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Separatism In Sri Lanka From  
Communalism To Secession

The Rise Of Tamil  
Separatism In Sri Lanka  
From Communalism To  
Secession Routledge  
Research In  
International Law

**"The book is an excellent addition to the scholarly literature on subnational movements, both past and present, offering a range of insights to policymakers across the globe."—Ayesha Jalal, author of The Struggle for Pakistan "With judicious use of empirical evidence**

and rich case studies, Ahsan I. Butt makes a compelling case that states' responses to secessionist movements turn to a considerable degree on their external security environments."—S. Paul Kapur, author of *Jihad as Grand Strategy In Secession and Security*, Ahsan I. Butt argues that states, rather than separatists, determine whether a secessionist struggle will be peaceful, violent, or genocidal. He investigates the strategies, ranging from negotiated concessions to large-scale

**repression, adopted by  
states in response to  
separatist movements.**

**Variations in the external  
security environment, Butt  
argues, influenced the  
leaders of the Ottoman  
Empire to use peaceful  
concessions against  
Armenians in 1908 but  
escalated to genocide  
against the same community  
in 1915; caused Israel to  
reject a Palestinian state in  
the 1990s; and shaped  
peaceful splits in  
Czechoslovakia in 1993 and  
the Norway-Sweden union in  
1905. Using more than one**

**hundred interviews and extensive archival data, Butt focuses on two main cases—Pakistani reactions to Bengali and Baloch demands for independence in the 1970s and India's responses to secessionist movements in Kashmir, Punjab, and Assam in the 1980s and 1990s. Butt's deep historical approach to his subject will appeal to policymakers and observers interested in the last five decades of geopolitics in South Asia, the contemporary Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and ethno-national conflict,**

Read PDF The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka From Communalism To Secession  
**separatism, and nationalism more generally.**

The year 2009 brought the end of the protracted civil war in Sri Lanka, and observers hoped to see the re-establishment of harmonious religious and ethnic relations among the various communities in the country. Immediately following the war's end, however, almost 300,000 Tamil people in the Northern Province were detained for up to a year's time in hurriedly constructed camps where they were closely scrutinized

**by military investigators to determine whether they might pose a threat to the country. While almost all had been released and resettled by 2011, the current government has not introduced, nor even seriously entertained, any significant measures of power devolution that might create meaningful degrees of autonomy in the regions that remain dominated by Tamil peoples. The Sri Lankan government has grown increasingly autocratic, attempting to assert its control over the**

**local media and non-governmental organizations while at the same time reorienting its foreign policy away from the US, UK, EU, and Japan, to an orbit that now includes China, Burma, Russia and Iran. At the same time, hardline right-wing groups of Sinhala Buddhists have propagated-arguably with the government's tacit approval-the idea of an international conspiracy designed to destabilize Sri Lanka. The local targets of these extremist groups, the so-called fronts of this alleged conspiracy, have**

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**been identified as Christians  
and Muslims. Many**

**Christian churches have  
suffered numerous attacks  
at the hands of Buddhist  
extremists, but the Muslim  
community has borne the  
brunt of the suffering.**

**Buddhist Extremists and  
Muslim Minorities presents  
a collection of essays that  
investigate the history and  
current conditions of  
Buddhist-Muslim relations  
in Sri Lanka in an attempt to  
ascertain the causes of the  
present conflict. Readers  
unfamiliar with this story  
will be surprised to learn**



**that it inverts common stereotypes of the two religious groups. In this context, certain groups of Buddhists, generally regarded as peace-oriented, are engaged in victimizing Muslims, who are increasingly regarded as militant, in unwarranted and irreligious ways. The essays reveal that the motivations for these attacks often stem from deep-seated economic disparity, but the contributors also argue that elements of religious culture have served as catalysts for the explosive violence. This**

**is a much-needed, timely commentary that can potentially shift the standard narrative on Muslims and religious violence.**

**Drawing material from dozens of divided societies, Donald L. Horowitz constructs his theory of ethnic conflict, relating ethnic affiliations to kinship and intergroup relations to the fear of domination. A groundbreaking work when it was published in 1985, the book remains an original and powerfully argued comparative analysis of one of the most important forces**

