegations: Both the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE have been accused of war crimes, leading to international calls for accountability and justice.
UN Involvement: The United Nations and various international human rights organizations have been involved in documenting abuses and advocating for reconciliation and justice for victims of the conflict.
The India-Sri Lanka conflict has left a profound and lasting impact on both countries, shaping their political, economic, and social landscapes, and continuing to influence regional stability and international relations.

Present Scenario:

1. Post-War Reconciliation and Political Developments

Reconciliation Efforts: Post-2009, the Sri Lankan government has made attempts to foster reconciliation between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities. However, progress has been slow, with many Tamils feeling that their grievances and demands for greater autonomy have not been adequately addressed.

Political Landscape: The political landscape in Sri Lanka remains complex, with periodic tensions and allegations of discrimination against the Tamil minority. Efforts to amend the constitution to grant more powers to provincial councils, including Tamil-majority areas, have faced resistance and delays.

2. Economic Cooperation and Challenges

Bilateral Trade: Economic relations between India and Sri Lanka have generally improved, with increased bilateral trade and investments. India remains one of Sri Lanka's largest trading partners.

Debt Crisis: Sri Lanka has been facing a severe economic crisis characterized by high debt levels, inflation, and shortages of essential goods. India has provided economic assistance, including lines of credit and aid, to help stabilize the Sri Lankan economy.

3. Geopolitical Dynamics

Strategic Interests: Both India and China have significant strategic interests in Sri Lanka. India's involvement is driven by historical ties and regional security concerns, while China has invested heavily in infrastructure projects under its Belt and Road Initiative, raising concerns in India about China's influence in the region.

Security Cooperation: India and Sri Lanka have enhanced their security cooperation, focusing on maritime security, counter-terrorism, and defence collaborations to ensure stability in the Indian Ocean region.

4. Human Rights and International Scrutiny

Human Rights Concerns: There are ongoing concerns about human rights violations and accountability for wartime atrocities. International organizations and Tamil advocacy groups continue to call for justice and reconciliation.

UN Involvement: The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) has periodically reviewed Sri Lanka's human rights situation, urging the government to implement measures for accountability and reconciliation. Sri Lanka's response has been mixed, with some progress but also resistance to international intervention.

5. Domestic Political Situation in India

Tamil Nadu's Role: The Indian state of Tamil Nadu continues to play a crucial role in shaping India's policy towards Sri Lanka, given the strong cultural and ethnic ties with the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. Political parties in Tamil Nadu often advocate for the rights of Sri Lankan Tamils, influencing national policy.

6. Refugee Situation

Return and Resettlement: Many Sri Lankan Tamil refugees who fled to India during the civil war have gradually returned, although challenges remain in terms of resettlement and reintegration. India continues to support refugee welfare and resettlement programs.

7. Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges

Cultural Ties: Cultural and religious ties between India and Sri Lanka remain strong, with exchanges and collaborations in areas such as Buddhism, tourism, and education fostering goodwill between the two nations.

Tourism: Tourism is a significant area of cooperation, with Indian tourists forming a substantial portion of visitors to Sri Lanka, contributing to the local economy.

U.N.O and India-Sri Lanka Conflict:

1. Role of the United Nations during the Conflict

Human Rights Monitoring: Throughout the Sri Lankan civil war, the UN was involved in monitoring human rights violations. Reports from UN agencies highlighted abuses committed by both the Sri Lankan government forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Humanitarian Assistance: The UN provided humanitarian aid to those affected by the conflict, including displaced persons. Agencies like UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) played a significant role in supporting refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).

2. Post-Conflict Accountability and Reconciliation

Reports and Investigations: Following the end of the conflict in 2009, the UN has been involved in investigating allegations of war crimes and human rights abuses. The most notable of these was the 2011 report by the UN Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka, which found credible allegations of serious violations committed by both sides.

UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) Resolutions: The UNHRC has passed several resolutions calling for accountability, reconciliation, and human rights protection in Sri Lanka. These resolutions have urged the Sri Lankan government to investigate and prosecute those responsible for wartime abuses and to implement measures for ethnic reconciliation.

