

# Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka: The Usefulness of Edward Azar's Concept of Protracted Social Conflict

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## Abstract

Sri Lanka has experienced a devastating deep-rooted protracted conflict for three decades. The military confrontation between Sri Lankan Army and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was ended after the military defeat of the LTTE in May 2009. As a result, opportunities are ripe to post-war peacebuilding in Sri Lanka. To help prevent, manage and resolve conflict requires better understanding of the nature and dynamics of the Sri Lankan social conflict. But failure to do so, reverse hard-won military gains and result in a trail of grievances that can perpetuate conflict into a never-ending cycle of violence.

The Sri Lankan conflict shares most of the basic characteristics of Edward Azar's 'Protracted Social Conflict (PSC)'. Therefore, this paper analyzes the Sri Lankan conflict with the help of Azar's concept of PSC as an analytic framework which is more helpful than other concepts and ideas in the literature. This analysis gives us an understanding of the features of Sri Lankan conflicts that bring up difficulties for post-war peacebuilding.

**Key words:** Sri Lanka, Protracted Social Conflict, Post-Conflict peacebuilding, Sinhalese, Tamils

## 1. Introduction

Conflicts between ethnic groups or nations which erupt when their goals, intentions and actions are perceived as mutually incompatible (Mitchell, 1981: 1-20). There are different kinds of conflicts which are classified in different ways. The study of conflicts has been conducted by multidisciplinary means and in holistic approaches, and yields different theories and models. Scholars who study international relations, the history of warfare and conflict resolution highlight certain patterns, reasons and named conflicts in particular eras starting with the evolution of the modern state<sup>1</sup>. This classification started with Clausewitz's 1832 'On War', Edward Rice's '17-18 Century Dynastic Wars', and 19 Century-1945 'National Wars'.

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Thereafter Rice named post 1945 as 'Wars of the Third Kind' and distinguished three phases: from 1950s, 1960s 'Wars of National Independence', 1970s and 1980s 'Post-Colonial War' or 'Proxy War' and 1990s as 'Post-Cold War' or 'New War' wars (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2006: 64-65). 'The Clausewitzian assumptions that war is fought between states, with regular armies, and that peace is a matter of win-loss or negotiation involving two well-defined parties, are no longer valid. This has spurred a debate about Post-Cold War' wars, qualitatively different from those in the past, and characterized by being privatized, and sustained by complex war economies, boosted by communal or identity politics, and targeting civilians' (Orjuela, 2000).

International relations and strategic studies analysts paid relatively little attention to the international implications of ethnic and other forms of communal conflicts during the cold war period. During this period and later, a few scholars in the peace and conflict research field attempted to uncover the sources for conflicts and were variously termed, 'Deep Rooted Conflict' by John Burton, 'Intractable Conflict'<sup>2</sup> by Lewis Kriesberg, 'International Social Conflict'<sup>3</sup> by Ramsbotham and Woodhouse 'Complex Political Emergencies' by L. Cliffe and 'Protracted Social Conflict (PSC)' by Edward Azar. Thus, the field is packed with overlapping, similar and sometimes confusing terms. In the context of Sri Lanka, it is essential to analyze and understand the type, nature and dynamics of the conflict environment in order to transform conflict and build peace. Sri Lankan conflict shares most characteristics of PSCs. The following sections of this paper, therefore, clarify and define term 'protracted social conflict' which is very important to understand the Sri Lankan conflict.

This paper will examine Edward Azar's concepts of 'PSC' and relate them to analyse the Sri Lankan social conflict to highlight its usefulness. Since the introduction drew the attention to the previous wars, conflicts and the emergence of PSC, the second part of the essay will highlight the theoretical concepts of PSC and the third part will apply them to the Sri Lankan conflict. Finally, the paper concludes with the argument that, despite its usefulness to understand Sri Lankan conflict, Azar's concept has not paid enough attention to LTTE's trans-national network and civil society actors that are crucial in Sri Lankan context.

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- 1 Key qualitative turning points are: (1) the emergence of the so called sovereign dynastic state in Europe heralded by Machiavelli, Bodin and Hobbes from sixteenth centuries, (2) the coming of principle of popular sovereignty and national self-determination from the time of the American and French revolution, and (3) the bipolar stand-off at Great Power level after 1945 (Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, Miall 2006: 81).
  - 2 These concepts not only differ in semantics, but also in the classificatory criteria which they constitute. However these definitions have been quite vague and their use has often been inconsistent. Kriesberg suggested that elaborated criteria for classifying conflicts on the intractable-tractable dimension. On the one side of this dimension are found *tractable conflicts* which the parties in dispute attempt to resolve them through negotiation: they avoid violence, recognize mutual interests and accept each other's identity and rights. The other pole is constituted by *intractable conflicts*, which are prolonged, involve great animosity and vicious cycles of violence: this type of conflict seems to be irreconcilable and self-perpetuating (Kriesberg, 1993).
  - 3 Conflicts which are neither purely inter-state nor purely domestic, but sprawl somewhere between the two, and often deep-seated, long-lasting and intractable (Lewerf, 1999: 3-4)

## 2. Protracted Social Conflict (PSC)

Edward Azar developed the idea of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) whilst researching internal conflicts in late 1970s and into the 1980s. This was when international relations specialists ‘stopped taking about the word as a whole, a diffuse and fragmented period’ (Azar & Burton, 1986: 15). A study of various conflicts around the world suggested that,

many conflicts currently active in the underdeveloped parts of the world are characterized by a blurred demarcation between internal and external sources and actors. Moreover there are multiple casual factors and dynamics, reflected in changing goals and targets. Finally these conflicts do not show clear starting and terminating points (Azar, 1990: 6).

PSC is defined in the first instance as ‘hostile interactions which extend over long periods of time with sporadic outbreaks of open warfare fluctuating in frequency and intensity’ (Azar, 1978: 50). PSCs flourish in environments of high politico-economic underdevelopment and manifest themselves in clashes over communal identity needs (Azar and Moon, 1986: 395). According to Azar’s studies the critical factor in PSC was that, it represented ‘the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institution and economic participation’ (Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999: 71). PSC can be endemic to a given society and are characterized by: temporal protractedness, fluctuations in intensity and frequency, conflict spillover from one realm to another, a tendency towards partial equilibrium, absence of an explicit termination, and blurred demarcation between internal and external sources of conflict (Azar and Moon, 1986: 394-395).

The concept of PSC emphasized that the sources of such conflicts lay predominantly within and across rather than exclusively between states with the following four clusters of variables identified as preconditions for their transformation to high level of intensity: communal content, human needs, governance and state role, and international linkage. Azar highlighted that in reality, the existence or even recognition of above four preconditions by communal groups may not lead to an overt or manifest conflict. He highlights three factors which he named as ‘process dynamics’ responsible for the activation of overt conflict: communal actions and strategies, state actions and strategies, and built-in mechanisms of conflict (Azar, 1990: 2-8).

