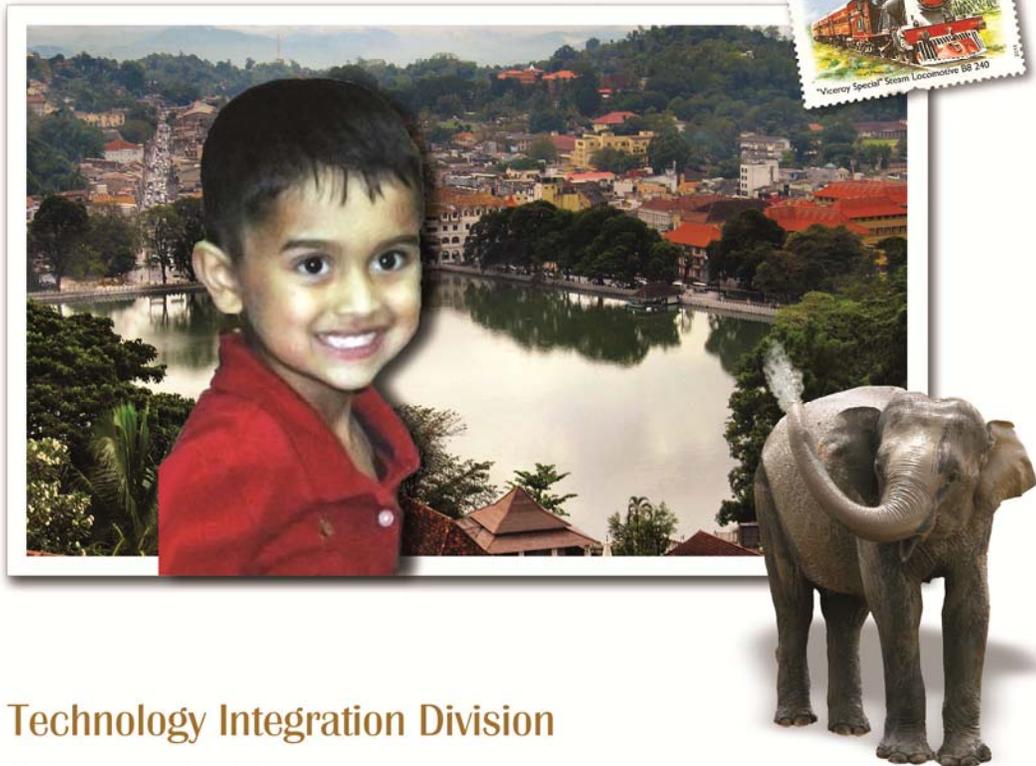


SRI LANKA in Perspective

An Orientation Guide



Technology Integration Division
February 2012



DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CENTER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Geographic Divisions and Topographic Features.....	1
Knuckles Mountains.....	2
Hanthana Mountains.....	2
Sabaragamuwa Mountains.....	2
Climate.....	3
Rivers and Bodies of Water.....	3
Indian Ocean.....	3
Bay of Bengal.....	3
Palk Bay.....	4
Palk Strait.....	4
Gulf of Mannar.....	4
Mahaweli Ganga.....	4
Major Cities and Population.....	4
Colombo/Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte.....	5
Negombo.....	5
Kandy.....	6
Kalmunai.....	6
Galle.....	6
Batticaloa.....	7
Jaffna.....	7
Environmental Issues.....	7
Natural Hazards.....	8
Chapter 1 Assessment.....	9
CHAPTER 2: HISTORY.....	10
Sinhalese Origin Narrative.....	10
The Ancient Kingdom.....	10
Medieval Invasions and Social Integration.....	11
Early Modern.....	12
Colonial Domination.....	13
Portuguese.....	13
Dutch.....	14
British.....	15
20th Century.....	15
Independence.....	15
Civil War.....	17
Recent Events.....	18

Conclusion of the Civil War.....	18
Post-war Developments.....	18
Chapter 2 Assessment.....	20
CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY.....	21
Introduction.....	21
Agriculture.....	22
Industry.....	22
Energy and Natural Resources.....	23
Trade.....	24
Exports.....	24
Imports.....	24
Tourism.....	25
Banking and Finance.....	26
Standard of Living and Employment Trends.....	27
Public vs. Private Sector.....	28
Future Outlook.....	29
Chapter 3 Assessment.....	31
CHAPTER 4: SOCIETY.....	32
Introduction.....	32
Ethnic Groups and Languages.....	32
Sinhalese.....	32
Tamils.....	32
Moors (Muslims).....	33
Burghers.....	34
Veddahs.....	34
Religion.....	35
Buddhism.....	35
Hinduism.....	36
Islam.....	37
Roman Catholicism.....	38
Cuisine.....	39
Traditional Dress.....	40
Gender Issues.....	40
Arts.....	41
Dance.....	41
Music.....	42
Folk Art.....	42
Sports and Recreation.....	43
Chapter 4 Assessment.....	44

CHAPTER 5: SECURITY	45
Introduction.....	45
U.S. – Sri Lanka Relations	45
Relations with Neighboring Countries	46
India.....	46
Pakistan.....	48
China.....	48
Maldives	49
Bangladesh	50
Police Force	50
Military	51
Army.....	51
Air Force.....	52
Navy	53
Issues Affecting Stability.....	53
Resurgent Tamil Militancy.....	53
Islamist Violence	54
Outlook	55
Chapter 5 Assessment.....	57
FINAL ASSESSMENT	58
FURTHER READING	60

CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY

Introduction

Sri Lanka is a tear-shaped island in the Indian Ocean, off the southeastern tip of India. It has an area of 65,610 sq km (25,332 sq mi), slightly larger than the U.S. state of West Virginia and the Baltic States of Latvia and Lithuania.^{1, 2}



© James Gordon
Trincomalee Beach, Sri Lanka

Strategically located, straddling several important shipping lanes, Sri Lanka has long held a significant position in regional geopolitics.³ Today, China, India, and the United States are vying for leverage, to gain access to the island's natural resources, educated workforce, and strategic ports.

Sri Lanka has a diverse landscape and is home to many native species. However, urbanization and illegal mining threaten its biodiversity.⁴

Geographic Divisions and Topographic Features

The Hill Country of the Central Highlands is the most elevated and coolest region on the island. Tea cultivation is the major agricultural enterprise, and many Tamils work as tea pickers in the region. Located in the south-central part of the country, mountain forests with rich biodiversity and sacred areas distinguish the region.⁵ The highest peak is Pidurutalagala at 2,524 m (8,281 ft).⁶



© Anuradha Ratnaweera
Knuckles Mountains

Rising slightly above sea level and filled with sparkling beaches, the island's coastal regions are the centerpiece of the tourist industry. Although coastal regions rim the entire island, those in the south and southwest of the island are the most developed.

¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparisons: Area," in *The World Factbook*, 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2147rank.html>

² Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Geography," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Geography," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

⁴ D.M.S. Suranjan Karunaratna, et al., "Current Status of Faunal Diversity in Bellanwila – Attidiya Sanctuary, Colombo District – Sri Lanka," *Taprobanica: The Journal of Asian Biodiversity* 2, no. 1 (April 2010): 48–63, <http://www.sljol.info/sljol/index.php/TAPRO/article/view/2706/2182>

⁵ Royston Ellis, *Sri Lanka* (Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks, England: Bradt Travel Guides, 2008), 139–140.

⁶ W. Erdelen, "Tropical Rain Forests in Sri Lanka: Characteristics, History of Human Impact, and the Protected Area System," in *Tropical Rainforest Research – Current Issues*, eds. D.S. Edwards, W.E. Booth and S.C. Choy (Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 504.

The island's plains are widespread, including the low country, the Jaffna Peninsula, and the Vanni. The low country makes up the bulk of Sri Lanka's area and is diverse in climate and geography. The Jaffna Peninsula is the northernmost region of the island. It is low-lying (below 300 m [900 ft] in elevation), flat, and relies on water from underground aquifers.^{7,8} By comparison, the Vanni makes up the mainland districts of the Northern Province. It is a densely forested region that is sparsely populated, mostly by Tamils. Historically, this area served as a buffer zone between the Tamil population of the north and the Sinhala and European colonials of the south.⁹

Knuckles Mountains

Named for its likeness to the knuckles of a clenched fist, the Knuckles Mountains run along a north-south axis and help to establish the northern barrier of the Central Highlands. Many crops—including tea, vegetables, and spices—are cultivated along its slopes; rice is a staple crop in the village communities of the valleys.¹⁰

Hanthana Mountains

In the heart of the Central Highlands, the Hanthana Mountains run along the outskirts of the city of Kandy. Tea cultivation is extensive in this range, and the Ceylon Tea Museum near Kandy showcases the history of tea cultivation on the island.¹¹

Sabaragamuwa Mountains

Sri Pada (2,243 m or 7,359 ft) is located among the Sabaragamuwa Mountains, which form the southwest corner of the Central Highlands. Also known as Adam's Peak, this peak is a holy site displaying a pair of sacred footprints believed by some to be either those of the Buddha, Adam, or Shiva.¹²

⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Sri Lanka: People: Ethnic Composition," 2011,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/561906/Sri-Lanka/24279/The-people?anchor=ref388615>

⁸ Richard Green, ed., *The Commonwealth Yearbook, 2004* (London: The Stationery Office for the Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003), 303.