3. India's Role and Stance at the United Nations
Support for Resolutions: India has had a nuanced position in the UN regarding Sri Lanka. While India has supported resolutions that call for reconciliation and accountability, it has also emphasized Sri Lanka's sovereignty and the need for a balanced approach.

Diplomatic Engagement: India has engaged diplomatically with both the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leadership, advocating for a political solution that ensures the rights and dignity of the Tamil population within a united Sri Lanka.

4. Recent Developments and Ongoing Issues
Continued Scrutiny: The UN continues to monitor the human rights situation in Sri Lanka. In March 2021, the UNHRC adopted a resolution to collect and preserve evidence of crimes related to the civil war, reflecting ongoing international concern over accountability.

Sri Lanka's Response: The Sri Lankan government has often been resistant to international scrutiny, arguing that it is capable of conducting its own investigations and reconciliation processes. However, progress has been slow, leading to continued calls for international involvement.

5. Impact on India-Sri Lanka Relations
Balancing Act: India has had to balance its diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka and its domestic political pressures, particularly from Tamil Nadu, which advocates strongly for the rights of Sri Lankan Tamils.

Advocacy for Reconciliation: India has consistently advocated for a political solution that respects the rights of the Tamil minority and ensures meaningful devolution of powers, aligning with the broader goals of the UN's efforts in the region.

Key Points of India's Approach in the UN
Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity: India supports Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity, emphasizing the importance of internal solutions over international interventions.

Human Rights and Justice: India acknowledges the importance of addressing human rights violations and achieving justice for victims, supporting UN efforts that align with these principles.

Reconciliation and Devolution: India advocates for genuine reconciliation through devolution of power to Tamil-majority areas, encouraging Sri Lanka to implement constitutional reforms and ensure minority rights.

Present Perspectives:
1. Political and Diplomatic Relations
Strengthened Bilateral Ties: In recent years, India and Sri Lanka have worked on strengthening their bilateral relations through economic, cultural, and strategic cooperation. High-level visits, trade agreements, and joint projects have been part of this effort.

Political Stability and Autonomy: While the end of the civil war brought relative stability to Sri Lanka, the Tamil minority continues to seek greater political autonomy and rights. The Sri Lankan government has faced criticism for not fully implementing constitutional reforms that would grant more powers to provincial councils.

2. Economic Cooperation and Challenges
Trade and Investment: Economic cooperation between India and Sri Lanka has seen significant growth. India is one of Sri Lanka's largest trading partners, with investments in infrastructure, energy, and tourism. However, economic challenges, including Sri Lanka's debt crisis and inflation, affect bilateral economic relations.

Aid and Assistance: India has extended financial assistance to Sri Lanka, especially during the recent economic crisis. This includes lines of credit and humanitarian aid to support essential supplies and stabilize the economy.

3. Human Rights and Reconciliation
Ongoing Human Rights Concerns: Despite the end of the civil war, issues of human rights abuses and accountability remain unresolved. International organizations and Tamil advocacy groups continue to call for justice for wartime atrocities.

Reconciliation Efforts: Efforts towards ethnic reconciliation have been ongoing but face significant challenges. The Tamil community seeks meaningful progress in areas such as land restitution, resettlement of displaced persons, and justice for human rights violations.

4. Geopolitical Dynamics
India-China Rivalry: The strategic rivalry between India and China plays a significant role in the region. China's investments in Sri Lanka, particularly in infrastructure projects like the Hambantota Port, have raised concerns in India about Chinese influence in its neighbourhood.
Security Cooperation: India and Sri Lanka have increased security cooperation, focusing on maritime security, counter-terrorism, and defence collaboration. This is crucial for maintaining stability in the Indian Ocean region.

5. Domestic Political Dynamics in India
Influence of Tamil Nadu: The state of Tamil Nadu continues to influence India's policy towards Sri Lanka. Political leaders in Tamil Nadu advocate for the rights and welfare of Sri Lankan Tamils, pushing the central government to adopt supportive policies.
Political Pressures: Balancing domestic political pressures and diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka remains a delicate task for the Indian government.