The main contribution of PSC is that Azar refined our understanding of the nature and dynamics of particularly difficult forms of violent conflicts. He proposed that security and stability are linked to human dignity, quality of life, and true peace, rather than to military power and threat of force (Fisher, 1997: 78) and he made an explicit link between conflict resolution with economic, political and social development.

The Sri Lankan conflict shares most of the key characteristics of PSC. Therefore, following sections will discuss the above mentioned model within the context of Sri Lanka as a most suitable model to analyze the Sri Lankan conflict.

### **3. Azar's PSC Model and analysis of Sri Lankan Conflict**

#### **3.1 Overview of Conflict**

The PSC in Sri Lanka is rooted in the nation's history. When you visit Sri Lanka, it's hard to imagine that the island was once the ground of one of the bloodiest protracted social conflicts in history. Two ethnic groups – the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils – were engaged in a bitter military conflict until the military defeat of the LTTE in May 2009. Approximately 70,000 people have been killed since Tamils (LTTE) took up arms in the 1972, about 24 years after independence from British. The British, the last in a line of imperialists', ruled the island for 133 years with a policy of 'divide and rule' among the Sinhalese and Tamils. After independence Sinhalese dominated government promulgated new legislation aiming to restore local language, culture and religion that had been oppressed during colonial times. This resurrection came to be turned against Sri Lankan Tamils who had dominated white collar jobs, and Sinhalese felt that Tamils were over represented in relation to their percentage of the total population (**Appendix 1**). The post-1948 politics in Sri Lanka included disenfranchising plantation Tamils immediately after independence; bringing in 'Sinhala Only' language policy in 1958; introducing a university-admission reform in 1971 (**Appendix 2**), and the development programs of Tamil dominated Eastern part of the Sri Lanka with landless Sinhalese settlers. From the Tamils' point of view these policies made Sri Lanka into a Sinhalese nation state discriminating unfairly against them. They mobilized protest, first peacefully, but 1972 and onwards more and more violent means.

In 1972, V. Prabhakaran formed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), who were to become one of the world's most ruthlessly efficient guerrilla organizations, known for trademark suicide bombings. Tamil discontent, which had traditionally been expressed in small-scale unrest, turned into a full-scale guerrilla war after a 1983 anti-Tamil riot left 300 people, mostly Tamils, dead on the streets. While the conflict has been going on, there have been also a number of efforts to end the conflict through negotiations. In the past, there were two internal efforts to resolve the conflict. One was by the Premadasa administration in 1989-90 and the other was by Chandrika administration in 1994-95. There were three other third party mediation initiatives: The Thimpu Talks of 1985; India's efforts in 1987 (the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord); and Norwegian brokered Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) in 2002. In the wake of the failed peace process a new government pursued a highly effective 'war for peace' leading to the military defeat of the LTTE on the battlefields of the north east in May 2009. However, all the peace-making efforts failed to produce any fruitful and lasting outcomes as of this moment.

The conflict in Sri Lanka has many of characteristics of PSC. So, the following sections analyze and understand Sri Lankan conflict through Azar's framework of PSC.

#### **3.2 Genesis**

PSCs have typical preconditions that play an important role in shaping their genesis and account for

their long-lasting nature. There are mainly four clusters of variables in Azar's framework as preconditions. These are the communal content of a society; human needs; governance and the state's role; and international linkages (Azar, 1990: 7-12).

### 3.2.1 Communal content

According to Azar, the communal content of a society is the most important factor of a PSC. In many multi-communal societies, communal groups are typically placed in conflictual relationships through both historical rivalries and a colonial policy of 'divide and rule' (Fisher, 1997: 84). Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious country. More than 19 million people who inhabit island are divided into three major ethnic groups and four major religions. Its languages, its cultures, and its two most common religions all have historical roots in India. Buddhism is the religion of the Sinhalese<sup>4</sup>, Hinduism is associated with Tamil ethnicity<sup>5</sup>, and Muslims<sup>6</sup>, of whom the largest groups are Moors, are considered to be an ethnic group based on their religious cohesiveness. Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, has made converts among both Sinhalese and Tamils. There is an important distinction between Sri Lankan Tamils and the Indian Tamils brought as labors by the British in the 19th century, as the two groups differ in geographic locations, castes, and political interests (Lewer and William, 2002: 484-485; Nissan and Stirrat, 1997: 19-40). Azar's main analysis focused on identity groups and how individual interests and needs are met through their social groups. He highlighted two factors which are responsible for the rise in politically active multi-communal societies, which could be used to trace the roots of the Sri Lankan conflict. The first factor, the historical pattern of rivalry and contest among communal actors could be highlighted from the discourse over: original inhabitants, influence of Buddhism and Hinduism, and effects of Invasions.

Whether Sinhalese or Tamils settled first is a long discourse<sup>7</sup>. But 'neither Sinhalese nor Tamils remained pure' due to intermarriages (De Silva, 1981: 13). The introduction of Buddhism in 3<sup>rd</sup> Century

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4 Sinhalese (74.0%) are the majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka. Its language, Sinhalese, is Aryan in origin and the group traces its roots to North India (DCS, 1986).

5 Tamil is the second largest ethnic group in Sri Lanka. The Tamils are Dravidian, originating in South India. There are two groups of Tamils in Sri Lanka: the so-called Sri Lankan Tamils (12.7%), who may be migrated to the island 7<sup>th</sup> century onward, and the plantation Tamils (5.5%), brought as laborers by the British in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (DCS, 1986). The two groups differ in caste, location, and political goals. The latter group, largely low-caste plantation labors in the central highlands, has not been associated with the armed conflict. Although they speak the Tamil language, they are a distinct community with few ties to the Sri Lankan Tamils, and are even represented by their own political party, which does not support the concept of a separate Tamil state. The LTTE comes from the former group (De Silva, 1998: 7-20).

6 Muslims, who make up 7.3 percent of the population, comprise a group of minorities practicing the religion of Islam (DCS, 1986). The Muslim community is divided into three main sections; the Sri Lankan Moors, the Indian Moors, and the Malays, each with its history and traditions.

7 The 'aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon were "Yakkhas" and "Nagas"' (Tennent, 1977: 283). One could conclude these arguments since Ariyans (Sinhalese) and with Dravidians (Tamils) are from India. (Mendis, 1940: 2; Tennent, 1977: 283).

created a new community and developed a separate language. ‘The Sinhalese were converted to Buddhism’ (Kearney, 1973: 22). Invasions<sup>8</sup> introduced more Tamil speaking people from South India and the Tamils largely retained their Hindu religion. According to de Silva:

There is no firm evidence as to when the Dravidians first came to the island, but they did come from very old times, either as invaders or peaceful immigrants (de Silva, 1981: 12).