⁹ Donald E. Smith, "Religion, Politics, and the Myth of Reconquest," in *Modern Sri Lanka: A Society in Transition*, eds. Tissa Fernando et al. (Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1979), 83–100.

¹⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Knuckles," 2011,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/320629/Knuckles>

¹¹ Ganga Illeperuma, "Ceylon Tea Museum – Hantane," *Daily News* (Sri Lanka), 3 July 2009, <http://www.dailynews.lk/2009/07/03/fea30.asp>

¹² Brett Atkinson, *Sri Lanka* (London: Lonely Planet, 2009), 175.

Climate

The Sri Lankan climate is tropical, hot and humid. The only exception is the Central Highlands, where the majority of the tea plantations are located and temperatures average 18°C (64.4°F). By comparison, the mean annual temperature in the low country and coastal areas is about 27.5°C (81.5°F). Average rainfall on the island is 186 cm (73 in).¹³ The southwest monsoons carry rain to the central, western, and southern regions from June to October, whereas the northeastern monsoons occur from December to March.¹⁴ The climate beckons many tourists to Sri Lanka.¹⁵



© Sarah-Isua-Amber / flickr.com
Tropical climate

Rivers and Bodies of Water

Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean is the third-largest ocean in the world and is strategically important in geopolitics and trade. Immigrants from the northwest region of the Indian subcontinent moved to Sri Lanka in antiquity, following trade routes that led through the Indian Ocean to the island, where they established the Sinhalese kingdoms. Later, emissaries and merchants from Rome, Persia, and the Arabian peninsula among others visited the island, following the same trade routes. Eventually, Europeans set up colonies on the island to exploit its strategic location and control the spice trade.¹⁶

Today, Sri Lankans rely upon the ocean for its abundant food and its scenic beaches that bring in tourists from around the world. The development of the tourism industry is a central plank in the government's post-war reconstruction plans.^{17, 18}

Bay of Bengal

The Bay of Bengal is a northeastern arm of the Indian Ocean along Sri Lanka's eastern coast. Many of the island's rivers flow into the Bay of Bengal, which connects Sri Lanka to India and Bangladesh.¹⁹

¹³ Janaka Ratnasiri et al., "Vulnerability of Sri Lankan Tea Plantations to Climate Change," in *Climate Change and Vulnerability*, eds. Neil Leary et al. (London: Earthscan, 2008), 351–353.

¹⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Geography," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹⁵ Government of Sri Lanka, "Sri Lanka Facts," 2009, http://www.gov.lk/gov/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61&lang=en

¹⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Indian Ocean," 2011, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/285876/Indian-Ocean>

¹⁷ Jonathan Goodhand, "Stabilizing a Victor's Peace? Humanitarian Action and Reconstruction in Eastern Sri Lanka," *Disasters* 34, no. S3 (2010): S342–S367, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01212.x/pdf>

¹⁸ Jon Lunn, Claire Taylor and Ian Townsend, "War and Peace in Sri Lanka" (Working Paper 09/51, House of Commons: London, UK, 5 June 2009), http://kms2.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/101592/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/7C79CC2D-08C2-4B1C-8EE5-927E1B31BE45/en/rp09-051.pdf

Palk Bay

Palk Bay is bounded on the west by India and on the east by the coast of Sri Lanka, Mannar Island, Adam's Bridge, and Pamban Island. This bay and its northern entrance, Palk Strait, factored prominently in the naval battles of the country's civil war. It was frequently used by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a secessionist group, as a route for smuggling weapons and people to and from Sri Lanka.²⁰

Palk Strait

The Palk Strait forms the northern entrance to Palk Bay and lies between the northwestern coast of Sri Lanka and the east coast of India.

Gulf of Mannar

The Gulf of Mannar is a large shallow bay between the southeastern tip of India and the west coast of Sri Lanka. It is famous for its pearls and fisheries. The low coral islands spanning Sri Lanka and India, known as either Rama's Bridge or Adam's Bridge, are a distinguishing feature that separate the gulf from the Palk Strait.²¹

Mahaweli Ganga

The Mahaweli Ganga is the longest river in Sri Lanka. It flows north through the Hatton and Kandy plateaus. Since the late 1970s, a number of hydroelectric dams have been constructed to unleash the energy potential of the river. As it flows toward Trincomalee, its drainage basin covers nearly one-fifth of the island.²²



© Terry Feuerborn
Mahaweli Ganga

Major Cities and Population

Sri Lanka has an estimated population of 21,283,913. Only 14% of the population lives in urban areas; thus, most of its larger towns and cities have smaller populations than many other South Asian countries.²³ Because the last full census was conducted in 1981 before the civil war, population figures are estimates. Although these estimates may be accurate in the south and west, which remained under government control for the duration of the conflict, it is unclear how precise the



© whl.travel / flickr.com
Colombo

¹⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Bay of Bengal," 2011, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/60740/Bay-of-Bengal>

²⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Palk Strait," 2011, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/439879/Palk-Strait>

²¹ Majid Husain, *Understanding Geographical Map Entries for Civil Services Examinations* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill, 2009), II.G.10–II.G.11.

²² James R. Penn, *Rivers of the World: A Social, Geographical, and Environmental Sourcebook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 146–147.

²³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: People," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

estimates are for regions in the north and east, where large areas were under LTTE control. Although the government conducted a new post-war census in 2011, population figures have not yet been made public.²⁴ Nevertheless, the 2011 census figures are expected to reflect significant demographic changes including the resettlement of much of the north and east.

Cities	Projected Census Population ²⁵
Colombo/Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte	794,113
Negombo	150,364
Kandy	121,286
Kalmunai	106,358
Galle	95,012
Batticaloa ²⁶	88,459 ²⁷
Jaffna ²⁸	78,781 ²⁹

Colombo/Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte

Located on the west coast, Colombo and Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte serve as the combined capital of the island. The latter once served as the capital of the Kingdom of Kōtṭe and was to become the new capital of Sri Lanka in the 1980s. However, although the parliament and some other government offices were moved to the city, most remain in the port city of Colombo, where the Portuguese established their initial presence. Colombo has served as the capital since the mid-16th Century. The two capital cities are part of the larger Colombo Urban Area (including suburbs not reported above), which has a population of more than 2.1 million.³⁰

Negombo

Negombo lies along the west coast of Sri Lanka, about 40 km (25 mi) north of Colombo.³¹ The city was once the center of lucrative cinnamon production during the Portuguese and Dutch colonial era. A large 17th century derelict Dutch fort looks out over a large lagoon, in which a

²⁴ “Sri Lanka Launches 2011 Census of Population and Housing,” *Colombo Page*, 5 April 2011, http://www.colombopage.com/archive_11/Apr05_1302014132CH.php

²⁵ With the exception of Batticaloa and Jaffna, all city population figures are based on estimated 2007 data, as reported in Thomas Brinkhoff, “Sri Lanka: Cities,” *City Population* (website), 24 July 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/SriLanka.html>

²⁶ Population figures for Batticaloa and Jaffna are based on special enumerations conducted in the north and east during the civil war and do not reflect post-war populations.

²⁷ Department of Census and Statistics, Government of Sri Lanka, “Basic Population Information on Batticaloa District—2007: Preliminary Report: Based on Special Enumeration—2007,” October 2007, 14, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/Preliminary%20Reports%20Special%20Enumeration%202007/Basic%20Population%20Information%20of%20Batticaloa%20District%202007.pdf>

²⁸ Population figures for Batticaloa and Jaffna are based on special enumerations conducted in the north and east during the civil war and do not reflect post-war populations.