6. Cultural and People-to-People Connections
Cultural Exchanges: Cultural and religious ties between India and Sri Lanka remain strong, with exchanges and collaborations fostering goodwill. Buddhism, shared history, and tourism play vital roles in these connections.
Tourism: Tourism is a significant area of cooperation, with Indian tourists forming a substantial portion of visitors to Sri Lanka, contributing to the local economy and cultural understanding.

7. International Involvement
UN and Human Rights Council: The United Nations continues to monitor the human rights situation in Sri Lanka. The UNHRC has passed resolutions urging accountability and reconciliation, with varying degrees of compliance from the Sri Lankan government.
Global Tamil Diaspora: The Tamil diaspora plays an active role in advocating for Tamil rights and international scrutiny of Sri Lanka's human rights record, influencing international perceptions and policies.

Tentative Suggestions to Mitigate India-Sri Lanka Conflict:
1. Political and Constitutional Reforms:
Devolution of Power: Sri Lanka should expedite the implementation of constitutional reforms to devolve powers to provincial councils, particularly in Tamil-majority areas. This would address longstanding grievances of political marginalization and enhance local governance.

2. Promotion of Ethnic Reconciliation:
Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) or a similar mechanism to investigate past human rights abuses impartially. This could facilitate healing and build trust between communities.
Cultural and Educational Exchanges: Foster cultural exchanges and educational programs that promote understanding and appreciation of diverse cultures and histories across Sri Lanka's ethnic communities.

3. Economic Development and Integration:
Regional Economic Initiatives: Promote economic integration and development initiatives that benefit all communities, particularly in war-affected regions. Focus on infrastructure development, job creation, and poverty alleviation.
Trade and Investment: Strengthen bilateral economic ties between India and Sri Lanka through trade agreements, investment in key sectors like infrastructure and tourism, and economic assistance during crises.

4. Human Rights and Rule of Law:
Accountability Mechanisms: Ensure accountability for past human rights violations through credible and impartial investigations. This includes prosecuting perpetrators of atrocities committed during the civil war, regardless of their affiliation.
Human Rights Education: Integrate human rights education into school curricula and public awareness campaigns to promote a culture of respect for human rights and tolerance.

5. International and Regional Diplomacy:
Multilateral Engagement: Engage constructively with international organizations, such as the United Nations and regional bodies, to support efforts for reconciliation, human rights protection, and economic development in Sri Lanka.
Regional Security Cooperation: Strengthen security cooperation among India, Sri Lanka, and other regional partners to address common security challenges, including maritime security and counter-terrorism.

6. Role of Civil Society and Diaspora:
Civil Society Engagement: Support and empower civil society organizations working on reconciliation, human rights, and community

development initiatives. Foster dialogue and collaboration among diverse civil society groups.
Diaspora Engagement: Engage with the Tamil diaspora and other communities abroad to harness their resources, expertise, and influence in advocating for peace, justice, and inclusive governance in Sri Lanka.

Future Prospects:
1. Political and Constitutional Developments
Implementation of Reforms: The successful implementation of constitutional reforms in Sri Lanka, particularly those addressing devolution of power to Tamil-majority regions, could lead to greater political stability and reduced tensions.
Federalism Debate: Continued debate over federalism versus centralized governance in Sri Lanka will influence future political dynamics and the resolution of ethnic grievances.
2. Economic Integration and Cooperation
Bilateral Economic Ties: Strengthening economic integration and cooperation between India and Sri Lanka, especially in infrastructure development, trade, and investment, could foster mutual prosperity and stability.
Impact of Global Economic Shifts: Economic challenges, including debt sustainability and external economic influences, will continue to shape Sri Lanka's economic policies and its relations with India.

3. Ethnic Reconciliation and Human Rights
Progress on Reconciliation: The extent to which Sri Lanka makes progress in ethnic reconciliation, including addressing past human rights abuses and promoting cultural understanding, will determine long-term stability.
International Pressure: Continued international scrutiny and pressure, particularly from human rights organizations and the United Nations, could influence Sri Lanka's policies towards accountability and justice.

4. Geopolitical Dynamics
India-China Rivalry: The strategic rivalry between India and China in the Indian Ocean region may impact Sri Lanka's foreign policy decisions and its relations with neighbouring countries.
Regional Security: Collaboration on regional security issues, including maritime security and counter-terrorism, will be crucial for maintaining stability and managing external influences.