Three Hindu empires in South India—the Pandya, Pallava and Chola—were becoming more assertive; Sinhalese and their religion Buddhism was becoming vulnerable to absorption by Dravidians and their religion Hinduism. The Tamil threat to Sinhalese kingdoms became very real in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. By the middle of the ninth century, South Indian Pandya had invaded Northern Part of the island and sacked the Sinhalese kingdom Anuradhapura. In this way, over the centuries the Sinhalese kingdoms shifted southwards to avoid Tamil invasions in the North and by the 13<sup>th</sup> century there was a geographical separation of the two social groups and by 16<sup>th</sup> century three kingdoms came to exist<sup>9</sup>. As an outcome ‘Hinduism became as much a living religion in the North as Buddhism had been in the rest of the Island’ (Arasaratnam, 1964: 104). During these periods legitimacy to rule the country was to ‘support and protection of Buddhism, regardless of the ruler’s ethnic identity’. Little concludes:

Ethnic boundaries in the pre-modern period were indistinct and permeable. ....Ancient Sinhala cities reveal significant Tamil artistic and architectural influences, and the monarchy was not rigidly determined by ethnicity. Tamils are known to have ruled, often converting to Buddhism, even in Sinhala bastions like the city of Kandy in central Sri Lanka (Little, 1999: 45).

At the time of arrival of colonial powers both Sinhalese and Tamils were in a state of insecurity due to a ‘double minority’ complex as a result of ‘the geo-political demographic factor’(Roberts, 2001: 20). These differences and wars contributed emerging identities among the Sinhalese *vis-à-vis* the Tamils and both drew on mythical history and events of this historical period to raise nationalism after the independence (Lewer & William, 2002: 487).

The second factor of colonial legacy-application of ‘divide and rule’ could be highlighted through colonial administrative system which created a new society: imposed integration, introduction of Indian Tamils for plantation work, establishment of missionary schools, introduction of English language for administration and giving more preference to Tamils in civil service jobs, village community groups and new class and castes based social system, religious revivalism and dominance of Christians, and introduction of a representation system in colonial governance.

Azar’s argument on ‘imposed integration or incorporation of distinctive and often

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8 First invasion took place in the year 177 BC by Sena and Kuttika. Due to continuous invasions, Sinhalese had to abandon civilization in dry zone (Anuradhapura) in the northern and eastern areas of the island and they shifted the kingdoms to the wet zone (De Silva, 1981: 15, 67, and 84-87).

9 Magha, an invader from Kalinga province of South India, destroyed the Kingdom of Polonnaruwa and two new Kingdoms emerged as Jaffna (for Tamils) and Dambadeniya (for Sinhalese) (Pathmanathan, 1978: 5).

conflictual communities into one political entity retards the nation-building process... eventually breeds fragmentation and PSC' (Azar, 1990: 7) could be clearly related to the administrative proclamation which linked the Kandyan Kingdom with Maritime Provinces and the Colebrooke Reforms of 1833 which established the unified administration,<sup>10</sup> disregarding ethnic and cultural differences. It is the 'main turning points of the colonial project of centralizing state structure' (Bastian, 1999: 6).

Colonial rule introduced Burgers and Indian Tamils to the social structure and made different identity groups. Further, they introduced the English language to the society as the language of administration and set up the institutional framework. Missionary schools were more common in the regions dominated by the Tamils. They got preference for civil service jobs and also given first choice of coveted positions in the education system (Azar, 1990: 67). A village community system, creating of new races, increasing the gap between castes, distribution of wealth based on loyalties, few land-ownerships, status system<sup>11</sup>, liquor traders, acquisition of large tracts of land by wealthy people, and limited access to English education made few rich people and their relations get involved in politics<sup>12</sup> and the caste bitterness appeared in politics by 1911<sup>13</sup>. The Jaffna Tamil caste system had an 'inverted pyramided structure' with the 'vellalas' (Tamil farmers) dominated (Jayawardena, 2000: 165).

Cultural and religious revivalism, and protest against the dominance of Christians and Christianity made a common cause to fight against and as a result separate identities of the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims occurred (Kearney, 1973: 28; Jayawardena, 2000: 122, 273). Later riots took place against Muslims<sup>14</sup> and when unemployment levels rose for the first time communal tension against Indian Tamils increased (Nissan and Stirrat, 1990: 33).

The British introduced political representation on an ethnic basis and some ethnic categories became politically significant (Nissan and Stirrat, 1997: 27-28). This started with the 1833 Colebrook-Cameron

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10 At the time of the first colonial, 'Portuguese' conquest, there were three separate Kingdoms. Though Kotte and Jaffna Kingdoms fell to the Portuguese, the Dutch and to the British at different times during the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the regions under their control were not brought under a unified administration until the British unified the island in 1833 (Jacob, 2000: 294).

11 The development of the economic sphere, communications and administrative systems, land owners, creating new state owners and planters and new employments broke up the village and the districts family system and the caste structure. People began to congregate in towns thus leading to the expansion of the 'twin' middle class.

12 Jayawardena argues that 'it was in the two legislative Councils of 1921-24 and 1925-30 that the sons and sons-in-law of the 19<sup>th</sup> century rich families and large landowners were to find their political voices' (Jayawardena, 2000: 342). Thus the 'charisma' of political leadership reinforced by wealth, land-ownership, status and caste survived into the years after independence (2000: 350).

13 Tamil politician P Ramanathan (vellala caste-equivalent to Sinhalese goigama), win over Sinhalese Dr Marcus Fernando (Karava caste) (Jayawardena, 2000: 335).

14 These incidents took place as a result of Arumuga Navalar (1822-1879) attacks on Christian missionaries and when the Buddhist Revivalist movement directed the campaign against 'alien traders' (Jayawardena, 2000: 273). With the escalation of politics after Sri Lanka's independence and the escalation of war in the 1980s and 1990s a true Muslim discourse emerged (Frerks, Georg, Bart, 2004: 18).



reforms when three unelected members were nominated to legislative council by Governors. The outcome of general elections to legislative council in 1921 and 1924 highlights two divisions, one among Sinhalese between the Kandyan and the low country and the second, conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils (de Silva, 1981: 389). These events lead to the Tamils to forming an explicit Tamil identity party 'Tamil Mahajana Sabha'<sup>15</sup> (Wickramasinha, 1995: 44) an 'unfortunate but inevitable consequence' (Warnapala, 1994: 41). As Edward Azar notes:

British colonial actions led the Tamils and Sinhalese communities, and to a degree the Muslims of the island, to fear that their unique cultural identities were being threatened (Azar, 1990: 67).