²⁹ Department of Census and Statistics, Government of Sri Lanka, “Basic Population Information on Jaffna District—2007: Preliminary Report: Based on Special Enumeration—2007,” June 2008, 14, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/Preliminary%20Reports%20Special%20Enumeration%202007/Basic%20Population%20Information%20on%20Jaffna%20District%202007.pdf>

³⁰ Ravi Pereira, “Colombo: Institutionalizing an Environmental Management Strategy,” Metropolitan Environmental Improvement Programme, United Nations Development Programme, n.d., <http://ww2.unhabitat.org/programmes/uef/cities/summary/colombo.htm>

³¹ Royston Ellis, *Sri Lanka*, 4th ed. (Chalfont St. Peter, Buck, England: Bradt Travel Guides, 2011), 216.

key shrimp fishery is located.^{32, 33} Today Negombo is a popular tourist destination.³⁴ The city is home to a significant Roman Catholic population and has some of the country's most spectacular churches, such as the Church of Our Lady of Sindratri.³⁵

Kandy

Located in the Central Highlands, Kandy was the capital of the last independent Sinhalese kingdom and today is the cultural capital of Sri Lanka. In 1988, the United Nations' World Heritage Centre named this sacred city a World Heritage Site.³⁶ The Temple of the Tooth, a Buddhist temple complex, is located in the heart of the city, along the banks of Kandy Lake. It is believed to possess the Buddha's tooth relic. Kandy is the largest city outside the Colombo Urban Area.³⁷



© McKay Savage
Temple of the Tooth, Kandy

Kalmunai

Kalmunai is a Muslim-majority municipality.³⁸ Located along the eastern seaboard, the community was severely affected by the civil war and the 2004 tsunami. Although the city did not experience the same level of violence as other Muslim communities along the east coast, it has been the historic center of ethnic Muslim politics.^{39, 40, 41}

Galle

Although Galle was a port city long before the arrival of Europeans, it reached its zenith under the Dutch. Developed around a 17th century Dutch fort, which is now a World Heritage site, the

³² P.A.A.T. Jayawardene, et al., "Shrimp Fishery in the Negombo Lagoon on the West Coast of Sri Lanka," *Indian Journal of Fisheries* 51, no. 2 (April – June 2004), 215–226,

<http://epubs.icar.org.in/ejournal/index.php/IJF/article/view/7190/2828>

³³ Rajpal Kumar de Silva and Willemina G.M. Beumer, *Illustrations and Views of Dutch Ceylon, 1602–1796: A Comprehensive Work of Pictorial Reference with Selected Eye-Witness Accounts* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1988), 282.

³⁴ Weerawanse Mudiyansele Rohan Laksiri, "Marketing Sri Lanka as an International Tourist Destination" (thesis, Agder University College, Kristiansand, Norway, 2007), http://brage.bibsys.no/hia/bitstream/URN:NBN:no-bibsys_brage_2468/1/master_okad_2007_laksiri.pdf

³⁵ Ministry of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, *The Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Department of Government Printing, 2006), 68A,

<http://www.documents.gov.lk/Extgzt/2006/Pdf/Jan/1429-11/1429-11e.pdf>

³⁶ World Heritage Center, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Sacred City of Kandy," 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/450>

³⁷ Gavin Thomas, *The Rough Guide to Sri Lanka* (London: Rough Guides, 2009), 234.

³⁸ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Sri Lanka: Cities," *City Population* (website), 24 July 2011,

<http://www.citypopulation.de/SriLanka.html>

³⁹ Shahul Hasbullah and Benedikt Korf, "Muslim Geographies and the Politics of Purification in Sri Lanka after the 2004 Tsunami," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 30, no. 2 (2009): 248–264,

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9493.2009.00370.x/pdf>

⁴⁰ Dennis B. McGilvray, "Sri Lankan Muslims: Between Ethno-Nationalism and the Global *Ummah*," *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 1 (2011): 45–64, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00460.x/pdf>

⁴¹ Dennis B. McGilvray and Mirak Raheem, "Muslim Perspectives on the Sri Lankan Conflict" (Policy Studies 41, East-West Center, Washington, DC, 2007), 12,

<http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/3527/ps041.pdf?sequence=1>

city is one of South Asia's best preserved examples of the fortified cities of the colonial era.⁴² Situated on the southwest coast approaching the island's tip, Galle was hit hard by the 2004 South Asian tsunami. However, the Sri Lankan government and international donors have reconstructed many of the damaged properties.⁴³

Batticaloa

Situated on an island off the east coast, this city is a major trading center for the region and has large Tamil and Moor (Muslim) populations. It is connected to the mainland via bridges and ferries. The city has an estimated population of 88,459.⁴⁴

Jaffna

The northernmost major city in Sri Lanka, Jaffna was the seat of an ancient Tamil kingdom and is the cornerstone of Tamil identity on the island. It was devastated and largely depopulated during the civil war.⁴⁵

Environmental Issues

Since the beginning of the 20th century, deforestation has taken a serious toll on the forest cover of Sri Lanka. At the turn of the last century, 70% of Sri Lanka was forested. By the end of the century, that figure had dropped to 21%.⁴⁶ The related problem of soil erosion has been a major concern in Sri Lanka for decades and poses a direct threat to the country's tea plantations and tea exports.⁴⁷



© James Gordon
Forest cleared for tea plants

⁴² World Heritage Centre, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Old Town of Galle and Its Fortifications," 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451>

⁴³ Ramanie Samarantunge, Ken Coghill, and H.M.A. Herath, "Tsunami Engulfs Sri Lankan Governance," *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 74, no. 4 (2008): 677–702, <http://ras.sagepub.com/content/74/4/677.full.pdf+html>

⁴⁴ Department of Census and Statistics, Government of Sri Lanka, "Basic Population Information on Batticaloa District—2007: Preliminary Report: Based on Special Enumeration—2007," October 2007, 14, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/Preliminary%20Reports%20Special%20Enumeration%202007/Basic%20opulation%20Information%20of%20Batticaloa%20District%202007.pdf>

⁴⁵ Department of Census and Statistics, Government of Sri Lanka, "Basic Population Information on Jaffna District—2007: Preliminary Report: Based on Special Enumeration—2007," June 2008, 14, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/Preliminary%20Reports%20Special%20Enumeration%202007/Basic%20opulation%20Information%20on%20Jaffna%20District%202007.pdf>

⁴⁶ D.K.N.G. Pushpakumara, A. Wijesekara, and D.G. Hunter, "Kandyan Homegardens: A Promising Land Management System in Sri Lanka," in *Sustainable Use of Biological Diversity in Socio-Ecological Production Landscapes: Background to the 'Satoyama Initiative for the Benefit of Biodiversity and Human Well-Being,'* ed. C. Bélair, et al. (Montreal: Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2010), 102–108, http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/sustainable%20use%20of%20biological%20diversity_0.pdf#page=103

⁴⁷ Gamini Herath, "Estimating the User Cost of Soil Erosion in Tea Smallholdings in Sri Lanka," *Australian Journal of Regional Studies* 7, no. 1 (2001): 97–111, <http://www.anzrsai.org/system/files/f8/f4/f32/f35/o192/Herath.pdf>

With deforestation, more animals and humans are competing for space. Poaching poses a threat to wildlife populations.⁴⁸ Illegal sand mining along Sri Lanka's coasts and rivers has led to significant degradation and contributed to further loss of habitat for the island's wildlife.⁴⁹

Increased pollution—stemming from the dumping of industrial wastes, sewage runoff, waste disposal, and other factors related to urbanization—is a major concern, especially in urban centers.⁵⁰

Natural Hazards

Frequent cyclones, flooding, and occasional earthquakes plague the island. Less frequent, but extremely dangerous, tornadoes and tsunamis are significant natural hazards facing Sri Lankans.^{51, 52}

On 26 December 2004, a massive tsunami triggered by an underwater earthquake off the coast of Indonesia ravaged coastal communities throughout much of Sri Lanka. Tens of thousands of Sri Lankans died, and an estimated 800,000 became internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a result of this catastrophe.⁵³

⁴⁸ Wildlife Research and Conservation Trust of Sri Lanka (firm), "Projects – Mammal Conservation and Research Programme," 2009, <http://www.wrctsl.org/projects/mrc.htm>

⁴⁹ L.H.P. Gunaratne, "Policy Options for Sustainable River Sand Mining in Sri Lanka," *Economy and Environment Program for Southeast Asia Research Reports*, July 2010, <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46164/1/132654.pdf>

⁵⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Geography," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

⁵¹ R.S. Mallawaarachchi and C. Jayasinghe, "The Effects of Cyclones, Tsunami and Earthquakes on Built Environments and Strategies for Reduced Damage," *Journal of the National Science Foundation of Sri Lanka* 36, no. 1 (2008): 3–14, <http://www.sljol.info/sljol/index.php/JNSFSL/article/view/128/269>