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**in the contemporary world. Statehood in the early 21st century remains as much a central problem as it was in 1979 when the first edition of The Creation of States in International Law was published. As Rhodesia, Namibia, the South African Homelands and Taiwan then were subjects of acute concern, today governments, international organizations, and other institutions are seized of such matters as the membership of Cyprus in the European Union, application of the Geneva Conventions to Afghanistan, a final**

**settlement for Kosovo, and, still, relations between China and Taiwan. All of these, and many other disputed situations, are inseparable from the nature of statehood and its application in practice. The remarkable increase in the number of States in the 20th century did not abate in the twenty five years following publication of James Crawford's landmark study, which was awarded the American Society of International Law Prize for Creative Scholarship in 1981. The independence of**

**many small territories comprising the 'residue' of the European colonial empires alone accounts for a major increase in States since 1979; while the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the USSR in the early 1990s further augmented the ranks. With these developments, the practice of States and international organizations has developed by substantial measure in respect of self-determination, secession, succession, recognition, decolonization, and several other fields. Addressing such**

**questions as the unification of Germany, the status of Israel and Palestine, and the continuing pressure from non-State groups to attain statehood, even, in cases like Chechnya or Tibet, against the presumptive rights of existing States, James Crawford discusses the relation between statehood and recognition; the criteria for statehood, especially in view of evolving standards of democracy and human rights; and the application of such criteria in international organizations and between states. Also discussed are**

**the mechanisms by which states have been created, including devolution and secession, international disposition by major powers or international organizations and the institutions established for Mandated, Trust, and Non-Self-Governing Territories. Combining a general argument as to the normative significance of statehood with analysis of numerous specific cases, this fully revised and expanded second edition gives a comprehensive account of the developments**

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**which have led to the birth  
of so many new states.**

**Sri Lankan Tamil**

**Nationalism**

**The Separatist Conflict in  
Sri Lanka**

**Routledge Handbook of  
Autocratization in South  
Asia**

**Reaping The Whirlwind  
National Security Concepts  
of States**

**Refugees and International  
Aid - Sri Lanka: A Case Study  
Implications for Politics and  
Conflict Resolution in Sri  
Lanka**

This book offers a  
comparative view of nine



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historic separatist  
movements, some of which  
have achieved the break-up of  
an empire or a state, and  
others that to date have not.  
The authors analyze the long  
term effects of secession:  
after partition, ethnic strife  
typically continues for  
generations; minorities  
decline in status; and  
democracy and human rights  
are derogated.

A novel analysis of  
secessionist movements,  
explaining state response, the  
likelihood of conflict, and the  
proliferation of states since  
1945.

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This handbook offers a comprehensive analysis of the processes and actors contributing to autocratization in South Asia. It provides an enhanced understanding of the interconnectedness of the different states in the region, and how that may be related to autocratization. The book analyzes issues of state power, the support for political parties, questions relating to economic actors and sustainable economic development, the role of civil society, questions of equality and political culture, political mobilization, the role of

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education and the media, as well as topical issues such as the Covid pandemic, environmental issues, migration, and military and international security.

Structured in five sections, contributions by international experts describe and explain outcomes at the national level in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The final section analyzes conditions for democracy and autocratization and how they are affected by the interplay of political forces at the international level in this region. India – building an

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ethnic state? Pakistan – the  
decline of civil liberties

Bangladesh – towards one-

party rule Sri Lanka – the

resilience of the ethnic state

How to comprehend

autocratization in South Asia

– three broad perspectives

This innovative handbook is

the first to describe and to

explain ongoing trends of

autocratization in South Asia,

demonstrating that drivers of

political change also work

across boundaries. It is an

important reference work for

students and researchers of

South Asian Studies, Asian

Studies, Area Studies and

Read PDF The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka From Communalism To Secession Political Science. The Open Access version of this book, available at

<http://www.taylorfrancis.com>, has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 license. And recommendations.