### 3.2.2 Human needs

Azar argues that 'grievances resulting from need deprivation are usually expressed collectively' (Azar, 1990: 9). He explains that, 'individuals strive to fulfill their developmental human needs<sup>16</sup> through the formation of identity groups' (Azar, 1990: 7). Azar's main categories under human needs are: need of effective participation in society to fulfill basic material needs-development, and access to political and economic power-political access. Unequal access to political system to gain human needs could be highlighted even before the independence in Sri Lanka.

Starting from Colebrooke-Cameron reforms and when 'communal representation' changed to 'territorial representation' and the Donoughmore constitution which gave 'one person one vote' which made the Sinhalese majority dominate politics and prevented Tamils effective participation in society to fulfill their basic material needs- development. In front of the Soulbury commission, Tamil politicians forwarded the grievances of 'equality of representation' and 'constitutional safe guards' requesting access to political and economic power-political access, since 'by every accepted universal norm, the legislation was unjust and discriminatory' (Hoole et. al., 1988: 6). When individuals' tried to gain basic human needs such as security needs, development needs, political access needs, and identity needs, Sinhalese and Tamils mistrust occurred and thereafter both parties commenced to mobilize their grievances. Therefore, at the very beginning of independence, the creation of national identity could not achieve the desired effect of unity between all communities.

### 3.2.3 Governance and the state's role

According to Azar 'governance and the state role' is the critical factor in satisfaction or frustration of

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15 Important change came when thirteen Sinhalese and three Tamil members were elected to Legislative Council in 1921 Tamils left the Ceylon National Congress and formed explicit Tamil identity party All Ceylon Tamil Congress (Wickramasinha, 1995: 44). Subsequently it was split by Mr S. J. V. Chelvanayagam and he raised the Federal party and they virtually advance a quasi-separatist claim for self-rule.

16 The most obvious ontological need is individual and communal physical survival and well being. Individuals or communal survival is contingent upon the satisfaction of material needs (Azar: 1990: 7).



individual and identity groups needs. He highlighted this with three factors. First, the state is endowed with authority to govern and to use force where necessary to regulate society, to protect citizens, and to provide collective goods in that to promote communal harmony and social stability (Azar, 1990: 10). Post-independence Sri Lanka was primarily conceived in accordance with the colonial legacy of centralization and ‘Ethnic majoritarian construction of state power’ (Uyangoda, 2006: 9). The first landmark failure is disenfranchisement (the Citizenship Act) of the bulk of Indian Tamil brought by British rulers in 1948. It raised the question of rights of minorities. With the introduction of the Citizenship Act, Tamil politicians started again<sup>17</sup> to voice their grievances and requested a ‘power sharing’ federal system of which is still the main issue. Further, legitimacy of the state, failure of good governance, political leadership and party politics after post independence too could be highlighted<sup>18</sup> under this factor.

Political authority tends to be monopolized by dominant groups or a coalition of hegemonic groups with these groups maximizing their interests at the expense of others leads to ‘crises of legitimacy’ (Azar, 1990: 10). The emergence of Sinhalese nationalism<sup>19</sup> as a dominant political force by 1956 and the passage of the ‘Sinhala Only’ Act in the same year is a very good example of the above. The acceptance of majoritarian democracy, which made Sinhalese the official language, directly paved the way for a reduction of employment in civil service for Tamils and increased educated Sinhalese youth, to compete with Tamils for employment. Grievances of Tamils or protest against this language act led to riots and worsened the two communities’ relationships. Other examples are: the first republican constitution of 1972 which gave pre-eminent position to Buddhism, Sinhala language, and little attention to minorities by removing safeguards (Article 29); the 1978 constitution and amendments to it with extra laws were promulgated to strengthen the coercive power of the state; and the presidential system. This ‘centralized the state structure even further. A turning point of this process was the infamous fraudulent referendum in 1982 to postponement of general election’ (Bastian, 1999: 31).

The third factor is ‘developing countries characterized by rapid population growth and a limited resource base’ which leads to a diminished ‘policy capacity’ of the state (Azar, 1990: 10). Due to the political pressure on decision making by the dominant Sinhalese identity groups, policy capacity was limited due to rigid and fragile authority structure preventing the state from responding to meeting the needs of various constituents. The competition for scarce resources and scarce economic opportunities started from ethnic lines. Thereafter any democratic actions implemented to achieve social developments

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17 In the late 1920s some political leaders and representatives of certain ethnic groups had put forward the idea of a federal constitution for Sri Lanka (Bastian, 1999: 6).

18 The rule of law prevails, fundamental rights are protected, the judiciary is independent, free and fair periodic elections, public service is free of bribery and corruption, transparency in public activities, the rights of minorities are protected, and the control of crime rate and it to be very low.

19 ‘Buddhist Theosophical Society formed by Colonel Henry Olcott and local Buddhist in 1880 started a movement for the establishment of Buddhist schools to challenge missionaries in the field of modern education’ (Jayawardena, 2000: 265).

or facilities to fulfill basic needs: ‘colonization schemes’, mainly *Mahaweli* development program, education policies such as ‘standardization’, settlement policies which changed the electoral balance in the East, administrative restructuring to suit the majority to win elections were criticized by the Tamils. The monopolization of power of the dominant Sinhalese community results in ‘crises of legitimacy’ as the state is not able any longer to meet the political access, security and acceptance needs of the excluded Tamils any longer (Azar, 1990: 10-11).

### 3.2.4 International linkages

As Azar notes that:

Formation of domestic social and political institutions and their impact on the role of the state are greatly influenced by the patterns of linkage with the international system (Azar, 1990: 11).

Azar highlighted the formation of domestic social and political institutions and their impact on the role of the state under two patterns of international linkage. The first pattern is ‘the economic dependency within the international economic system’ (Azar, 1990: 11). ‘Violent conflict has had enormous costs in terms of Sri Lanka’s physical, financial, human social capital. Apart from the direct impact on human lives and suffering, it has cost approximately 2% of GDP per year’ (DFID, 2000: 7). As a result, the Sri Lankan government more and more depends on rich and strong states.

Sri Lanka received on average a total of \$898 million p.a. in official aid through loans and grants in recent years, an amount equivalent to 7% GDP, slightly larger than the government’s public investment budget (DFID, 2000: 34).