⁵² Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Geography," *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

⁵³ S. Mallawaarachchi and C. Jayasinghe, "The Effects of Cyclones, Tsunami and Earthquakes on Built Environments and Strategies for Reduced Damage," *Journal of the National Science Foundation of Sri Lanka* 36, no. 1 (2008): 3–14, <http://www.sljol.info/sljol/index.php/JNSFSL/article/view/128/269>

Chapter 1 Assessment

1. The Sri Lankan landscape is one unbroken plain, surrounded by sandy beaches.
False
A number of mountain ranges are found in the center of the island, including the Knuckles, the Hanthana, and the Sabaragamuwa ranges.
2. Muslims are a majority in the city of Kalmunai.
True
Kalmunai is the only Muslim-majority municipality in Sri Lanka and has an estimated population of about 106,000. Located along the eastern seaboard, the city has long been the center of ethnic Muslim politics.
3. Because the island is sheltered by India's Eastern Ghats mountain range, Sri Lanka's climate is cooler and drier than that found in other South Asian countries.
False
The Sri Lankan climate is tropical: hot and humid. The only exception is the Central Highlands, where the majority of the tea plantations are located. In the low country and coastal areas, the mean annual temperature is about 27.5°C (81.5°F), compared to 18°C (64.4°F) in the hill country.
4. The Colombo Urban Area is the only urban center to have a population more than 1 million.
True
The Colombo Urban Area has a population of around 2.1 million, and no other urban center approaches the 1 million mark.
5. The city of Jaffna is especially important to Sri Lanka's Tamil population.
True
The northernmost major city in Sri Lanka, Jaffna was the seat of an ancient Tamil kingdom and is considered a cornerstone of Tamil identity on the island.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY

Sinhalese Origin Narrative

Although debated in academia, the majority of scholars believe that the Sinhalese first landed on an island already populated by aboriginal people referred to as the Veddah—a type of demon in Sinhalese Buddhist cosmology.⁵⁴



© James Gordon
Sinhalese temple ruins

The Sinhalese origin legend, in the encyclopedic Pali text known as the *Mahāvāṃsa*, recounts the exploits of an Indo-Aryan prince, Vijaya. Banished from his homeland for gross misconduct, Vijaya—descended from a family devoted to a lion totem— leads a band of 700 followers across the Indian Ocean. The exiles landed on the northwestern coast of Sri Lanka. Taking a young *yakka* (Vedda) princess as his consort, Vijaya defeated the indigenous rulers and seized the island. After abandoning the local princess for a more socially acceptable bride from India, Vijaya died without an heir. Succeeded by a nephew, his people come to be known as the Sinhalese, the people of the lion.⁵⁵

The Dravidian peoples of South India, of whom the Tamils are one branch, are believed to have migrated to the island at roughly the same time as the Sinhalese. Over Sri Lanka’s history, successive waves of migration from North and South India have profoundly shaped the history and ethnic makeup of the island.⁵⁶

The Ancient Kingdom

According to Sinhalese tradition, King Panduvasdēva, the nephew and successor of Vijaya, ruled the island for 30 years, using Upatissa Grāma as the capital. Panduvasdēva had 10 sons and 1 daughter, Princess Unmāda Chithtra. After internal squabbling over the succession between these brothers and Pandukābhaya, the son of Princess Chithtra, the latter emerged victorious and named Anurādhapura as the capital in the Fourth Century B.C.E. The new king received great help in the conflict with his uncles by the Veddahs. In gratitude for their service, he put many in positions of power within the newly established kingdom.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Robert Muggah, *Relocation Failures in Sri Lanka: A Short History of Internal Displacement and Resettlement* (New York : Zed Books, 2008), 70.

⁵⁵ John Clifford Holt, ed., *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 13–25.

⁵⁶ K. Indrapala, “Tamil Identity in Ancient Sri Lanka,” in *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. John Clifford Holt (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 69–74.

⁵⁷ Donald Obeyesekere, *Outlines of Ceylon History* (Colombo: The Times of Ceylon, 1911).

Repeated South Indian invasions brought greater Hindu influence that threatened the island's budding orthodox Buddhism. A few of these invasions irrevocably altered Buddhism on the island. In the Second Century B.C.E., two Tamil horse traders, Sena and Guttika, defeated the Sinhala king, Sūratissa, and ruled Anurādhapura from 237–215 B.C.E.⁵⁸ Only a few decades earlier, Indian monks had converted the island's population to Buddhism.⁵⁹



© James Gordon
Ancient Sigiriya

Another invasion that brought dramatic change to the island was that of Eḷāra (101–77 B.C.E.), who came from Chola in present-day Tamil Nadu. Eḷāra, who seized the Sinhala kingdom by defeating Asela, ruled Sri Lanka for 44 years. Even the Sinhalese traditionally represent Eḷāra as a just king. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, a Fifth Century C.E. chronicle, Eḷāra ruled justly in settling disputes with friend and foe alike. He ordered the execution of his own son because of a heinous religious crime committed against the Buddhists.^{60, 61} Afterwards, more than a dozen invasions from South India led the Sinhala kings to relocate their capital to the more strategically defensible position of Poḷonnaruwa.⁶²

Medieval Invasions and Social Integration

The Kingdom of Poḷonnaruwa prevailed during the reigns of King Parākramabāhu I (1123–1186) and his immediate successor, Nissaṅka Malla I (1186–1196), all other Poḷonnaruwa rulers were weak and prone to infighting.⁶³



© James Gordon
Ruins in Polonnaruwa

Although the kings had moved the royal seat to Poḷonnaruwa thinking it was more defensible, South Indian invasions continued. Kalinga Māgha led an invasion from the east coast of India in 1214 and ruled over the Poḷonnaruwa kingdom from 1215 to 1236.

During this occupation, the Sinhala civilization was faced with being incorporated into the political, military, and socio-economic system of the more powerful Dravidian kingdoms of India. Māgha's forces consisted largely of South Indian mercenaries. Māgha ruled the ancient northern kingdom, Vijayabāhu III established a separate Sinhalese kingdom in Dambadeniya, from which he launched attacks against Māgha and eventually defeated him.^{64, 65}

⁵⁸ Ananda W.P. Guruge, *Mahāvamsa: The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Information, 1990), 215.

⁵⁹ Patrick Grant, *Buddhism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 47.

⁶⁰ *Mahāvamsa*, II.XXI.

⁶¹ *Mahāvamsa*, II.XXI.16–19.

⁶² Humphrey William Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 55–75.

⁶³ Humphrey William Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 55–75.

⁶⁴ Dennis B. McGilvray, *Crucible of Conflict: Tamil and Muslim Society on the East Coast of Sri Lanka* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 58–61.

⁶⁵ K.N.O. Dharmadasa, *Language, Religion, and Ethnic Assertiveness: The Growth of Sinhalese Nationalism in Sri Lanka* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 13–15.

The next major invasion came from a less likely source. On two separate occasions, in 1247 and 1270, Candrabhānu, the King of Tambralinga (in modern-day Thailand), invaded Sri Lanka. His goal was to acquire the *Dantha Dāthu*, the Buddha's tooth relic. The Sinhalese were able to repel the invaders with the aid of South Indian allies. The invasions created a new relationship with Southeast Asia.⁶⁶ Moreover, the Dambadeniya kingdom proved to be too weak to force their South Indian allies to return to India. Thus, a Tamil king was installed in Jaffna, which gradually became an independent kingdom. The Sinhalese capital was temporarily shifted to Yāpahuwa, before returning to Poḷonnaruwa about half a century later. During the two centuries following the invasion, the Sinhalese gradually abandoned the northern plains, previously the center of their civilization. They settled in the southwestern and central regions. The Tamils, who had been coming to the island as peaceful settlers, and in times of war as soldiers and invaders, established themselves in the north. Other Tamils settled in the south and southwest and were integrated into Sinhala society.^{67, 68}

Early Modern

During the early 15th Century, Parākramabāhu VI, the founder of the Kingdom of Kōṭṭe, established control over the entire island from his capital in western Sri Lanka. During this time, the island was united under one king for the first time in centuries. However, by 1467, the Jaffna Kingdom, which had been created by the South Indian invaders in the early 13th Century, proclaimed its independence, having been governed by the Kōṭṭe throne only 17 years.⁶⁹

In 1521, in a palace coup d'état known as the *Vijayabā Kollaya*, Vijayabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe was murdered by his three eldest sons. They feared they would be overlooked for succession to the throne in favor of their father's fourth son, Dēvarāja. The eldest succeeded their murdered father to the Kōṭṭe throne as Buvanekabahu VII, while the other two created separate kingdoms for themselves from the carcass of the once mighty Kōṭṭe — Māyādunnē ruled from Sītāwaka and Parārājasimha established the Kingdom of Raigama. With this fragmentation of power, the Kingdom of Kandy gained further autonomy, because it was effectively outside of the control of any of these three successor states.⁷⁰

For the remainder of the 16th Century, the monarchs of Kōṭṭe and Sītāwaka battled for control of the island. Unable to win decisively, both sides enlisted the help of foreign allies. The kings of



© James Gordon
Koneswaram Temple,
Trincomalee

⁶⁶ John C. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 108.

