

Sri Lanka

by Amanda Donahoe

Sri Lanka has been entrenched in a civil war for two decades. As in ethnic conflicts in many other post-colonial countries, the different groups of Sri Lanka give loyalty primarily to the group, rather than to the entire country. The Sinhalese majority have slowly populated the government and treated the Tamil minority as a threat to national stability, instead of as candidates for conciliation and power sharing. Consequently, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has taken up arms against the Sinhalese controlled government to fight for an independent homeland in the north and north-east parts of the country in 1983.

Since then, the LTTE has been responsible for numerous terrorist bombings directed against politicians and civilian targets. In July 2001 an LTTE suicide squad attacked the Bandaranaike International Airport and destroyed a large number of military and civilian aircraft. Terrorist incidents have occurred in Colombo, the capital, and other cities throughout the country. Since the beginning of the conflict, tens of thousands of people have been killed, wounded or driven from their homes. Through all this bloodshed, both sides use the language of human rights to attack the other.

Though the Tamil minority comprises only 18% of the population, they have received support from other Tamils in Tamil Nadu, the Southern most state in India. As a result, the conflict received international attention when the Sri Lankan government accused India of supporting Tamil insurgents. India in turn served as a mediator in 1987, placing peace-keeping forces in the north and east but also helping to secure official status for the Tamil language. However, mediation fell apart when the LTTE declared its intent to continue its struggle for independence and the Indian peace-keeping forces found themselves engaged in police action against the LTTE on Sri Lankan soil.

In early 1990 India withdrew its forces. In October 1997, the U.S. government designated the LTTE as a foreign terrorist organization under provisions of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 and has maintained this designation since then. Heavy fighting continued until Dec. 2001 when a newly elected United National Party government and the LTTE declared a unilateral cease-fire. In Feb. 2002, a Norwegian-brokered peace process began, but broke down in April of 2003 when the LTTE withdrew. The U.S. most recently redesignated the group's terrorist status in October of 2003. In May of 2004, the talks resumed with both the current government and the Tamils publicly committing themselves to the process.

Much of the literature in this bibliography discusses the progress the peace process has made in the last few years. Sri Lanka is a very small country with a population of less than 20 million. As a result, little has been written on Sri Lanka with respect to terrorism and less has been written with regard to September 11th and the War on Terror. Of the literature referenced here, most is tangentially related the U.S. -led War on Terror.

Civil War and the Peace Process

Richard L. Armitage. 2003. "Sri Lanka Prospects for Peace". *DISAM Journal of International Security Assistance Management*. 25(3): 89-93.

ABSTRACT: Presents an excerpt from a speech given by U.S. Deputy State Secretary Richard L. Armitage, on February 14, 2003, which deals with the peace process in Sri Lanka and the role of the U.S. in the peace process.

Mia M. Bloom. 2003. "Ethnic Conflict, State Terror and Suicide Bombing in Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 6(1): 54-85.

ABSTRACT: What accounts for the absence of extremism surrounding the current peace talks between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan state? In similar cases of ethnic conflict, the strategies employed by the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have exacerbated extremism on both sides and led to ever increasing degrees of violence. In the Palestinian case, for example, suicide bombings mobilized and radicalized the Palestinian community, decimated the Israeli Left and hardened Israeli right-wing attitudes regarding prospects for peace. This research seeks to examine the Sri Lankan case, provide a detailed background to the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict that is relatively unfamiliar to some Western audiences and draw comparisons between the Sri Lanka and Palestinian cases.

Seeks to examine the Sri Lankan case, provide a detailed background to the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict and draw comparisons between the Sri Lanka and Palestinian cases in terms of extremism and ethnic conflict.

Alan Bullion. 2001. "Norway and the Peace Process in Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 4(3): 70-23.

ABSTRACT: Explores the motivations and rationale behind Norway's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process. Complexities of third-party involvement in ethnic conflicts; Differences between facilitation and mediation; Importance of mediation to the peace process.

Martha Crenshaw. 2000. "Democracy, Commitment Problems and Managing Ethnic Violence: The Case of India and Sri Lanka". *Terrorism & Political Violence*. 12(3/4): 135-160.