Eighty five percent of development funding comes through the World Bank, Asia Development Bank and the Japanese external assistance program. During the 1990s the average annual ADB public sector lending to Sri Lanka amounted to \$140 million. Since 1950, Sri Lanka has received 89 loans amounting \$2.5 billion from WB. Among the leading bilateral donors are Germany, Norway, Netherlands, Sweden, and USA<sup>20</sup>. UK is an influential player due to economic and historical links. A degree of dependence is unavoidable since Sri Lanka is much dependent on the World Bank, Western and Eastern countries, and NGOs assistance for development<sup>21</sup>. Therefore Sri Lanka has to comply with their demands<sup>22</sup> such as promotion of liberalization and structural adjustment, good governance, human rights, and to force nego-

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20 It has been argued that historically, countries with large expatriate Tamil populations such as Norway and Canada have been more critical of the Sri Lankan government and pushed more actively for a political response to Tamil grievances. The United States has tended to work more closely with the government of Sri Lanka and designated LTTE as a terrorist organization. USA has also been providing anti-terrorist equipment since 1994 (DFID, 2000; Haniffa, 2000).

21 Aid in the 1960s and 1970s was initially focused on support to the state. After 1977 its primary focus has been the promotion of liberalisation and structural adjustment. In recent years added to this has been an increased focus on governance, human rights and poverty alleviation. Since the 1980s donors have also provided humanitarian aid to the North East (DFID, 2000: 9).

tiation to be a recipient of Aid, loans and grants.

Similarly, Tamil militancy has had similar complications when they receive assistance from ‘transnational networks’, Tamil diaspora<sup>23</sup>, NGOs, and terrorist organizations. Since their economic system mainly depends on illegal trade, smuggling, drug trafficking, the arms trade and illegal shipping which is directly against the international economic system. They too have to share resources and knowledge for survival, and to comply with strong supporters. Diaspora live beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the state, making resolving a conflict domestically impossible and when trying to get international support it ‘limits the autonomy of the state, distorts the pattern of the economy, and impeding the satisfaction of security needs’ (Azar, 1990: 11). The LTTE was successful at depicting Tamils abroad as a ‘Victim diaspora’. The formation of communal networks in the Tamil diaspora has enabled the LTTE to engage in protracted insurgency against the Sri Lankan government army. The Tamil diaspora of 850,000 living in Western Europe and North America has bank rolled LTTE is common knowledge (DFID, 2000: 19). The combination of greater political freedom, community organizing and access to advanced communications and financial resources in receiving states has allowed Tamil separatists in the diaspora to maintain a ‘trans-national communal network’ which is in turn used to mobilize funds that have protracted the separatists’ campaign in Sri Lanka (Wayland, 2004: 405-426). The trans-national network of LTTE continues to fuel and sustain the Sri Lankan conflict.

The second pattern is ‘political and military client relationship with strong states’ (Azar, 1990: 11). When the Citizenship Act of 1948, created a misunderstanding within Sri Lanka and with its neighbors, it opened new political ties and made the Indian government a permanent representative to Tamils (Farmer, 1963: 69). Sri Lanka’s social conflict of the mid and late 1970s and early 1980s and especially the anti-Tamil riots of 1983 created conditions specially for India and other rich and strong states such as USA and UK to play a major role in the Sri Lankan affairs (De Silva, 1998: 197). After ‘black July’ in 1983, due to the government failure to condemn or quell the anti-Tamil violence, Tamil youths began to participate in the insurgency movement in large numbers. As a result, full-scale war erupted in the North and East in Sri Lanka<sup>24</sup>. This had two effects: first, it ‘internationalized’ the conflict, and second, it raised strong emotions among the Tamils of neighboring India (Tamil Nadu) (Lewer and William, 2002: 485). The key external element of Sri Lankan conflict has been the role of India. India has been both a power mediator and a protagonist in the conflict. In 1984, then President J.R. Jayewardena sought ‘anti-terrorist’ assistance from the United States and Britain to counter the growing Tamil insurgency (Wayland, 2004: 413). India

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22 To donor objectives and instruments of two categories: interest and concerns, and policies. These two fall into categories of: foreign affairs, trade and investment, immigration and refugees, human rights, and Aid (DFID, 2000: 9).

23 The Tamil diaspora is about 850,000 in Western Europe and North America (DFID, 2000: 19).

24 There are 55 million Tamils in South India who have been sympathetic to the worsening plight of their relatives in Sri Lanka. Specially, ‘this sympathy has been expressed in the form of sanctuary, weapons, and political support’(Azar, 1990: 70).

occupied Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka in 1987, hoping to disarm the LTTE and other Tamil militants and impose order in the regions (Gunaratna, 1998: 118-128). The events took place from the Indo-Lanka accord<sup>25</sup> and ‘treaty obligation’ (Rupesinghe, 2006: xiix) are good examples of what Edward Azar highlighted in the outcomes:

Sacrifices of autonomy and independence, which induces the client state to pursue domestic and foreign policies disjoined from, or contradictory to, the needs of its own public (Azar, 1990: 11).

The killing of Indian Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi by LTTE created a permanent link or regionalized the conflict. Further, the Pakistan government involvement of political and military support to the Sri Lankan government, their subsequent action of getting Muslim countries to support Eastern province Muslims to raise against Tamil extremists specially after the ‘tsunami’, effect of 9/11 and ‘war on terrorism’, and Sri Lankan support to it can also be highlighted under this factor. The roles and effects of the peace process to the conflict by international actors, especially Norway, Japan, support of USA, EU, donor countries and international NGOs and key role of India<sup>26</sup> could also be discussed under this factor.

In this way the sovereign of Sri Lankan state is increasingly dependent on international linkages; that is, the state is politically and economically compromised by both economic and military dependency on rich and strong states (Azar; 1990: 11).

### **3.3 Process Dynamics**

As Azar notes, preconditions for the rise of a PSC are not enough. His model of the process dynamics of PSCs illustrates factors which are responsible for the activation of open conflicts. Azar identifies three clusters of variables as process dynamics for PSCs: communal actions and strategies; state actions and strategies; and built-in properties of conflict (Azar, 1990: 12).

#### **3.3.1 Communal Actions and Strategies**

As Azar argues ‘a PSC remains latent until some effective triggers begin to operate. When organizational and communication systems break down within an environment of mutual distrust between groups, PSC can begin to escalate’ (Azar, 1990: 12). Individual grievances become collectively recognized. ‘This leads to collective protest, which is typically met with suppression, thus increasing tension and resulting in a proliferation of issues around security, acceptance, and access needs’ (Fisher, 1997: 85). Community mobilization and levels of organization move to diverse strategies potentially involving civil disobedi-

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25 Initially Indian peace keeping force role was to prevent violence between two parties, subsequently changed role of fighting with LTTE and it made India to get involved in more deeply. It made mass protests and rioting. It leads to temporary merger of the northern and eastern province and subsequence action of devolution of power through 13<sup>th</sup> amendment.