⁶⁷ Michael Roberts, *Caste Conflict and Elite Formation: The Rise of Karāva Elite in Sri Lanka, 1500–1931* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21–34.

⁶⁸ L.R. Reddy, *Sri Lanka: Past and Present* (New Delhi: APH Publishing, 2003), 49–50.

⁶⁹ Chandra Richard de Silva, *Sri Lanka and the Maldivian Islands* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 109–110.

⁷⁰ Rohini Paranavitana, "Sinhalese War Poems and the Portuguese," in *Re-exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, ed. Jorge Flores (Wiesbaden, Germany: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 51–52.

Sītāwaka looked to Muslim powers of India; whereas, the Kōṭṭe rulers turned to the Portuguese, ushering in the colonial era.⁷¹

Colonial Domination

Like most island nations, Sri Lanka has been invaded throughout its history. Most of these invasions originated from the South Indian kingdoms. Although these invasions ended in the colonial era, the impact of European conquerors on Sri Lankan culture has been more profound and enduring. During centuries of European domination, the island emerged from isolation to join the international arena.

Portuguese

In 1505, the first Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka. Within ten years, a sizable fleet of Portuguese ships landed at Colombo, and construction began on a fort. By 1619 the Portuguese had conquered the territory, which was annexed to their southern holdings.⁷²



© still searching... / flickr.com
Portuguese fort location

The history of Portuguese colonialism in Sri Lanka was bloody and acrimonious from the beginning. Initially invited by the King of Kōṭṭe to fend off his rivals, they overstayed their welcome, and eventually seized full control of the kingdom. The Portuguese set out not only to conquer the territory but also the souls of the island's indigenous peoples. Forced conversions, the destruction of religious buildings and artifacts, and the murder of the priesthood were Portuguese policy. Although these tactics won them territory and some allies among the ruling class, they also created a deep-seated animosity against the Portuguese.^{73, 74}

Hatred for the Portuguese led the Sītāwakans and Kandyans to seek foreign alliances to help them drive out the Portuguese. Perhaps preferring the known enemy to one unknown, Rājasimha II of Kandy formally allied with the Dutch.^{75, 76}

⁷¹ Paulus Edward Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese, 1505–1658*, reprint (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1999).

⁷² Manus I. Midlarsky, *Origins of Political Extremism: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 200.

⁷³ K. W. Goonewardena, "Dutch Policy towards Buddhism in Sri Lanka," in *The Sri Lanka Reader: History Culture, Politics*, ed. John Clifford Holt (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 226.

⁷⁴ K. M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 128.

⁷⁵ John C. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 123.

⁷⁶ Sebald de Weert, "A Dutch Prelude," in *The Sri Lanka Reader: History Culture, Politics*, ed. John Clifford Holt (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 191–200.

Dutch

In 1658, the Dutch replaced the Portuguese as the colonial power in Sri Lanka. Only the Sinhalese kingdom of Kandy remained independent. The Dutch brought many South Indian laborers and mercenaries, some of whom married into Tamil and Sinhalese families. Others mixed with Muslims (called Moors by Sri Lankans) on the island.⁷⁷



© R. M. Calamar
Dutch church, Galle

Early on, the Dutch focused on the coasts and the ports associated with international trade. The island's interior remained under the control of the Sinhalese Kandyan Kingdom. The Dutch intended to make the Kandyan Kingdom a landlocked state, forced to rely on the Dutch for all contact with the outside world. Rājasimha II was aware of Dutch designs, and as early as 1660, contacted the English, hoping again to play one European power against another. These overtures, however, would not bear fruit for nearly a century and a half.⁷⁸

With the death of Śrī Vēra Parākrama Narendra Simha in late 1739, the Sinhalese dynasty ended. He was succeeded by Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha, also known as Rājasimha III, a brother of the late king's South Indian wife, a princess of the Nāyakkar dynasty.⁷⁹ Thereafter, the chief queens of all the subsequent kings were brought from South India. Although these kings appeared to be Sinhalese Buddhist monarchs, having adopted Sinhala names and the Buddhist faith, actually, they were ardent Hindus and South Indians.⁸⁰

As the Kandyan Kingdom declined, the Dutch made inroads into the interior of the island. Frequent battles between the Dutch and the Kandyans shifted territory between them a few times, but the Dutch steadily eroded the power of the Kandyan kings. However, wars and revolutions in Europe, in which the Dutch were handily defeated, led to their demise in Sri Lanka.^{81, 82, 83}

⁷⁷ Markus Vink, “‘The World’s Oldest Trade’: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (2003): 131–177, http://wysinger.homestead.com/slavery_dutch.pdf

⁷⁸ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, “Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658–1687” (master’s thesis, Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1958), 238.

⁷⁹ Subramanian Gopalakrishnan, *The Nayaks of Sri Lanka, 1739–1815: Political Relations with the British in South India* (Madras: New Era Publications, 1988), 23.

⁸⁰ Ananda Wickremeratne, *Buddhism and Ethnicity in Sri Lanka: A Historical Analysis* (New Delhi: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Kandy, 1995), 139.

⁸¹ Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815: Expansion and Reform* (Boston: Brill, 2007), 39, 114–115.

⁸² Humphrey William Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 145.

⁸³ Lennox A. Mills, *Ceylon under British Rule, 1795–1932: With an Account of the East India Company’s Embassies to Kandy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1965), 12–26.

British

On 16 February 1796, the last of the Dutch forces in Sri Lanka were defeated by a joint Anglo–Kandyan army.⁸⁴ Although the Kandyans had expected to extend their power as the last independent indigenous kingdom, they were betrayed. By 1815, the entire island surrendered to British authority.



© James Gordon
British cemetery

Beginning in the 1830s, the British sold parcels of land in the central highlands at cheap prices to British nationals. They encouraged the development of an economy based on plantation agriculture. Coffee, tea, rubber, and coconuts became the colony's principle exports. When local Sinhalese refused to work on the plantations, the British brought in large numbers of Tamils from South India to work as migrant laborers. They came to be known as Estate (or Indian) Tamils. Many laborers died of disease while being transported to Sri Lanka. After clearing the forest for agriculture, Tamils lived on the plantations separate from the native Sinhalese.⁸⁵

Before winning the right to vote in 1931, the Tamils had not seen themselves as a minority but rather as a community on the island. This perception explains, in part, why the Tamil Congress' demand for equal representation for minorities did not appear unreasonable to the members of the pre-independence political party.⁸⁶ The Tamils made up only about 20% of the population.⁸⁷ The key factor behind the growing ethnic conflict was a disagreement between the ethnic groups over the political structure of an independent Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese preferred a unitary state while the major Tamil party demanded a federal state. The Sinhalese majority perceived the Tamil's demand for a federal government as a bid for independence.⁸⁸

20th Century

Independence

On 4 February 1948, the United Kingdom granted Sri Lanka independence. As they had in India, the British colonialists left behind a tense situation on the verge of violence and upheaval.⁸⁹ Following independence, the government withheld citizenship and voting rights from the Estate Tamils (Tamils brought by the British to work the plantations). Though opposition lawmakers were cautious of the measures, many Tamil leaders were persuaded to support the legislation.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth J. Harris, *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter: Religious, Missionary and Colonial Experience in Nineteenth-Century Sri Lanka* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 11.

⁸⁵ Patrick Peebles, *The Plantation Tamils of Ceylon* (New York: Leicester University Press, 2001).

⁸⁶ Adrian Wijemanne, *War and Peace in Post-Colonial Ceylon, 1948–1991* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1996), 2-3.

⁸⁷ Jerrold M. Post, *The Mind of the Terrorist: The Psychology of Terrorism from the IRA to al-Qaeda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 83.

⁸⁸ Asoka Bandarage, *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 29–52.

⁸⁹ Gautam Ghosh, "Outsiders at Home? The South Asian Diaspora in South Asia," in *Everyday Life in South Asia*, eds. Diane P. Mines and Sarah Lamb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 227.