ABSTRACT: Discusses the relationship between democracy and effective third party intervention to resolve civil violence, on the basis of a case study of the Indian intervention in Sri Lanka's ethnic war from 1987 to 1990. Difficulties that democracies may face as mediators; Conditions for credible security guarantees by third parties; Analysis of the timing of India's initiatives and factors influencing its decisions in Sri Lanka.

Discusses the relationship between democracy and effective third party intervention to resolve civil violence, based on the Indian intervention in Sri Lanka from 1987 to 1990. Difficulties that democracies face as mediators; Conditions for security guarantees by third parties; Analysis of India's initiatives and factors influencing its decisions in Sri Lanka.

2003. "Dying for Independence". *Harvard International Review*. 25(2): <http://hir.harvard.edu/articles/1119/>.

ABSTRACT: Discusses issues concerning world separatist movements and terrorism as of 2003. Asymmetric warfare characterizing the respective separatist movements in Sri Lanka, Russian Caucasus and northern Spain; Examples in Spain which reveal that insurrections cannot be dealt with by force alone; Political domination of separatists.

Kristine Hoglund and Isak Svensson. 2002. "The Peace Process in Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 5(4): 103-119.

ABSTRACT: This article sets out to analyse the current peace process in Sri Lanka. It is argued that the prospects for peace are better than at any other time since the inception of the armed conflict in 1983, because the parties' concerns about the consequences of continued conflict, as well as the consequences of settlement, have changed. In the first section of the article we demonstrate how the costs--militarily, financially and politically--for continuing the war have drastically increased for the parties. Furthermore, with the involvement of the international community and the special approach to the peace process by the Wickremasinghe government, the perceived risks involved in a peaceful settlement have decreased. These parallel developments in the incentives structures of war and peace, explain the readiness of both primary parties to engage in serious efforts to solve the protracted conflict. From this perspective, the roles of Norway as a mediator, and the Nordic countries as ceasefire monitors, are analysed. The second section analyses the prospects for a solution, by looking at the reconciliation of positions that have taken place between the parties. The major obstacles, such as the LTTE's intentions, the Muslim minority and divisions within the Sinhalese community, are also discussed. We end the analysis with the observation that even though the prospects for a stable, negotiated settlement between the adversaries appear promising, several problems related to postconflict reconstruction and democratic development, are likely to remain obstacles in the future.

Sets out to analyze the current peace process in Sri Lanka. Section one explains the rising costs and decreasing risks for conflicting parties, section two analyses the prospects for a solution as well as major obstacles. It concludes with a discussion of post-conflict reconstruction.

Bruce Matthews. 2004. "In Pursuit of an 'Interim Administration' in Sri Lanka's North and East: Opportunity or 'Peace Trap'?" Round Table. (373): 75-95.

ABSTRACT: After 19 years of exhausting civil war between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a long-term ceasefire was signed in February 2002. Government critics argue that this is a windfall for the war-weary LTTE, allowing time for rearmament. Some LTTE supporters are suspicious that the ceasefire will impede their goal of political autonomy. This article reviews the topic from several perspectives. These include the initial, surprising speed of the peace process associated with the parliamentary victory of Ranil Wickremesinghe's United National Front in December 2001; the reaction of the Sinhala public and the presidency of Chandrika Kumaratunga to the government's subsequent negotiations for an interim administration in the sensitive LTTE-controlled Northern and Eastern Provinces; LTTE strategy; the issue of the possible demobilization of the vastly expanded Lankan armed forces; and the consequences of the increased involvement of the international community (e. g., the successful Nordic Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission) in Sri Lanka's affairs. The conclusion argues that Sri Lanka's prospects are much brighter than at any time in two decades, but with a fierce, unabated power struggle between president and prime minister and the absence of a "national government", and LTTE consolidation of de facto rule over a large terrain, what began as an opportunity for a genuine peace process may be compromised by historic and unresolved factors.

This article Reviews the civil war between the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers, and the 2002 ceasefire from several perspectives. It argues that Sri Lanka's prospects are brighter than at any time in two decades, but that these prospects may be compromised by historic and unresolved factors.