26 Indian support for ‘any interim arrangement needed to be an open and integral part of the final settlement and within the framework of the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka’ (Rupasinghe, 2006: ii) which contradicts Tamil homeland concepts of LTTE.

ence, guerrilla warfare or separatist movements (Azar, 1990: 14).

Sinhalese and Tamil communal actions and strategies could be highlighted very clearly starting from colonial period question of equality of representation<sup>27</sup>. The 1957 B-C and 1965 D-C Pacts for power sharing could not materialize due to communal actions<sup>28</sup>. Tamil communal actions of 1961, ‘civil disobedience–*satyagraha*’ and Chelvanayakam inaugurated ‘postal service’ created riots. The arrest of Tamil politicians widened the gap between two communities further (Swamy, 1994: 14-15). With the new constitution of 1972 a large section of Tamils<sup>29</sup> of the north acknowledged the idea of a ‘separate state’ (De Silva, 1981: 551). The late Kumar Ponnambalam put it very bluntly when he said in a TV interview that:

The Tamil people have graduated from ‘grievances’ to ‘aspirations’. The Tamils don’t have an independent state and the conflict here has become a kind of spectator sport for Tamils living in Tamil Nadu, Malaysia, South Africa, and elsewhere in the world, where the state is far too strong for them to even think of doing what they do here in Sri Lanka. So this conflict is bound up with aspirations for an independent state and has gone beyond mere grievances (defence.lk, 2007).

In this sense, the Sri Lanka communal conflict is no longer just a case of grievances. The killing of Alfred Durayappah, the SLFP organizer in 1973 by Tamil youths began the insurgency stage of the conflict. When Tamil youth increased the insurgency and counter actions of government, Tamils came out with the 1976 ‘Vaddukadai Resolution’ to fight for a separate state<sup>30</sup>.

Soon, there were instances of ‘boys killing boys’<sup>31</sup> and the Eelam Liberation Tigers calling for:

Public supports to wipe out ‘anti social elements’ and the subsequent killings of political

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27 Due to the question of ‘equality of representation’ Tamils breakaway from Ceylon National Congress and formed Tamil Mahajana Saba and later created Federal Party leads to Tamil and Sinhalese nationalism. As a result of this Sinhalese promoted the ‘Sinhala-Buddhist’ slogans at elections and finally created majority ruled governance system.

28 In August 1956, one month after the ‘Official Language Act’ had been passed, the Federal Party (FP) made 4 main demands to the government. They were for federal constitution, equality of status of Tamil and Sinhala languages; granting of citizenship to Plantation Tamils; and an immediate halt to resettlement program in eastern province which were seen as traditional Tamil homeland by Tamil nationalists. Eleven month later, after significant agitation, Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (SLFP) and FP leader Chelvanayakam agreed to the pact and signed on 26 July 1957 which commonly known as the B-C Pact. This offered devolution of power to Tamil dominated regional councils and recognition of Tamil as a national minority language. Sinhalese nationalist opposition to the B-C Pact was so strong and government had to publicly abrogate it in April 1958.

The FP responded to the abrogation of the B-C Pact by agitation campaign and this action often provoked counter protest campaign by Sinhalese. This heightened ethnic tension and polarization. However, the FP tried again to reach a negotiated agreement with the UNP government in 1965 which commonly known as the Senanayake-Chelvanayakam (S-C) Pact. This Pact was similar to the B-C Pact in content and were not implemented too.

29 Backing of Tamil United Front formed by Tamil youths, the Federal party leader resigned his parliamentary seat and said, ‘Tamil people of Ceylon should have the right to determine their future, whether they are to be a subject race in Ceylon or they are to be a free people’ (Wilson, 2000: 105).

opponents made Tamils flee to India. This combined with the increased number of refugees, 'internationalized' the conflict, and raised strong emotions among Tamils of Tamil-Nadu (Lewer & William, 2002: 485).

Thereafter, Western countries got involved to pressurize the government for human rights violations and then both parties for negotiations. The outcome of 'boys killing boys' made other militant groups join with the government and fight against the LTTE. This also raised the question of the LTTE's claim of sole representation of the Tamil community, and whether they would be able to come to power through democratic systems.

Further, because of LTTE provocations and suicide attack strategy, tension between 'opposing forces for 'peace' or 'anti peace' and 'anti war' organizations and civil society activities could be discussed. Specially, the local NGOs funded by foreign aid found themselves in opposing camps in dealing with critical issues of the country even after the military defeat of LTTE in May 2009.

### 3.3.2 State actions and Strategies

According to Azar PSC can be resolved or at least kept latent if the 'state actions and strategies accommodates communal grievances and improves the communal needs. The use of 'non accommodation strategy' by Sinhalese dominant political or norm of 'winner-take-all' and use of 'coercive repression' or 'instrumental co-option' lead to upward spiral of violent classes between Tamils and Sinhalese and client ties facilitate direct and indirect intervention of external powers<sup>32</sup>. Examples of these (constitutions and policies) could be highlighted, as direct results of state actions and strategies: the 1972 constitution, Presidential system and the new constitution in 1978, Prevention of Terrorism Act passed in 1979<sup>33</sup>. The conflict went out of government control in the 1983 riots, known as 'Black July'<sup>34</sup> when the government could not prevent it. As a result Tamils fled to India and Western countries. 1983 riots 'opened a floodgate of young Tamils to various Tamil militant groups' (Swamy, 1994: 96). This was further aggravated when the TULF preferred to forfeit their seats in parliament in preference to taking an oath against advocacy of separatism<sup>35</sup> (De Silva, 1993: 61). This removed a 'critical channel for mediation' (Reddy, 2003: 98). A

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30 'It was also a resolution that was born out of the other internal imperatives of the Jaffna political culture, which, incidentally, had a long history of violence, oppression and denial of fundamental human rights to a significant segment of its own disempowered people who, from birth, were destined to serve as virtual slaves to the 'vellahla' high caste' (Mahindapala, 2005: 61).

31 Fighting between Tamil militant groups such as Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (Swamy, 1994: 81).

32 Azar notes that, under these circumstances states try to contain a conflict situation within a national boundary by getting the help from domestic communal actors and external support groups. When such containment strategies has failed, 'the existing dependency and client ties facilitate direct or indirect intervention of external powers' and amplifies the scope of the conflict and also makes it more protracted (Azar, 1990: 14-15).

33 Some analysts argue that PTA is the 'engine of state terrorism' (Lewer & William, 2002: 487).

34 When LTTE ambushed and killed 13 government soldiers riots started.

military operation against the unilateral declaration of independence in the north by LTTE in 1987 lead to change the character of the internal conflict when Tamil Nadu and the Indian Government openly assisted the LTTE and subsequent early actions of 'Indian intervention' which lead to the Indo-Lanka accord (De Silva, 1993: 63-64).