Methodology -

Recommendations. --

Background. War in Sri Lanka

- The Tamil diaspora and

support for the LTTE. -- A

culture of fear: LTTE

intimidation, threats, and

violence. -- LTTE control of

Hindu temples in the West. --

Paying for "the final war":

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LTTE fundraising and  
extortion within the Tamil  
diaspora in late 2005 and  
early 2006. Pressures to give  
money - Attempts to refuse  
and resist - Fundraising  
versus extortion - Response  
from the World Tamil  
Movement. -- Extortion of  
Tamil expatriates visiting Sri  
Lanka. Priya's story -  
Common extortion methods.  
-- Response of the U.K. and  
Canadian authorities. --  
Conclusion. --  
Acknowledgements.  
History, Culture, Politics  
The Creation of States in  
International Law

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Age of Secession

How Terrorism Ends

LTTE Intimidation and

Extortion in the Tamil

Diaspora

Secession and Security

Ethnic Conflict and

Reconciliation in Sri Lanka

*In this comprehensive and authoritative study of terrorism in Sri Lanka, K.M. de Silva turns the spotlight on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and its role in Sri Lanka's upheavals over the last few decades. While tracing the emergence of*

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*this separatist group  
and the events that led  
to its recent collapse,  
de Silva also seeks to  
explore the complex  
relationship between the  
so-called moderates in  
Sri Lankan Tamil  
politics and the Tamil  
terrorist groups. What  
emerges is a layered  
portrait of the dynamics  
of Sri Lanka's political  
system. Extensively  
researched and loaded  
with perceptive  
insights, Sri Lanka and  
the Defeat of the LTTE  
is the most wide-ranging*



Read PDF The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka From Communalism To Secession analysis so far on the LTTE and its violent legacy.

This book proposes and tests a 'theory of separatism' to determine if there are key commonalities as to why separatist movements rise and what fuels them. In the post-Cold War period separatism has been on the rise. Today, there are more than 100 active separatist movements, with around 70 of them engaging in violence. This book focuses on

Read PDF *The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka From Communalism To Secession* examples from Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia to highlight the commonalities found across the case studies. It examines the idea of separatism, to better understand what drives movements to break away from preexisting states; demonstrates the factors which produce both violent separatism and the rise of armed non-state actors; and shows the options for the resolution of such conflict, based on considering claims for

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*separatism from the  
perspectives of  
separatist movements.*

*This book will be  
applicable for  
undergraduate and  
postgraduate students of  
International Relations  
and International  
Politics as well as  
Conflict/Peace Studies,  
Anthropology and Post-  
Colonial Studies.*

*For twenty-six years,  
civil war tore Sri Lanka  
apart. Despite numerous  
peace talks, cease-  
fires, and external  
military and diplomatic*

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*pressure, war raged on between the separatist*

*Liberation Tigers of*

*Tamil Eelam and the*

*Sinhala-dominated Sri*

*Lankan government. Then,*

*in 2009, the Sri Lankan*

*military defeated the*

*insurgents. The win was*

*unequivocal, but the*

*terms of victory were*

*not. The first*

*successful*

*counterinsurgency*

*campaign of the twenty-*

*first century left the*

*world with many*

*questions. How did Sri*

*Lanka ultimately win*

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*this seemingly  
intractable war? Will  
other nations facing  
insurgencies be able to  
adopt Sri Lanka's  
methods without  
encountering accusations  
of human rights  
violations? Ahmed S.  
Hashim—who teaches  
national security  
strategy and helped  
craft the U.S.  
counterinsurgency  
campaign in  
Iraq—investigates those  
questions in the first  
book to analyze the  
final stage of the Sri*

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*Lankan civil war. When  
Counterinsurgency Wins  
traces the development  
of the counterinsurgency  
campaign in Sri Lanka  
from the early stages of  
the war to the later  
adaptations of the Sri  
Lankan government,  
leading up to the final  
campaign. The campaign  
itself is analyzed in  
terms of military  
strategy but is also  
given political and  
historical  
context-critical to  
comprehending the  
conditions that give*

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*rise to insurgent violence. The tactics of the Tamil Tigers have been emulated by militant groups in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Somalia. Whether or not the Sri Lankan counterinsurgency campaign can or should be emulated in kind, the comprehensive, insightful coverage of When Counterinsurgency Wins holds vital lessons for strategists and students of security and defense.*

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*Why are relations between politically mobilised ethnic identities and the nation-state sometimes peaceful and at other times fraught and violent? Madurika Rasaratnam's book sets out a novel answer to this key puzzle in world politics through a detailed comparative study of the starkly divergent trajectories of the 'Tamil question' in India and Sri Lanka from the colonial era to the present day. Whilst*