Magnus Norell. 2003. "A New Medievalism?--the Case of Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 6(2): 121-138.

ABSTRACT: Since the 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam' (LTTE) took up arms to fight for an independent homeland in the north and north-east parts of Sri Lanka in 1983, tens of thousands of people have been killed, wounded or driven from their homes. At the beginning of the millennium, new peace initiatives have surfaced with Norway emerging as a major external player. After 20 years of vicious civil warfare the case of Sri Lanka is an example of a kind of inter-communal, 'neo-medieval' civil war that has resulted in changes in order, territory and identities in host populations. Hedley Bull defines neo-medievalism as a system of 'overlapping authorities and criss-crossing loyalties'. Neo-medievalism eliminates the absolute authority of the sovereign state (and especially its monopoly of using violence through police and military forces), and instead heralds an international system where the mutual recognition between states is replaced, or at least challenged, by non-state actors.]

Sri Lanka is an example of 'neo-medieval' civil war, resulting in changes in order, territory and identities. Neo-medievalism eliminates the absolute authority of the sovereign state (and its monopoly of violence through police and military forces), and instead heralds an international system where the mutual recognition between states is replaced/challenged, by non-state actors.

Magnus Norell. 2000. "Is Peace Possible? The Case of Sri Lanka". *Civil Wars*. 3(4): 105-119.

ABSTRACT: Discusses the possibility of making moves towards a longer term political solution to the war in Sri Lanka. Cause of the conflict; Internal parliamentary divisions between the government and the main opposition party United National Party; Information on the Tamil rebels led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

Shahid Fiaz Ranabir Samaddar. 2001. Peace Audit 2: Peace Process in Sri Lanka. South Asian Forum for Human Rights. For more information see http://www.safhr.org/working_papers.htm.

This "peace audit" reviews both the current situation in Sri Lanka and its contentious history in depth finding that the situation requires both a discourse on democratization and on the other hand comprehensive democratization, devolution and sharing of power. This situation creates an enormous obligation on civil society and its organizations.

Amita Shastri. 2003. "Sri Lanka in 2002". *Asian Survey*. 43(1): 215-221.

ABSTRACT: Embroiled in a civil war for two decades, a peace process was reinitiated in Sri Lanka with international support. Has Sri Lanka finally turned the corner from war? This article argues that major progress has been made by the United National Front government in opening a dialogue with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Yet, major hurdles remain: support by the Tigers for a political solution remains conditional, they have not laid down their arms, and negotiating an agreement about the prospective political structure promises to be problematic.

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Chandra Lekha Sriram. 2002. "Dilemmas of Accountability: Politics, the Military and Commissions of Inquiry During an Ongoing Civil War -- the Sri Lankan Case". *Civil Wars*. 5(2).

ABSTRACT: Examines the concept of transitional justice with reference to the case of Sri Lanka, a democratic country engaged in an internal armed conflict. Description of the civil war that made Sri Lanka different from

other countries that are emerging from authoritarian rule; History of the conflict and abuses in the country; Contemporary policies dealing with accountability and reform.

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Leaders, Politics and Elections

Dennis Austin. 2002. "Terrorism, Sri Lanka and a Letter from President Kumaratunga". *Round Table*. 363: 67-76.

ABSTRACT: Sri Lanka's troubled recent history has given its president authority to speak on issues related to terrorism. Over 20 years of ethnic and religious conflict have left their mark, not least on President Kumaratunga herself. She has endured the assassination of her father and husband, and lost the sight in her right eye in an attack by a Tamil Tiger suicide bomber. In the light of President Kumaratunga's letter to the Times after 11th September in which she recalled that terror was not the sole preserve of al Qaeda or Western governments, the author recalls a visit to Sri Lanka, one of its leading universities and the accounts of the 'labyrinth of violence'.

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Saul Ben. 2002. "Election Violence in Sri Lanka: Implementing the Right to a Free and Fair Election". *Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights & the Law*. 3(1): 1-39.