Similarly, all governments' strategies of war and peace negotiations and effects could be discussed under this factor to analyze the PSC. The following were the main events: The initial counter insurgency actions of order to 'crush of Tamil militancy' in 1979, then the failure to prevent 1983 black July, and the failure to introduce devolution of power through a regional autonomy framework which was discussed at the all party conference soon after the 1983 'Black July'. Thereafter, there were unsuccessful negotiations of: Thimpu talks in 1985, the 1986 Colombo peace talks and the outcomes of Indo-Lanka accord, the Indian Peacekeeping Force and its effects, the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment, the President Premadasa actions of demanding Indians to leave the country and direct talks with LTTE. The subsequent counter insurgency actions against the southern and northern insurgency increased the intensity of military operations and made militarized societies. The 1994 People Alliance government devolution of power proposals and subsequent action of 'war for peace', the campaign to liberate Jaffna from LTTE - 'Operation Riviresa', action against LTTE war 'unceasing waves', the ban on LTTE organization and getting foreign countries also to label it as a terrorist organization and its effects increased the military option to weaken the LTTE to bring them to the negotiation table. The recent most complicated actions are: 2002 cease fire agreement with UNP government and LTTE<sup>36</sup> and implications of Sri Lanka Monitoring Missions, actions against the interim self governing authority requested by LTTE, six rounds of peace talks and the inability to resolve the conflict through 'Oslo communiqué'<sup>37</sup>, and actions of previous government and current President Maithripala Sirisena after the military defeat of LTTE.

### 3.3.3 Built-in Mechanisms of Conflict

Azar argues that:

The perceptions and motivations behind the behavior of the state and communal actors are conditioned by the experiences, fears, and belief system of each communal group (Azar, 1990: 15).

In a situation of limited or lack of communication and understanding between communal groups, there is little possibility to accommodation. Keeping tolerance and acceptance of

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35 As a result of 'Sixth Amendment to the constitution' imposed a ban on all political parties and individuals that advocated separatism.

36 Absence of a strong social support base and exclusion of Muslim political parties are the major weak points (Uyangoda, 2006: 373).

37 'The parties agree to explore a solution based on the principle of internal self-determination in areas of historic habitation of the Tamil-speaking people, based on a federal structure within a united Sri Lanka' changed from Thimpu demands of recognition: Tamils of Sri Lanka as a nation, existence of an identified homeland for the Tamils in Sri Lanka, right of self determination of the Tamil nation (Lewer & William, 2002: 488).



diversity in the community becomes difficult. At this stage, hostility begets hostility and the process becomes institutionalized (Azar, 1990: 15). As we have seen, the Sinhalese historical memories of military invasions by the South Indian kings, discrimination against Sinhalese during the colonial period, mass agitations and military campaigns by militant Tamils after independence created a sense of insecurity in the Sinhalese psyche.

On the other hand, Tamils perceived the post-independence political order in Sri Lanka as one which not only imposed disabilities on their cultural, economic, and political advancement—Citizenship Act, Franchise Law, ‘Official Language Act’, the policy of ‘Standardization’ in higher education and state-sponsored peasant colonization programs are such policy measure—but also neglected Tamil dominated Northern and Eastern provinces from the mainstream of economic development. Moreover, the communal violence of July 1983 became the most crucial incident in turning Tamil nationalist politics into the path of separatism. By this stage, Sinhalese and Tamil hostility is institutionalized and thereby conflict became intractable.

### 3.4 Outcome Analysis

When a conflict is ended by military means, one party wins and the other loses. Therefore it brings ‘zero-sum’ outcomes. But PSCs result in negative-sum outcomes because of their innate behavioral properties: *protractedness, fluctuation, and issue spill-over* (Azar, 1990: 15). There are no winners or losers in this type of conflict. All the parties to the conflicts are victimized in the process. In the case of Sri Lanka, the conflict continued in intensity, claiming hundreds of lives from both government and LTTE sides as well as civilians until military defeat of the LTTE on the battlefields of in May 2009<sup>38</sup>. The Sri Lankan PSC has turned out to be one of the costliest events in the Indian subcontinent in terms of the loss of civilian lives, the destruction of property, and the killing of political leaders in Sri Lanka and India. Apart from the former Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and President R. Premadasa of Sri Lanka, several prominent political leaders belonging to both the Tamil and Sinhalese communities on the island have been direct victims of the conflicts (Sadadeval, 2006; Richardson, and Samarasinghe, 1991: 194-223). In this way, Tamil and Sinhalese become victimized in a process that has no end and becomes part of the culture of the society. As we illustrated before, the most obvious outcome is the deterioration of social security and social infrastructures.

In Sri Lanka, development programs since 1983 fall victim to excessive military expenditures and a

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38 ‘The cost of the Sri Lankan war is high. The direct military expenditure on the war by the government and the LTTE amounts to Rs.295 billion. The total cost of damage, including the cost of repair and replacement, is over Rs.137 billion at 1998 prices. The cumulative loss of output in the North and East due to the war is estimated to be of Rs.273 billion in 1998 prices. Estimates put the total number of people killed at 70,000 up to 2007. Of these around half are civilians. Displacement from all communities numbers about 800,000, out of which around 40,000 families are housed in basic welfare centre. The number of people who have left the country because of the war is thought to be around 250,000’ (Witharana, 2000: 4).

vicious cycle of underdevelopment affects all Tamil, Sinhalese and Muslim communities. Psychological ossification of perceptions and attitudes results from the vicious cycle of fear and hostility and contributes to a culture of disharmony in which meaningful communication among Tamil and Sinhalese is nonexistent. Both government and Tamil (LTTE) experience increased dependency. Also government and LTTE seek outside support and as a result, both are further weakened and marginalized (Fisher, 1997: 87).