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*Tamil and national identities have peaceably harmonised in India, in Sri Lanka these have come into escalating and violent contradiction, leading to three decades of armed conflict and simmering antagonism since the war's brutal end in 2009. Tracing these differing outcomes to distinct and contingent patterns of political contestation and mobilisation in the two states, Rasaratnam shows how, whilst*

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emerging from comparable  
Routledge Research In  
International Law

conditions and similar  
historical experiences,  
these have produced very  
different interactions  
between evolving Tamil  
and national identities,  
constituting in India a  
nation-state inclusive  
of the Tamils, and in  
Sri Lanka a hierarchical  
Sinhala-Buddhist  
national and state order  
hostile to Tamils'  
political claims.

Locating these dynamics  
within changing  
international contexts,  
she also shows how these

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*once largely separate  
patterns of national-  
Tamil politics, and  
Tamil diaspora  
mobilisation, are  
increasingly interwoven  
in the post-war  
internationalisation of  
Sri Lanka's ethnic  
crisis.*

*The Changing Place-  
making Practices of Sri  
Lankan Tamils in Toronto  
Changing Dynamics  
Producing Home Elsewhere  
Sinhalese Buddhist  
Nationalist Ideology  
Kashmir in Comparative  
Perspective*

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Reconciling Autonomy  
with Equal Rights and  
Opportunities  
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Ceylon at the Census of  
1911

**Tamil Nadu has been playing its legitimate role in the inter-government relationship on the Tamil issues. The magnitude of the state politics in the problems of Sri Lankan Tamils has reached its Zenith during the past one decade as a result of the eruption of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka. Since Tamil Polity has been fully dominated by ethnic political parts,**

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*each one has been trying  
its level best to project  
itself as the Vanguard of  
Tamil Nationalism. This  
book traces the approaches  
of the political parties  
and especially ethnic  
political parties towards  
the Sri Lankan Tamil  
issues. It also analyses  
to what extent the  
pressure extended by the  
ethnic political parties  
has been taken into  
account in foreign policy  
making of Indian  
Government during  
different periods.  
Significantly this work  
touches a very important*

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aspect that to what extent the support extended by the political parties to help themselves to establish firm roots in provincial polity. This study sheds light on the ambiguous stand of the political parties in Tamil Nadu over this issue which ultimately has weakened the cause of the Tamils and mislead the Indian Government which adopted a tough stand without heeding to the plea of the majority of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

This book examines different approaches by

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*which states characterised by federal or decentralized arrangements reconcile equality and autonomy. In case studies from four continents, leading experts analyse the challenges of ensuring institutional, social and economic equality whilst respecting the competences of regions and the rights of groups.*

*Through a succession of key stages since Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) became independent in 1948, its Tamil minority, historically concentrated in the north and east but*

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with an important segment in Colombo, became alienated from the Sinhalese majority and, after peaceful opposition failed to secure its rights, resorted to an armed struggle. The Tamil Tigers (LTTE) today appear to hold the key to their people's future. While they have suffered setbacks, including the loss of the Tamil capital, Jaffna, they remain a potent guerrilla force, able to strike with impunity at both military and civilian targets. The Tigers' grip on the Tamil



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population seems secure,  
as does their overseas  
support and funding from  
Tamil exiles in Britain,  
Canada, and Australia.

This book offers a concise history of the Sri Lankan Tamil nation, its culture, social make-up, and political evolution. In a final chapter, A. J. V. Chandrakanthan gives a first-hand account of life and attitudes inside the embattled Tamil areas today. A. Jeyaratnam Wilson teaches in the Department of Political Science at the University of New Brunswick. He is

Read PDF *The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka From Communalism To Secession* the author of *The Break-Up of Sri Lanka* and S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and the *Crisis of Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism*. A. J. V. Chandrakanthan teaches in the Department of Theology at Concordia University, Montreal.