5. Role of Civil Society and Diaspora
Civil Society Engagement: The role of civil society organizations and grassroots movements in advocating for peace, human rights, and inclusive governance will continue to influence domestic and international perceptions of the conflict.
Diaspora Influence: The influence of the Tamil diaspora and other communities abroad in shaping international discourse and policies towards Sri Lanka will remain significant.

6. Domestic Political Dynamics in India
Tamil Nadu's Influence: Political dynamics in Tamil Nadu will continue to influence India's policy towards Sri Lanka, particularly concerning the rights and welfare of Sri Lankan Tamils.
Government Responses: India's responses to domestic political pressures, regional security concerns, and economic interests will shape its approach to managing the India-Sri Lanka relationship.

II.   SUMMARY/CONCLUSION:

The India-Sri Lanka conflict, rooted in ethnic tensions and political grievances, has left a profound impact on both nations. The prolonged civil war, marked by violence and human rights abuses, exacerbated divisions between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority. India's involvement, initially supportive of Tamil aspirations, evolved into complex diplomatic engagements and military interventions, notably with the deployment of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

Post-war, efforts towards reconciliation and political stability in Sri Lanka have been slow and uneven. Challenges persist in addressing ethnic grievances, implementing constitutional reforms, and achieving accountability for wartime atrocities. Economic cooperation between India and Sri Lanka has grown, yet regional geopolitics, including China's influence, add layers of complexity.

The future hinges on effective governance, inclusive development, and sustained efforts towards ethnic reconciliation. International scrutiny and support, particularly from the United Nations, continues to influence progress towards justice and peace. Managing domestic political pressures and fostering regional security cooperation are critical for navigating the complex landscape of the India-Sri Lanka relationship towards a more stable and prosperous future.

REFERENCES:

[1]. DeVotta, N. (2004). Blowback: Linguistic nationalism, institutional decay, and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Stanford University Press.

[2]. Jeyaraj, D. B. S. (2009). The Sri Lankan ethnic crisis: Towards a resolution. Vijitha Yapa Publications.

[3]. Narayan Swamy, M. R. (2003). Tigers of Lanka: From boys to guerrillas. Konark Publishers.

[4]. De Silva, K. M. (1981). A history of Sri Lanka (2nd ed.). University of California Press.

[5]. Dixit, J. N. (1995). Assignment Colombo. Konark Publishers.

[6]. Narayan Swamy, M. R. (2003). Tigers of Lanka: From Boys to Guerrillas. Konark Publishers.

[7]. Jayewardene, J. R. (1984). Growth without development: An economic survey of Sri Lanka. Macmillan.

[8]. Sarath Amunugama, S. (2005). The Break-up of Sri Lanka: The Sinhalese-Tamil Conflict. Thames & Hudson.

[9]. De Silva, K. M. (1987). A history of Sri Lanka. University of California Press.

[10]. Gunaratna, R., & Swamy, M. R. N. (2002). Indian intervention in Sri Lanka: The role of India's intelligence agencies. South Asian Network on Conflict Research.

[11]. Gunaratna, R., & Swamy, M. R. N. (2002). Indian intervention in Sri Lanka: The role of India's intelligence agencies. South Asian Network on Conflict Research

[12]. Raghavan, S. (2013). War and peace in Sri Lanka: With a post-accord report from Jaffna. Penguin Books India.

[13]. Narayan Swamy, M. R. (2003). Tigers of Lanka: From boys to guerrillas. Konark Publishers.

[14]. Manogaran, C., & Pfaffenberger, B. (Eds.). (1987). Sri Lanka: History and the roots of conflict. Routledge.

[15]. Peiris, G. H. (2006). Tears of the lotus: Accounts of the armed struggle in Sri Lanka. Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

[16]. Seneviratne, H. L. (1999). The political economy of ethnicity in Sri Lanka: Economic liberalization and the collapse of the peace process. Pluto Press.

[17]. Wickramasinghe, N. (2006). Civil society in Sri Lanka: New circles of power. Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.