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusion

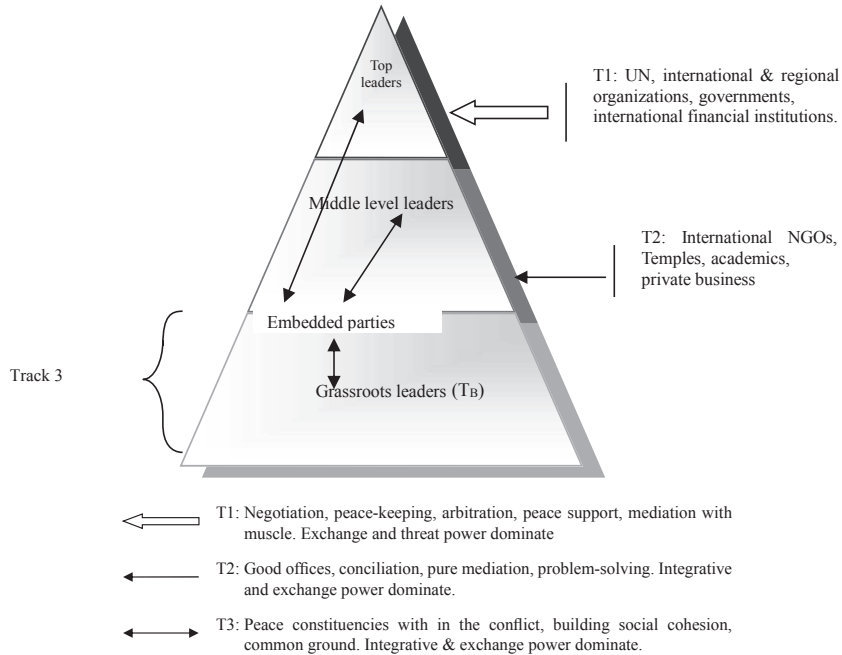
As we have done, in the light of Azar's concept of PSC, the main objective of this paper was to analyze and understand the Sri Lankan conflict from a PSC perspective. Azar's framework is useful in understanding the current post-war situation, and it represents an adequate tool with which to explain the 'genesis', 'dynamics' and 'outcome' of the Sri Lankan conflict. As we have discussed, the conflict in Sri Lanka constitutes a PSC in which a complex set of unresolved grievances eventually festered and erupted into systematic violence and widespread repression.

Protracted social conflict erupts in deeply divided societies, but ethnic, cultural, and religious heterogeneity *per se* is not a fundamental cause for the PSC in Sri Lanka. Rather, it provides the structural framework in which groups with incompatible norms and values compete with each other to promote their identity-related needs or interests. 'Heterogeneity is characterized by distinct historical roots of origin, religion of groups, and language' (Sadadevan, 2006). These elements collectively contribute to the development of each group's communal consciousness. As noted, the conflict raging in Sri Lanka is a long-drawn out event. It is between Tamils (LTTE) and government (Sinhalese) with highly incompatible goals. The changing dynamics of the conflict have been marked by the changing conflict goals and the conflict behavior of the Sinhalese and Tamil (LTTE) community. Inter-communal relations between both communal groups generally have been difficult, with deep distrust and strong fears going back many years. Giving this situation, Sri Lanka has been unable to establish the mechanism of a strong state to provide economic and physical security for its people.

The colonial legacy of disintegrated Sri Lankan society and unmet needs for cultural identity, communal security, and effective participation in decision-making have combined with external interventions (governments, INGO, NGOs) to produce a complex, tragic, and seemingly irresolvable situation. While Sri Lanka has a diverse and articulate civil society actors such as INGOs and LNOGs, it should not be assumed that all civil society actors are benign and act as constructive forces for peace. Certain elements of civil society are promoters of the conflict. Tamil people in Sri Lanka have a genuine problem, which needs a political solution; what Sri Lanka need is international community's and civil society actors' (both INGOs and LNOGs) honest assistance to solve the problem, but merely blotting out separatists' (LTTE) crimes would not help. On the other hand, Sri Lankan people (including authorities) should learn from their past mistakes. They should learn to respect and accept diversity. Sri Lankan should raise above all

differences, breaking man-made barriers and demolishing walls around them. Peace must be found within the intellectual and moral solidarity of the citizen of Sri Lanka. International community and civil society actors can help for this. Thus, while addressing underlying conditions for Sri Lankan conflict such as identity, security, and recognition that Azar is suggesting, one also has to identify key actors and their motives, decisions, actions, inter-relationships and the structures where under these factors operate in order to handle the conflict and build peaceful environment.

By studying and analyzing the Sri Lankan conflict with the insight of Azar's concept of PSC, we are able to understand and may find a solution to the Sri Lankan conflict. However, peace-building can be as a complex phenomenon as the Sri Lankan conflict itself. As we have seen, many efforts have been made by internal, regional and international parties to mediate the Sri Lankan conflict to reach a settlement. Several agreements and accords have been signed. Although Sri Lankan government has defeated LTTE militarily, Sri Lanka is still far from reaching resolution which might lead to sustainable peace. The complexity involved in reaching a sustainable solution to the Sri Lankan conflict stems from the fact that it is a deep-seated PSC. All Sri Lankans are directly involved, and the roots of the conflict dig deep into the social structure, creating enmity between Sinhalese (GoSL) and Tamils. Therefore, resolving the Sri Lankan conflict requires a long-time commitment, and must be done over several stages.



**Diagram (1): adopted from Ramsbotham; Woodhouse and Mial (2006: 26), Multi-track conflict resolution**

In the Sri Lankan context, it is necessary to operate simultaneously at T1, T2 and T3 levels, ‘including vertical relations up and down across the levels from the grassroots up to the international, and horizontal relations across and between all the social actors involved’ (Ramsbotham; Woodhouse and Mial, 2006: 26) to plant peace culture, and coexistence between Sinhalese and Tamils as above diagram shows. Although the Sri Lankan conflict lacks most of T1 initiatives to reach a settlement which may lead to the sustainable peace, the most crucial factor is inability of civil society actors to analyze and understand the Sri Lankan conflict (or lacks of desire to find resolution) and apply the appropriate measures and methods to eliminate, manage and resolve the conflict.

**Appendix 1**

Ethnic Composition of Selected Government Services 1870-1946							
Year	Total number	Sinhalese		Tamil		Burgher	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
1870	30	9	30.0	0	0.0	21	70.0
1907	93	23	24.7	13	14.0	57	61.3
1925	255	106	41.6	68	26.7	81	31.8
1935	381	189	49.6	104	27.3	88	23.1
1946	582	335	57.6	177	30.4	70	12.0

Employment of Tamils in Government Service 1956, 1965 and 1970 (in percentages)			
	1956	1965	1970
Ceylon administrative service	30	20	5
Clerical service (incl. postal, railway, hospital and customs services)	50	30	5
Professions (engineers, doctors, lecturers)	60	30	10
Armed forces	40	20	1
Labor forces	40	20	5

Source: Gunaratna, 1998: 103

**Appendix 2**

Ethnic Composition of University Admissions, 1972		
	Sinhalese Students	Tamil Students
Medicine & dentistry	229	250
Physical science	183	204
Bio Science	175	184
Engineering	227	250
Veterinary science	181	206
Architecture	180	194

Source: C.R. de Silva, 'Weightage in University Admissions: Standardization and District Quotas', in *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol.5. 2, 4 July 1972.

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