*Warzones* are sometimes described as lawless, but this is rarely the case. Armed insurgents often replace the state as the provider of law and justice in areas under their authority. Based on extensive fieldwork, *Rebel Courts* offers a compelling and unique insight into

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the judicial governance of armed groups, a phenomenon never studied

comprehensively until now. Using a series of detailed case studies of non-state armed groups in a diverse range of conflict situations, including the FARC (Colombia), Islamic State (Syria and Iraq), Taliban (Afghanistan), Tamil Tigers (Sri Lanka), PKK (Turkey), PYD (Syria), and KRG (Iraq), Rebel Courts argues that it is possible for non-state armed groups to legally establish and operate a system of courts to

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*administer justice. Rules of public international law that regulate the conduct of war can be interpreted as authorising the establishment of rebel courts by armed groups. When operating in a manner consistent with due process, rebel courts demand a certain degree of recognition by international states, institutions, and even other non-state armed groups. With legal analysis enriched by insights from other disciplines, Rebel Courts is a must read for all*

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scholars and professionals  
interested in law,  
justice, and the  
effectiveness of global  
legal standards in  
situations of armed  
conflict.

*The Principle of Equality  
in Diverse States*

*India and Sri Lanka*

*Compared*

*Tamil Nationalism in Sri  
Lanka*

*Muslim Perspectives on the  
Sri Lankan Conflict*

*Politics in Sri Lanka,  
1947-1979*

*Understanding Ethnic  
Conflict*

*Its Origins and*

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***Development in the  
Nineteenth and Twentieth  
Centuries***  
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This book investigates the factors that led to the breakdown of democracy and the rise of violent separatism in Jammu and Kashmir in the 1980s, and how the risk of a large-scale war has grown in South Asia in the 1990s. Solutions to this conflict need to be based on knowledge about what caused it as well as perspectives on why this conflict is so particularly dangerous. Widmalm offers answers in this book, with systematic comparisons over

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time to establish the causes of the conflict. He refutes the contention that ethnic factors are the main cause, while acknowledging that ethnic dividing lines are salient features of the conflict today. Interviews with representatives of the Indian government, the ISI in Pakistan and separatist leaders in Jammu and Kashmir are also incorporated. Sri Lanka, the 'Teardrop Isle', has been under international attention for more than two decades for its ethnic conflict and civil war, and recently, under intense media scrutiny

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for what seems like a decisive end to the civil war. While the ethnic conflict and the civil war have been the subjects of numerous academic and non-academic studies in both the East and the West, there has been no significant research on nationalism, particularly Tamil nationalism, as it manifests itself in Sri Lanka. Pathways of Dissent: Tamil Nationalism in Sri Lanka endeavours to fill this important academic gap through its collection of ten in-depth essays that present a wide perspective of the subject. The book holistically



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portrays Tamil nationalism from various disciplinary perspectives like history, political science, international relations, art, literature, sociology and anthropology. In doing so, it tries to understand the nature of nationalism as it emerges in these areas and adds to the richness and complexity of the problem. The significance of this collection is not only its breadth of vision, but also the origins of the hypotheses. The essays cite primary sources from Tamil society and culture that are not usually referred to. It is the first multi-disciplinary

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collection of essays exploring  
the state of Sri Lankan Tamils  
and their nationalistic

moorings. The book succeeds  
in adding further scholarship  
to the academic debate  
centred on nationalism,  
politics, sociology and ethnic  
conflicts. Academics and  
readers with a focus on ethnic  
conflicts, peace studies,  
nationalism, Tamil politics and  
society and South Asian  
history will find the book to be  
an essential reference source.  
A critical analysis of the ethnic  
conflict in Sri Lanka In the  
eighties, Sri Lanka, once  
considered the 'model'

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colony, was torn apart by ethnic strife between the predominantly Buddhist

Sinhalas, constituting almost threequarters of the island's inhabitants, and the numerically fewer Tamils, who were a mix of Hindus, Christians and Muslims.

Massacres occurred after the riots of May 1983, and over time about 1,25,000 Tamils entered India as refugees, fleeing from a virtual civil war which still afflicts the north of the island. The author, a renowned Sri Lankan analyst of global ethnic conflict, discusses the historical

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reasons behind the ethnic violence, especially the growth of the Sinhalas' feeling of being a beleaguered minority despite their numerical strength. Analysing the present conflict, he shows how the language policy of 'Sinhala Only', followed by the government in the sixties, supplanted religion as a divisive factor and how rivalry over educational and employment opportunities fuelled the schism. Bringing the story up to the present, de Silva examines the role played by Indian and Tamil Nadu politicians, and President

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Kumaratunga's efforts towards a devolution of power to the Tamil Provinces. But given the LTTE's acceptance of nothing less than Eelam, he sees little hope of an early end to the violence that has racked Sri Lanka for almost two decades now.