The majority of Sinhalese and many Sri Lankan Tamils, those descended from the Tamils of the old Jaffna kingdom, did not view the Indian Tamils as citizens of an independent Sri Lanka.^{90, 91}

In 1956, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and their leftist allies came to power. The new government passed nationalist and socialist reforms that staunchly supported Sinhalese and Buddhist cultural dominance. Among the most controversial was the 1956 Official Language Act that made Sinhala the official language of the country. The law sparked opposition throughout the Tamil community, and a struggle to secure equal status for the Tamil language. Simultaneously, Tamil secessionist organizations emerged.⁹²

In September 1959, amid this unrest, a disenchanted Buddhist monk from the left assassinated Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Gaining access to Bandaranaike was easy, as Buddhist monks were routinely granted audiences with the prime minister. The fallen prime minister's widow, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, succeeded him as the leader of the SLFP. The 1960 elections solidified the SLFP's power, and Mrs. Bandaranaike became Prime Minister and the first female Prime Minister in the world.⁹³



© Dhammika Heenpella
Statue of Prime Minister
Bandaranaike

In 1972, the government ratified a new constitution; it became a republic now called Sri Lanka. However, the Tamils complained that the change did not address their concerns and worried that it had made Buddhism to an official state religion.⁹⁴

Bandaranaike intensified the SLFP's socialist reforms and promoted a stronger pro-Buddhist policy. The use of Sinhala as the official language of government was speedily implemented. In response, over the next decade, representatives of the Tamils led protests against the government's policies. Having survived repeated assassination attempts, Bandaranaike declared a state of emergency in August 1981, and severe restrictions were placed on all dissident groups.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Valli Kanapathipillai, *Citizenship and Statelessness in Sri Lanka: The Case of the Tamil Estate Workers* (London: Anthem Press, 2009), 52.

⁹¹ A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, *Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 8.

⁹² Asoka Bandarage, *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 50–52.

⁹³ Minoli Salgado, "Sinhala Only Bill," in *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Thought in English*, ed. Prem Poddar and David Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 437–438.

⁹⁴ A.M. Navaratna-Bandara, "Ethnic Relations and State Crafting in Post-Independence Sri Lanka," in *Sri Lanka: Current Issues and Historical Background*, ed. Walter Nubin (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002), 66–67.

⁹⁵ Pamela White, "Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tibet," in *Columbia Chronologies of Asian History and Culture*, ed. John Stewart Bowman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 408.

Civil War

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Tamil secessionist movements gathered steam, especially the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). In August 1983, amid an increase in communal violence, Sinhalese rioters killed a number of Tamils and destroyed Tamil properties in response to LTTE attacks. More than 100,000 Tamils fled as refugees to the neighboring Indian state of Tamil Nadu. The LTTE launched a guerrilla war, violently attacking Sinhalese and Muslim (Moor) civilians as well as military targets and moderate Tamil politicians.⁹⁶



© James Gordon
Reminder of the Civil War

For 26 years, Sri Lanka was devastated by a bitter ethnic civil war. From 1987 to 1990, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi intervened in the conflict, sending several thousand Indian troops under the auspices of the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) to disarm the LTTE. It was a complete debacle.⁹⁷

In reaction to Indian involvement, a nationalist insurrection, led by the Marxist inspired Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), erupted in 1987. Before the government was able to squelch this movement in 1989, tens of thousands were killed in terrorist attacks and government reprisals. This greatly distracted government forces from the civil war.^{98, 99}

Shortly following the withdrawal of Indian troops in 1990, a LTTE assassin killed Gandhi. In 1993, another LTTE operative assassinated Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa.^{100, 101}

Repeated efforts to reach a permanent ceasefire were thwarted. The LTTE used the ceasefires as an opportunity to rearm before renewing their attacks. Among Tamil exiles in Europe, North America, and Oceania, LTTE operatives solicited funds from Sri Lankans who had fled the conflict, threatening harm to family in Sri Lanka if they didn't contribute.¹⁰² These funds

⁹⁶ Neil DeVotta, *Blowback: Linguistic Nationalism, Institutional Decay, and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 166–190.

⁹⁷ John M. Richardson, *Paradise Poisoned: Learning about Conflict, Terrorism, and Development from Sri Lanka's Civil Wars* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2005), 533–534.

⁹⁸ Rajesh Venugopal, "Sectarian Socialism: The Politics of Sri Lanka's Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2010): 567–602.

⁹⁹ Nisha Arunatilake and Sisira Jayasuriya, "The Economic Cost of the War in Sri Lanka," *World Development* 29, no. 9 (September 2001): 1483–1500.

¹⁰⁰ Chris Smith, "South Asia's Enduring War," in *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka: Civil War and Reconciliation* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 17–40.

¹⁰¹ Donald R. Snodgrass, "The Economic Development of Sri Lanka: A Tale of Missed Opportunities," in *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka: Civil War and Reconciliation* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 89–108.

¹⁰² Jayshree Bajoria, "The Sri Lankan Conflict," *Council on Foreign Relations*, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-organizations/sri-lankan-conflict/p11407>

financed their operations, including a sophisticated propaganda program and advanced weaponry.^{103, 104}

During the same period, the LTTE also trained with many of the terrorist organizations throughout Asia, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Moro Islamic Front, and elements that would form the nucleus of al-Qaeda. The LTTE continued to traffic weapons, personnel, and drugs for these organizations until its demise.¹⁰⁵

Recent Events

Conclusion of the Civil War

In 2004, the commander of LTTE forces in eastern Sri Lanka, Vinayagamorthy Muralitharan (known at the time as Colonel Karuna), split with the group's leadership and began a dialog with the government. This removed eastern Sri Lanka from combat and significantly reduced LTTE's resources.¹⁰⁶ That same year, a massive tsunami devastated coastal communities throughout the Indian Ocean, including Sri Lanka.¹⁰⁷



© Sarvodaya Shramadana
President Mahinda Rajapaksa

In 2005, Sri Lankan voters withdrew their support for the party responsible for signing the 2002 ceasefire, bringing Mahinda Rajapaksa to power on a hard-line platform to renegotiate the ceasefire in favor of the government.¹⁰⁸ After repeated LTTE violations of the 2002 ceasefire agreement, the Rajapaksa government launched a massive campaign in 2006. By the middle of May 2009, the Sri Lankan Army had regained control of all rebel-held territory, and the senior leadership of the LTTE, including its founder, Velupillai Prabhakaran, were killed or captured. At the end of the civil war, the estimated death toll from the conflict stood at 80,000–100,000.¹⁰⁹

Post-war Developments

Since the conclusion of the war, the government of Sri Lanka has faced the daunting task of rebuilding the north and east of the country, where the greatest number of Tamils live. The

¹⁰³ Stefan Leader, "International, Cash for Carnage: Funding the Modern Terrorist," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 01 May 1998, 36.

¹⁰⁴ Jane's Defence, "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 24 March 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Jane's Defence, "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 24 March 2011.

¹⁰⁶ Andrew Hosken, "I Realised We Would Never Win," *BBC Radio*, 5 May 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_8033000/8033150.stm

¹⁰⁷ BBC, "On This Day 26 December 2004: Thousands Die in Asian Tsunami," 26 December, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/26/newsid_4631000/4631713.stm

¹⁰⁸ Chandra Richard de Silva, "Sri Lanka in 2005: Continuing Political Turmoil," *Asian Survey* 46, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 114–119.

¹⁰⁹ Bharatha Mallawarachi, "Sri Lanka's President Stats by His Armed Forces," *Associated Press*, 26 May 2011, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5hfGMMzwtLz6RJOYiwvvlv3FqtmIA?docId=9f0cda1a3b054d9ca9a01dff0d50c0ac>

government of Sri Lanka has relied heavily on foreign aid to finance reconstruction projects.¹¹⁰
¹¹¹

In a televised speech to the nation shortly after the conclusion of the civil war, Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa reached out to the Tamil minority, delivering his address in both Sinhala and Tamil.¹¹²

For a country emerging from 26 years of civil war, euphoria spread through the population. Rajapaksa's achievement in steering the army and the nation toward a final victory over the LTTE, in spite of staunch international opposition, brought him considerable acclaim at home. Yet recovery efforts have been hampered by the worldwide recession and the reservations expressed by some governments and nongovernment organizations over Rajapaksa's commitment to addressing the concerns of the Tamil minority. Additionally, the United Nations recently released a report alleging that the Sri Lankan government committed human rights violations in the closing phases of the war, suggesting that key members of the government might stand trial for such crimes.¹¹³ The Sri Lankan government has strongly denied such accusations, which have made it reluctant to cooperate with international agencies.¹¹⁴

In a May 2011 visit to Sri Lanka, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Robert O. Blake, Jr., who previously served as the U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka, praised the Sri Lankan government for its prompt resettlement of nearly all the internally displaced persons (IDPs) who had been held in government camps following the end of the civil war.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Nadeeka Arambewela and Rodney Arambewela, "Post-war Opportunities for Peace in Sri Lanka: An Ongoing Challenge?" *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 22, no. 3 (2010): 365–375.