ABSTRACT: This article assesses the freedom and fairness of the 2001 parliamentary election in Sri Lanka according to a variety of criteria, judging the effects of violence and procedural irregularity on the election outcome. Despite its ambiguity, the international right to a free and fair election, expressed through the principles of the UDHR and the ICCPR, is substantially incorporated in the domestic law of Sri Lanka. The Constitution and elections legislation recognise essential democratic and electoral rights and establish administrative procedures and judicial remedies for enforcing them. Specific controversies over electoral laws have typically been resolved within the framework of the rule of law, through either the political process or the courts, including debates about the method of voting, the powers of the Election Commissioner and the registration of parties. Referendum and emergency powers have, however, been abused to interfere with free elections in some situations. Further, recent elections have degenerated in to widespread violence, intimidation and procedural irregularity, culminating in the December 2001 parliamentary election. The violent events of the 2001 election suggest that despite the formal maturity of Sri Lankan election law, the law is not being adequately enforced and deterrence, through criminal sanctions, is failing. While most police and election officials are committed to ensuring the integrity of elections, many politicians and candidates have undermined elections, in a society militarist by a protracted ethnic separatist conflict.

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Fernand De Varennes. 2000. "In Memory of Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam Legal Scholar and Human Rights Activist Assassinated 29 July 1999". *Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights & the Law*. 1(1): 7-8.

ABSTRACT: The article pays tribute to Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, one of Asia's leading human rights scholars and constitutional lawyers, who was also a member of the first International Advisory Board of "Asia-Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law." Tiruchelvam became another victim of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka which has claimed more than 50,000 lives in the last three decades when he was killed by a suicide bomber on his way to work on July 29, 1999. Tiruchelvam was part of the think-tank behind the 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan Accord and played a significant role in the 1995 constitutional reform and devolution programme of Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga's government. He was a lawyer devoted to human rights work as well as a committed moderate Tamil politician. His activism was a result of deeply held beliefs arising out of his work. He practiced measures in order to uproot causes of ethnic conflicts in his country. He understood that by addressing the root causes of ethnic conflict, one can restore peace.

Pays tribute to Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, a leading human rights scholar and constitutional lawyer. He was a victim of the violence in Sri Lanka. Included is his participation and activism in the Sri Lanka peace process and his work on ethnic conflict.

Neil DeVotta. 2003. "Sri Lanka's Political Decay: Analysing the October 2000 and December 2001 Parliamentary Elections". *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 41(2): 141-159.

ABSTRACT: Beginning in the mid-1950s, Sri Lanka's Sinhalese politicians began outbidding each other on who could provide the best deal for their community. This ethnic outbidding was initially influenced by linguistic nationalism, though it was soon also used to undermine agreements designed to accommodate the minority Tamils. The Sinhalese tolerated ethnocentrism and illiberal governance because this relatively deprived the Tamils even as it benefited their majority community. What they did not realise is that illiberalism cannot be compartmentalised and that eventually it affects the entire polity. This is indeed what happened over time. Consequently, inter-ethnic violence has influenced intra-ethnic violence and the project that permitted dominating the minority Tamils along ethnic lines has now influenced Sinhalese politicians to dominate their fellows along political lines. This has led to a milieu where violence is now institutionalised as a way to settle political disputes even as ethnic outbidding continues and the civil war remains unresolved. The recent parliamentary elections, accompanied by massive violence and manifold irregularities, especially signify the illiberalism and political decay that have befallen Sri Lanka.

Discusses the way in which competition among Sinhalese politicians has been used to undermine political accommodation of minority Tamils, and eventually led to their domination over their own ethnic group. This political decay has led to a milieu where violence is institutionalized as a method of settling political disputes.

Margo Kleinfeld. 2003. "Strategic Troping in Sri Lanka: September Eleventh and the Consolidation of Political Position". *Geopolitics*. 8(3): 105-126.