Among the examples of civil wars, armed secessionist movements and minority uprisings in the world today, many involve conflict between a minority group's aim for political self-determination, and the nation state's resistance to any diminution of sovereignty. With the

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expansion of the international regime of human rights, minority groups have reconceptualised their struggle with the understanding that a minority which is linguistically, religiously or ethnically distinctive is entitled to self-determination if their aspirations cannot be met.

This book explores the relationship between minority rights, self-determination and secession within international law, by contextualising these issues in a detailed case study of the rise of Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka. Welhengama and

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Pillay show how Tamil communalism hardened into secession and assess whether the Sri Lankan government has met its obligations with respect to the right to self-determination short of secession. Focusing on the legal and human rights arguments for secession by the Tamil community of the North and East of Sri Lanka, the book demonstrates how the language of international law and international human rights played a major role in the development of the arguments for secession. Through a close examination

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of the case of the Tamil's  
secessionist movement the  
book presents valuable  
insights into why modern  
nation states find themselves  
threatened by separatist  
claims and bids for  
independence based on  
ethnicity.

Separatism and the State  
Separatism

Religious Conflict in  
Contemporary Sri Lanka  
Explaining State Strategy  
against Separatists

Funding the "final War"

Sociological Bulletin

From Communalism to  
Secession



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Fifty-four images and more than ninety classic and contemporary texts introduce Sri Lanka's recorded history of more than two and a half millennia.

In this book Professor Barnett analyzes a successful political movement in South India that used cultural nationalism as a positive force for change. By exploring the history of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam party, the author provides a new perspective on

Read PDF The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka From Communalism To Secession political identity. In so doing, she challenges the interpretation of cultural nationalism as a product of atavistic and primordial forces that poses an inherent threat to the integrity of territorially defined nation-states and thus to the progress of modernization. The founding of the DMK party in 1949, the author shows, was a turning point in the political history of Tamil Nadu, South India, because it ushered in

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the era of Tamil  
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cultural nationalism. In  
the hands of the DMK,  
Tamil nationalism became  
an ideology of mass  
mobilization and thus  
shaped the articulation  
of political demands for  
a generation. The author  
analyzes the social,  
political, and economic  
factors that gave rise  
to cultural nationalism;  
the interplay between  
cultural nationalist  
leaders; and the role of  
cultural nationalism in  
a heterogeneous nation-  
state. Originally

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rich scholarly heritage found in the thousands of books published by Princeton University Press since its founding in 1905.

Annotation This work answers questions concerning the length of time that terrorist campaigns last and when targeting leadership finishes a group. It examines a wide range of historical examples to identify the ways in which almost all terrorist groups die out.

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Separatism In Sri Lanka From  
Communalism To Secession

The book provides a detailed historically-based analysis of the origin, evolution and potential resolution of the civil conflict in Sri Lanka over the struggle to establish a separate state in its Northern and Eastern provinces. This conflict between the Sri Lankan government and the secessionist LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) is one of the world's most intractable contemporary armed struggles. The

internationally banned  
LTTE is considered the  
prototype of modern  
terrorism. It is known  
to have introduced  
suicide bombing to the  
world, and recently  
became the first  
terrorist organization  
ever to acquire an air  
force. The 'iron law of  
ethnicity' - the  
assumption that cultural  
difference inevitably  
leads to conflict - has  
been reinforced by the  
9/11 attacks and  
conflicts like the one  
in Sri Lanka. However,

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the connections among ethnic difference, conflict, and terrorism are not automatic. This book broadens the discourse on the separatist conflict in Sri Lanka by moving beyond the familiar bipolar Sinhala versus Tamil ethnic antagonism to show how the form and content of ethnicity are shaped by historical social forces. It develops a multipolar analysis which takes into account diverse ethnic groups, intra-



variables at the local,  
regional and  
international levels.  
Overall, this book  
presents a conceptual  
framework useful for  
comparative global  
conflict analysis and  
resolution, shedding  
light on a host of  
complex issues such as  
terrorism, civil  
society, diasporas,  
international  
intervention and  
secessionism.