¹¹¹ Jonas Lindberg and Camilla Orjuela, "Corruption and Conflict: Connections and Consequences in War-torn Sri Lanka," *Conflict, Security & Development*, 11, no. 2 (2011): 205–233.

¹¹² "No Mention of Prabhakaran in Rajapaksa's Victory Speech," *Times of India*, 19 May 2009, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2009-05-19/south-asia/28203310_1_rajapaksa-tamil-tigers-tamil-eelam

¹¹³ Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka, *Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka* (Geneva: United Nations, 2011), http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/POE_Report_Full.pdf

¹¹⁴ Ranga Sirilal, "Sri Lanka Says U.N. War Crimes Report Threatens Peace Efforts," Reuters, 27 April 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/04/27/columns-us-srilanka-un-idUSTRE73Q3JD20110427>

¹¹⁵ Robert O. Blake, Jr., "U.S.–Sri Lanka Relations" (press conference, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 4 May 2011), <http://www.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rmks/2011/162574.htm>

Chapter 2 Assessment

1. South Indian invaders profoundly influenced Sri Lankan history, religion, and ethnic composition.
True
From ancient times, repeated waves of South Indian invaders interacted with the local population—bringing Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist influences to the island.
2. Anurādhapura served as the capital of the island until the Portuguese colonized Sri Lanka.
False
While it was the capital throughout the ancient period of Sri Lankan history, South Indian invaders forced Sinhalese rulers to frequently move their capital from the medieval era onward.
3. Portuguese colonial rule was fairly harmonious and promoted the development of the island.
False
The history of Portuguese colonialism in Sri Lanka was bloody. Invited in to assist the King of Kōṭṭe fend off his rivals, they eventually seized full control of Sri Lanka.
4. The Dutch brought the entire island under their control by the early 19th Century.
False
While the Dutch frequently defeated the Kingdom of Kandy in recurring conflicts, they were never able to decisively conquer the Sinhalese of the interior kingdom.
5. Political violence was a central theme throughout much of Sri Lanka’s modern history.
True
Plagued by assassinations, communist insurgencies, coup attempts, and civil war, Sri Lanka has suffered dramatically throughout much of the 20th and 21st centuries.

CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY

Introduction

Following independence in 1948, Sri Lanka pursued an economic approach of strong central planning and self-sufficiency, which proved unsuccessful. By 1977, voters had rejected this socialist paradigm and enacted comprehensive economic reform aimed at free market capitalism, privatization, and deregulation of industry. Although three decades of civil war hampered these economic reforms, Sri Lanka maintained a surprisingly robust economy throughout the conflict. Today, improved security has encouraged significant international investment, aid, and joint ventures. Much of this investment is being used to rebuild roads, rail, and other infrastructure destroyed during the civil war.¹¹⁶



© Shehal Joseph
Glass bottle manufacturing

Although depressed by the global slowdown since 2008, the garment industry and other businesses within the manufacturing and service sectors have been fueling the Sri Lankan economy.^{117, 118} With an economy of USD 24.1 billion (2010 est.), and a per capita GDP of approximately USD 2,400, Sri Lanka has enjoyed strong growth rates in recent years.¹¹⁹ However, this growth (more than 9% in 2010) has been mitigated by inflation.^{120, 121, 122} Sri Lanka also suffers from high international debt, about USD 18 billion, and consistently runs a trade deficit.¹²³

Many analysts believe that fundamental reform, reconstruction, and reconciliation must transpire in order to stabilize Sri Lanka's economy. Others point out the need for industry to diversify the country's export base, which, in addition to the garment industry, is heavily reliant upon

¹¹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹¹⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹¹⁸ Kanchana N. Ruwanpura and Neil Wrigley, "The Costs of Compliance? Views of Sri Lankan Apparel Manufacturers in Times of Global Economic Crisis," *Journal of Economic Geography* (2010): 1–19, <http://joeg.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/content/early/2010/12/24/jeg.lbg036.full.pdf+html>.

¹¹⁹ Department of Census and Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Government of Sri Lanka, "Press Note on Annual Estimates of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)," 2010, http://www.statistics.gov.lk/national_accounts/Press%20Release/PRESS%20NOTE%20%202010%20Annual.pdf

¹²⁰ Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, "Reconciliation Quest – Sri Lanka's Security After the Conflict," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 15 July 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/mags/jir/history/jir2011/jir11155.htm@current>

¹²¹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

¹²² Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Executive Summary," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 21 April 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sri1010.htm@current>

¹²³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

agriculture.¹²⁴

Agriculture

One-third of Sri Lankan workers labor in agriculture. Among the main products are rice and grains, spices, tea, rubber, fish, coconuts, and vegetables. Nearly 14% of the country's land is arable, and roughly 15% is used for permanent crops.¹²⁵ The scarcity of land has resulted in widespread sharecropping and subsistence farming.¹²⁶

Given the island's erratic weather, the agricultural sector seldom experiences much growth. Droughts and floods have devastated crops in recent years. Moreover, the 2004 tsunami wreaked havoc with Sri Lanka's fishing fleet, which has yet to recover fully.¹²⁷ Still, since the civil war's conclusion, production has increased, and the fishing industry appears to be on the rebound. Offsetting this positive growth, however, commodity prices have declined on the global market.¹²⁸



© limeasia / flickr.com
Field of cabbage

Industry

In 2010, the growth rate of Sri Lankan industrial production was estimated at 8.4% and focused on agricultural processing (tea, coconuts, rubber, etc.), the garment industry, construction, and the service sector.¹²⁹ The industrial and service sectors account for more than 87% of the country's GDP, relying heavily upon garment exports to the United States and Europe.¹³⁰ Furthermore, 67.3% of the workforce is employed in the industrial and service sectors.¹³¹

The worldwide economic slowdown has adversely affected the Sri Lankan garment industry, which has seen its market share dwindle since 2009. Similar downturns have affected other export industries.¹³²

¹²⁴ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

¹²⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹²⁶ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April, 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sri040.htm@current>

¹²⁷ T. Rossetto, et al., "The Indian Ocean Tsunami of December 26, 2004: Observations in Sri Lanka and Thailand," *Natural Hazards* 42, no. 1 (2007): 105–124.

¹²⁸ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

¹²⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹³⁰ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

¹³¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹³² Kanchana N. Ruwanpura and Neil Wrigley, "The Costs of Compliance? Views of Sri Lankan Apparel Manufacturers in Times of Global Economic Crisis," *Journal of Economic Geography* (2010): 1–19, <http://joeg.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/content/early/2010/12/24/jeg.lbq036.full.pdf+html>, doi:10.1093/jeg/lbq036

Energy and Natural Resources

Sri Lanka produces enough electricity for domestic consumption, but the power grid is unstable, so blackouts are frequent, especially in smaller communities. Growing demand has made this much worse. Analysts point to an overreliance on hydroelectricity, which in drought years leads to a sharp decline in energy production.^{133, 134}



© Chandimal Pathirage
Wind turbines, Puttalam

Although Sri Lanka has no proven oil reserves, tests in the Mannar Basin, along the island's northwest coast, indicate a probable reserve. The government accepted bids from Indian, Chinese, and Canadian companies to develop the site. In late 2010, the government announced that it also was accepting bids for exploration of the Cauvery Basin, another site off the northwest shore.¹³⁵ Natural gas reserves in India's portion of the basin were discovered in 2011, holding significant promise for both countries' energy needs.¹³⁶

Because of the correlation between petroleum prices and domestic inflation, the Sri Lankan government has tried to prevent fluctuations in prices by providing fuel subsidies. However, such tinkering with the commodity market has resulted in heavy financial losses for the state-operated Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC). This policy (along with mismanagement) also has concerned Western banking interests.^{137, 138}

CPC operates Sri Lanka's sole oil refinery, near Colombo. However, firms from the United Arab Emirates are slated to build a second refinery as part of the major construction projects underway in Hambantota, the hometown of President Rajapaksa.¹³⁹