ABSTRACT: This essay investigates the deployment of the trope of September eleventh in Sri Lanka from 11 September 2001 until Sri Lanka's parliamentary elections and change of government on 5 December 2001. The essay argues that September eleventh in the tropic form of synecdoche performed political work for both parties to Sri Lanka's long-running conflict -- the People's Alliance Government and the Tamil Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and demonstrates how each belligerent used September eleventh and the lexicon associated with the U.S. attacks and early global response to brand their adversary as terrorist, to recode political and conflict narratives in September eleventh terms, and to indicate the appropriate scale and scope of the war. The article raises important

questions about the translation of geopolitical events from one domestic context to another, the representation of political violence as global terror, and the strategic power of narrative.

Investigates the way that the September 11 terrorist attacks affected the 2001 parliamentary elections, arguing that terrorism was used by both political parties to brand the other as terrorists. Raises important questions about the translation of geopolitical events from one domestic context to another.

Amita Shastri. 2002. "Year of Reversals". *Asian Survey*. 42(1): 177-182.

ABSTRACT: Focuses on the political conditions in Sri Lanka as of 2001. Assessment on the leadership under president Chandrika Kumaratunga; Details on the post-election alliance between the People's Alliance and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress; Efforts to resolve ethnic crisis in the country.

Refugees, Displacement and Marginalization

Ahilan T. Arulanantham. 2000. "Restructured Safe Havens: A Proposal for Reform of the Refugee Protection System". *Human Rights Quarterly*. 22(1): 1-56.

ABSTRACT: Presents a proposal for reforming the refugee protection system of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Sri Lanka. Importance of state participation in the refugee protection system; Restructure of the information network that governs reporting on safe havens; Consideration of the human rights policy in the refugee policy.

Global IDP Project. 2004. Profile of Internal Displacement: Sri Lanka. Geneva: Norwegian Refugee Council.

Report of the Norwegian Refugee Council regarding persons who have been internally displaced as a result of the conflict in Sri Lanka, compiled by the Global IDP Database.

Ragnhild Lund. 2000. "Geographies of Eviction, Expulsion and Marginalization: Stories and Coping Capacities of the Veddhas, Sri Lanka". *Norwegian Journal of Geography*. 54(3): 81-102.

ABSTRACT: This paper identifies why the Veddhas, the indigenous population of Sri Lanka, have been exposed to forced relocation and marginalization at various historical junctures. Their history is a dramatic story of eviction, expulsion and marginalization, and a sad story of deprivation, ethnic discrimination and lack of human rights. The disempowerment of the Veddhas primarily relates to the dominating powers of authority of the Sri Lankan State and its effectuation of detrimental development policies and practices. The key concepts of marginalization, eviction and expulsion are discussed in relation to an analytical model illustrating how external and internal factors, collective capabilities and individual characteristics interact on and influence people's coping capacity. Veddhas in two villages have given accounts of their understanding of the situation. It is concluded that the disempowerment and disappearance of the Veddha culture are due to ignorance and the unwillingness of the State to procure an enabling environment that would improve the coping capacity of its indigenous population.

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Non-Governmental Organizations

Amnesty International. 2000. Sri Lanka: New Emergency Regulations- Erosion of Human Rights Protection. Amnesty International. <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGASA370192000?open&of=ENG-LKA>.

Discusses the way new “emergency regulations” allowing for arrest and detention are eroding Sri Lanka’s human rights. These regulations already exceed the limits permissible under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Offers recommendations on lessening the abuse of detainees rights.

Centre for Policy Alternatives. www.cpalanka.org

NGO website containing research into the issues of governance and conflict resolution in Sri Lanka, the strengthening of civil society and its contribution to public policy and documents such as the Peace Confidence Index gauging the level of public confidence in the peace process.

Jonathan Goodhand and Nick Lewer. 1999. “Sri Lanka: NGOs and Peace-Building in Complex Political Emergencies”. *Third World Quarterly*. 20(1): 69-87.

ABSTRACT: This ‘work in progress’ gives an overview of the conceptual background and preliminary field work findings of a research programme investigating the consequences of violence and conflict in villages in the Trincomalee and Batticaloa Districts of eastern Sri Lanka. 1 Initial and speculative conclusions from these community surveys indicate that NGOs have only a limited impact on the local dynamics of conflict, and point to a need for NGOs to understand in more depth the complex historical and social aspects of protracted and violent conflict. To have any limited peace-building role NGOs must also undertake a more fine grained analysis of community social fabric and processes together with the associated economic, political and military factors.