**A History of Contested**

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Separatism In Sri Lanka From  
Communalism To Secession  
**Identities**

**The Sri Lanka Reader**

**Ethnicity, Security, and**

**Separatism in India**

**Tamils and the Nation**

**Buddhist Extremists and**

**Muslim Minorities**

**Ethnicity And Identity**

This paper focuses on the post-colonial ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka between the Tamil and Sinhalese populations which has generated over 500,000 Tamil asylum seekers worldwide in the past ten years. The paper has four sections dealing with the root causes of exile, the process of diaspora, attempts to promote and organize voluntary repatriation and conclusions to be drawn from these attempts. Section

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one charts the growth of ethnic polarization and armed separatism over perceived state discrimination against Tamils in language, employment, education and settlement issues. Section two describes the Tamil diaspora in detail, a first wave of emigrants followed by an outflow of asylum seekers concentrated in Europe and south India. Section three discusses three major international aid programmes for Sri Lankan refugees since 1987, focusing on voluntary repatriation and relief assistance to returnees and displaced persons. Conclusions drawn in section four show that voluntary repatriation for Sri Lankan Tamils remains a favoured but unpredictable solution to the refugee crisis. Evidence from Sri

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Lanka suggests that the development of Open Relief Centres assisting the displaced in their country of origin may offer an important step forward in preventing mass exoduses. (Author's summary).

The Rise of Tamil Separatism in Sri Lanka From Communalism to Secession Routledge

Concerns the treatment of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka.

This study argues that political Buddhism and Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism have contributed to a nationalist ideology that has been used to expand and perpetuate Sinhalese Buddhist supremacy within a unitary Sri Lankan state; create laws, rules, and structures that institutionalize such supremacy; and attack those who

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disagree with this agenda as enemies of the state. The nationalist ideology is influenced by Sinhalese Buddhist mytho-history that was deployed by monks and politics in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to assert that Sri Lanka is the designated sanctuary for Theravada Buddhism, belongs to Sinhalese Buddhists, and Tamils and others live there only due to Sinhalese Buddhist sufferance. This ideology has enabled majority superordination, minority subordination, and a separatist war waged by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The study suggests both LTTE terrorism and the ethnocentric nature of the Sri Lankan state, which resorts to its own forms of terrorism when fighting the civil war, need to be

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overcome if the island is to become a liberal democracy. The present government of President Mahinda Rajapakse is the first to fully embrace the Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist ideology, suggesting that a political solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict is unlikely. Meaningful devolution of power, whereby Tamils could coalesce with their ethnic counterparts amidst equality and self-respect, is not in the offing. A solution along federal lines is especially unlikely. Instead, continued war and even attacks on Christians and Muslims seem to be in store for Sri Lanka as the Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist ideology is further consolidated. The study recommends that the international community adopt a more proactive stance in promoting

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a plural state and society in Sri Lanka. In addition to countering the terrorist methods employed by the LTTE, the international community should initiate and support measures to protect fundamental civil liberties and human rights of Sri Lanka's ethnic and religious minority communities.

Understanding the Decline and

Demise of Terrorist Campaigns

Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Updated

Edition With a New Preface

Ethnic Conflict, Ethnic Politics in

Sri Lanka

Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political

Economy

Dynamics of Tamil Nadu Politics in

Sri Lankan Ethnicity

Pathways of Dissent

The Politics of Cultural Nationalism

in South India

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*Communalism To Secession,  
Routledge Research In  
International Law*

*Within the larger context of the bitter ethnic strife in Sri Lanka, this timely volume assembles a multidisciplinary group of scholars to explore the central issue of Tamil identity. Bringing historical, sociological, political, and geographical perspectives to bear on the subject, the contributors analyze various aspects of the Sri Lankan Tamil community as it strives to justify its rightful place on the island. Exploring the roots of conflict in Sri Lanka, the book traces the distinct historical origins of the Sri Lankan Tamils, discusses the impact of colonial rule, assesses the*



*country's caste system, and questions the government's land settlement policy as well as other discriminatory practices. This exploration enables the contributors to explain the rise of militant movements in Sri Lanka - particularly the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who demand the right of self-determination. Finally, the volume addresses the explosive issues of separatism and secession.*

*This dissertation examines the place-making practices through which immigrants reproduce home in a diasporic context,*

*and the impact of this work on  
immigrant subjectivities. It  
focuses on Sri Lankan Tamils in  
Toronto who immigrated to  
Canada in the context of  
marginalization by the Sri  
Lankan state, civil war, and the  
growth of militant Tamil  
separatism, making Canada the  
home of the largest Sri Lankan  
Tamil diaspora in the West.  
Based on fifteen months of  
fieldwork conducted in 2008 --  
2009 in Toronto, this  
dissertation draws on  
participant observation,  
observation, life histories, and  
semi-structured interviews, to  
trace the material, affective,*

*symbolic, spatial, embodied, and strategic ways through which the homeland is (re)produced by people who now occupy a new locale. I argue that the meaning of home/ the homeland transformed over time, inter-generationally as well as in relation to specific socio-political events. In addition, their diasporic context also shaped Tamil subjectivities by informing the form and content of place-making. New diasporic subjectivities were constructed in the nexus of these socio-temporal processes. As such, historic and contemporary*

*Communalism To Secession  
Routledge Research In  
International Law*

*events related to the homeland acquired new political meaning when collectively embodied and commemorated from a diasporic location, producing rejuvenated, newly politicized nationalist subjectivities. The meanings given to the homeland also transformed across generations, producing a second generation whose identity was rooted in the increasingly politicized nation, rather than in local lived contexts of place; contexts which were accessible to the first generation. Therefore, this research suggests that place and time derive meaning when*

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*they are understood together,  
for while the meaning of place  
was temporally inflected,  
immigrants' memories of the  
homeland derived new meaning  
through their re-emplacment  
in diaspora.*

*A hallmark of Indian politics,  
ethnic tension have escalated  
dramatically since the 1980s,  
endangering India's unity as a  
sovereign democracy. Although  
a succession of governments  
has attempted to resolve them,  
these conflicts have weakened  
India's role as the dominant  
power in the region. This work  
examines the connections  
between internal and external*

*policy and explores the ways in which domestic tensions, particularly arising from ethnic and sectarian heterogeneity, shape India's role in the region. The book studies movements in Punjab, Kashmir and Tamil Nadu, which escalated throughout the 1980s and influenced India's relations with Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It argues that India does not seek hegemony in South Asia; instead it acts to protect its nation-building efforts from similar problems faced by neighbouring countries. Paradoxically, this goal requires India to intervene in*

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Communalism To Secession  
neighbouring countries ethnic  
conflicts.  
Routledge Research In  
International Law

*This book is recognized as a classic study both of the politics of language and religion in India and of ethnic and nationalist movements in general. It received overwhelmingly favorable reviews across disciplinary and international boundaries at first publication, characterized as "a masterly conceptual analysis of language, religion, ethnic groups, and nationhood", "a monumental work", "of interest to all political scientists", one that "should be required reading for any politically*

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concerned person" in the United Kingdom (from a TLS review), a work whose "value and importance can scarcely be overstated", with "no competitor in the same class".

*Rebel Courts*

*The Rise of Tamil Separatism in Sri Lanka*

*Language, Religion and Politics in North India*

*The Sri Lankan Tamils*

*Sri Lanka and the Defeat of the LTTE*

*When Counterinsurgency Wins Democracy and Disintegration*

**Originally published: London: C. Hurst, c2005.**

**Understanding Ethnic Conflict**



**provides all the key concepts needed to understand conflict among ethnic groups. Including approaches from both comparative politics and international relations, this text offers a model of ethnic conflict's internationalization by showing how domestic and international actors influence a country's ethnic and sectarian divisions. Illustrating this model in five original case studies, the unique combination of theory and application in Understanding Ethnic Conflict facilitates more critical analysis of contemporary ethnic conflicts and the world's response to them.**

**Argentina**

**Democracy and Violent Separatism  
in India**

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Separatism In Sri Lanka From  
Communalism To Secession

**Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka  
Sri Lanka in the Modern Age  
Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil  
Tigers**

**The Administration of Justice by  
Armed Insurgents**