Preliminary research findings, investigating the consequences of violence and conflict in villages of eastern Sri Lanka. Initial conclusions indicate that NGOs have only a limited impact on the local dynamics of conflict, and need to understand in more depth the historical and social aspects of protracted and violent conflict.

Linda Kelly and Patrick Kilby. 2004. “Impact Measurement for NGOs: Experiences from India and Sri Lanka”. *Development in Practice*. 14(5): 696-701.

ABSTRACT: Examines impact measurement for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) based on experiences from India and Sri Lanka. Worth and relevance of the work of NGOs; Changes experienced by people where NGOs have worked; Political factors affecting the effectiveness of NGOs in helping the poor and marginalized women; Accountability of NGOs to its constituency.

National Peace Council of Sri Lanka. www.peace-srilanka.org

“Independent” NGO website containing background information to the conflict and the current situation as well as media statements and updates on the NGO’s activities and strategies leading with the rejection of “peace through war.”

Arve Ofstad. 2002. “Countries in Violent Conflict and Aid Strategies: The Case of Sri Lanka”. *World Development*. 30(2): 18.

ABSTRACT: Focuses on a study which analyzed the strategies applied in Sri Lanka by donors undertaking a traditional development approach and those following a more comprehensive approach. Information on human rights approach; Overall aid volume and the government's war efforts; Contents and orientation of the aid program.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

Jayatilleke S. Bandara. 2003. "Economic Cost of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict: Comment". *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. 33(1).

ABSTRACT: Comments on Pradban's article on 'Economic Cost of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict,' published in the vol. 31, no. 4 issue of the 'Journal of Contemporary Asia.' Clarifications on some information regarding the article; Provision of background information on ethnic conflict and trends in variables such as economic and investment growth; Impact of ethnic conflict on Sri Lanka's economic growth.

Damani De Silva. 2002. "Psychiatric Service Delivery in an Asian Country: The Experience of Sri Lanka". *International Review of Psychiatry*. 14(1): 66-70.

ABSTRACT: Sri Lanka is an island with a population of 19.4 million. Compared to its south Asian neighbors it has favorable health statistics for its per capita income and the health investment. Currently, the country is facing several crises: declining world economy, the Asian economic crises, political instability, and ongoing terrorist activities. The health sector too has been adversely affected by these factors with the added impact of plateauing of State investments on health, and a demographic and epidemiological transition. The mental health services suffer from a history of under-investment, an emphasis towards 'asylum-based care' inherited from the British and from emerging problems such as violence, displacements and disruption in social groupings. The demands for more sophisticated and comprehensive care too have increased. As a result, mental healthcare is at a critical juncture in its development in the country. With the renewed global interest in the area, Sri Lanka is in an ideal situation to make a quantum leap in developing its services to new heights.

Discusses how Sri Lanka's mental health services suffer from current crises, under-investment, an emphasis towards 'asylum-based care' and from violence, displacements and disruption in social groupings. Because mental healthcare is at a critical juncture in its development, Sri Lanka is in an ideal situation to make vast improvements in developing its services.

Jonathan Goodhand; Nick Lewer and David Hulme. 2000. "Social Capital and the Political Economy of Violence: A Case Study of Sri Lanka". *Disasters*. 24(4): 390-406.

ABSTRACT: This article examines the links between militarised violence and social capital (trans)formation. It first maps out emerging theoretical and policy debates on social capital and violent conflict and questions a number of the assumptions underpinning these debates. This is followed by an empirical analysis of several war-affected communities in Sri Lanka. The case studies illustrate that the links between militarised violence and social capital are complex, dynamic and context specific. It is argued that social capital cannot be understood in isolation from political and economic processes, and the belief that violent conflict inevitably erodes social capital is questioned. Finally, the implications for external agencies are highlighted. Rather than focusing on engineering social capital, external agencies need to focus on understanding better the preconditions for social capital formation and how they can contribute to the creation of an enabling environment. This requires as a starting-point a rigorous analysis of political and economic processes.

Examines the links between militarized violence and social capital transformation. It first maps out emerging theoretical debates on the issue, then analyses case studies of several war-torn communities. It concludes by highlighting the implications for external agencies.

Kanishka Goonewardena. 2004. "Postcolonialism and Diaspora: A Contribution to the Critique of Nationalist Ideology and Historiography in the Age of Globalization and Neoliberalism". *University of Toronto Quarterly*. 73(2): 390-406.

ABSTRACT: Discusses contentious issues of postcolonialism and diaspora as well as Sri Lankan affairs. Disjunction between postcolonial theory and postcolonialism or radical politics; Politics of diaspora; Commonalities of diasporas; Politics of identity and identification.

B Korf. 2004. "War, Livelihoods and Vulnerability in Sri Lanka". *DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE*. 35(2): 275-295.

ABSTRACT: As the number of de-stabilized regions of warfare or post-war conditions worldwide continues to grow, this article investigates how civilians survive in the context of a civil war. It analyses livelihood strategies of farmers in the war-torn areas of Sri Lanka, using an analytical framework based on a revised form of DFID's sustainable rural livelihoods approach, placing particular attention on the institutional reproduction of household capital assets in the war economy. The author delineates a three pillar model of household livelihood strategies focusing on how households (1) cope with the increased level of risk and uncertainty; (2) adjust their economic and social household assets for economic survival; and (3) use their social and political assets as livelihood strategies. Empirical evidence comes from four case study villages in the east of Sri Lanka. Although the four case studies were very close together geographically, their livelihood outcomes differed considerably depending on the very specific local political geography. The role of social and political assets is essential: while social assets (extended family networks) were important to absorb migrants, political assets (alliances with power holders) were instrumental in enabling individuals, households or economic actors to stabilize or even expand their livelihood options and opportunities. The author concludes that civilians in conflict situations are not all victims (some may also be culprits in the political economy of warfare), and that war can be both a threat and an opportunity, often at the same time.

Analyses livelihood strategies of farmers in the war-torn areas of Sri Lanka. The author focuses on how households cope with increased risk, adjust economic and social assets, and use their social and political assets. Using four case study villages, the author concludes that war can be both threat and opportunity.

Anita Nesiah. 2002. "The Challenge of Christian Responsibility in Times of War and Violence: The Case of Sri Lanka". *Feminist Theology: The Journal of the Britain & Ireland School of Feminist Theology*. (31): 71-81.

ABSTRACT: Christians and Christian Feminists have to respond to a whole variety of circumstances. This article asks whether the liberation theology that arose from the political struggles and violence of Latin America can be read onto the situation in Sri Lanka. The reality of war challenges male-centered doctrines of a 'just war', which ignore the many injustices of any war. Women and men are raped both in conquest and in custody. Children are dispersed, orphaned, and turn to begging or prostitution, or take up arms. Christians tend to retreat to liturgical solutions, while secular women's organizations face the need to rebuild society. The article challenges the churches to join in the dual task of reflecting on the real traumas of war in the light of theology, and rebuilding the bloodstained, shattered community.

Asks whether the liberation theology of Latin America can be read onto the situation in Sri Lanka. The reality of war challenges male-centered doctrines of a 'just war', which ignore injustices of war. The article challenges churches to join in reflecting on the real traumas of war and rebuilding the community.

Krishnan Srinivasan. 2001. "The Commonwealth, India and Lost Opportunities in South Asia". *Asian Affairs*. 32(2): 131-141.

ABSTRACT: Explores the failure of India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, four Commonwealth countries in South Asia, to maximize the benefits of their Commonwealth membership. History of the Commonwealth; Benefits of the Commonwealth association to the member countries; Details on the political opportunities lost by Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan in line with its Commonwealth membership.

Explores the failure of India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, to maximize the benefits of their Commonwealth membership. Describes the history of the Commonwealth; benefits of association to the member countries; and details on the political opportunities lost by Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan in line with its Commonwealth membership.