Sri Lanka is one of the world's leaders in gem exports, deriving USD hundreds of millions each year from the industry. Other major mineral exports include graphite and titanium. Additionally,

¹³³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹³⁴ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April, 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriis040.htm@current>

¹³⁵ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April, 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriis040.htm@current>

¹³⁶ Amitav Ranjan, "RIL Hits New Gas Find in Cauvery Basin," *Indian Express*, 21 April 2011,

<http://www.indianexpress.com/news/ril-hits-new-gas-find-in-cauvery-basin/779132/>

¹³⁷ Reuters, "Sri Lanka's CPC to Appeal Against London Oil Hedge Ruling," 12 July 2011,

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/12/srilanka-hedging-idUSL3E7IC2G920110712>

¹³⁸ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April, 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriis040.htm@current>

¹³⁹ Uditha Kumarasinghe, Rajmi Manatunga, and Thushara Kaluarachchi, "New Oil Refinery for Hambantota," *Oilwatch Southeast Asia* (website), 2011, <http://oilwatch-sea.org/content/view/29/2/>

significant quantities of beach and river sand are exported annually, leading to erosion and habitat loss in certain areas.^{140, 141}

Trade

Although Sri Lanka has developed close trade ties with India and Pakistan, the balance of trade with these two regional powers is strongly skewed against Sri Lanka. For example, India provides 17.5% of all Sri Lankan imports but buys 4% of the nation's exports. Pakistan is neither a major importer nor export market for Sri Lankan goods. However, Sri Lanka has signed free-trade agreements with both of these countries, which could increase Sri Lankan trade as its economy regains its footing.^{142, 143, 144, 145}

Exports

The top five destinations of Sri Lankan exports are the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, and Belgium. Estimates for 2010 indicated that Sri Lankan exports brought in USD 8 billion, largely from the textile and garment industry, tea and spices commodities, rubber, gemstones, fish, and coconut-related products. Although tea and rubber were historically the chief exports, since the onset of the civil war the garment and tourism industries have eclipsed them. Despite the seeming diversification of its exports, the market continues to rely on a few commodities that reach limited markets.^{146, 147}

Imports

India, China, the European Union, Singapore, and Iran are Sri Lanka's major import partners.¹⁴⁸ The bulk of Sri Lanka's imports include petroleum products, machinery, and building materials, which amounted to an estimated USD 12 billion in 2010.^{149, 150}

¹⁴⁰ Deepthi Wikramasinghe, "Chapter 15: Coastal Ecosystems and Climate Vulnerability in Sri Lanka," in *Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction: An Asian Perspective*, Community, Environment and Disaster Risk Management, Volume 5, eds. Rajib Shaw, Juan M. Pulhin, and Joy Jacqueline Pereira (Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing, 2010), 307–326, <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/books.htm?chapterid=1901854&show=pdf>

¹⁴¹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April, 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils040.htm@current>

¹⁴² Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹⁴³ "Sri Lankan Business Delegation to Visit Pakistan," *Colombo Page* (Sri Lanka), 06 September 2011,

http://www.colombopage.com/archive_11A/Sep07_1315333954CH.php

¹⁴⁴ R.K. Radhakrishnan, "India Hopes Sri Lanka Will Pursue Genuine Political Settlement," *The Hindu*, 15 August 2011, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/article2358678.ece>

¹⁴⁵ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils080.htm@current#to>
<clink-j1931151603009514>

¹⁴⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹⁴⁷ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils080.htm@current#to>
<clink-j1931151603009514>

¹⁴⁸ European Commission, "Trade: Sri Lanka: Sri Lanka's Trade with Main Partners (2010)," 8 June 2011, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113449.pdf

¹⁴⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

Among the most profound changes in Sri Lanka's imports since the end of the war has been the decline in the percentage of food items and military equipment.¹⁵¹

Tourism

Sri Lanka has long pursued a policy of developing a sustainable tourist industry but suffered severe setbacks because of the civil war and the 2004 tsunami.¹⁵² Now that the war has concluded, the government hopes to develop tourism to the point that it could produce USD 3 billion annually by the middle of this decade. It has designated numerous areas for development as tourist zones.¹⁵³ These include the World Heritage site of Sri Lanka's "second city" Kandy, which is renowned for the Temple of the Tooth, a major Buddhist temple that attracts pilgrims and tourists alike.¹⁵⁴ The shrines of Kataragama—a holy site for Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims located in the country's southeast—are a major destination for domestic and international pilgrims and tourists.¹⁵⁵



© Shreyans Bhansali
Surfing in Hikkaduwa

The coastal communities of the south and west additionally have long been vacation destinations popular with Westerners and the well-to-do of Sri Lanka. Colombo offers all the amenities of the world's major metropolitan cities—with a distinctive South Asian flair. Galle and Negombo feature pristine beaches, Dutch colonial architecture, and modern conveniences. Hikkaduwa and Ambalangoda, on the southwest coast, are major attractions for those interested in Sri Lankan folk art, surfing, and snorkeling.¹⁵⁶

The ancient sites of Anurādhapura, Yapahuwa, Polonnaruwa, Jaffna, and others throughout the island offer historical insight into the formation of the island's identity. The Sri Lankan Tourist Board has helped to develop these sites.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils080.htm@current#toclink-j1931151603009514>

¹⁵¹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils080.htm@current#toclink-j1931151603009514>

¹⁵² Martin Mulligan and Yaso Nadarajah, "Rebuilding Community in the Wake of Disaster: Lessons from the Recovery from the 2004 Tsunami in Sri Lanka and India," *Community Development Journal* (2011): <http://cdj.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/content/early/2011/04/15/cdj.bsr025.full.pdf+html>.

¹⁵³ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011, <http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils080.htm@current#toclink-j1931151603009514>

¹⁵⁴ World Heritage Convention, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Sacred City of Kandy," 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/450>

¹⁵⁵ M. Sunil Shantha, "Formalizing Domestic Tourism Sector in Sri Lanka: A Case Study on Southeast Dry Zone," *Sabaramuwa University Journal* 8, no. 1 (December 2008): 33–48, <http://sljol.info/index.php/SUSLJ/article/view/1849/1542>

¹⁵⁶ Sri Lankan Board of Tourism, "Refreshingly Sri Lanka: Wonder of Asia," 2011, <http://srilanka.travel/>

¹⁵⁷ Sri Lankan Board of Tourism, "Refreshingly Sri Lanka: Wonder of Asia," 2011, <http://srilanka.travel/>

Banking and Finance

The official currency of the nation is the Sri Lankan rupee (LKR), which in September 2011 was trading at a 110:1 ratio with the USD.¹⁵⁸ The Central Bank of Sri Lanka (CBSL) issues and regulates the currency and has been known to intervene when necessary to shore up its exchange rate. As such, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has classified the LKR as a managed currency, rather than independent.¹⁵⁹ The CBSL oversees a number of state-owned and private financial institutions, including banks, thrift and credits cooperatives, insurance companies, and venture capital companies.^{160, 161}



© Dhammika Heenpella
rupee coins

The Colombo Stock Exchange is the only stock exchange in Sri Lanka. While it is small, the exchange has proven to be an innovator among South Asian exchanges, switching to a paperless, automated system in the closing years of the 20th Century. It typically lists between 230–250 firms with a total capitalization of more than USD 6 billion.^{162, 163}

The Sri Lankan government reduced the budget deficit from 9.9% in 2009 to 8% in 2010. Moreover, credit ratings agencies have given the Sri Lankan economy positive ratings at a time when many Western economies, including the U.S. economy, are being downgraded by the same agencies.¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, many international investors are making significant investments in the Sri Lankan economy. One example is the Trinco Gateway Park, a major project aimed at renovating and expanding facilities at the port city of Trincomalee. The venture has a number of investors, including an Australian consortium.¹⁶⁵ India is investing in a host of smaller projects aimed at reconstructing the war-torn north and east regions of Sri Lanka.¹⁶⁶ China is another major

¹⁵⁸ XE, “Currency Converter Widget,” XE.com, 08 September 2011, <http://www.xe.com/ucc/convert/?Amount=1&From=USD&To=LKR>

¹⁵⁹ Jane’s Defence, “Sri Lanka: Economy,” *Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Asian Development Bank, “Sri Lanka: Financial Sector Assessment,” October 2005,

<http://www.adb.org/documents/assessments/financial/SRI-financial-sector-assessment-2005.pdf>

¹⁶¹ Nimali Hasitha Wickremasinghe and Savindi Jayakody, “Sri Lanka,” in *Outlook 2011: South-South Economic Links* (Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2011),

¹⁶² Indra Abeysekera, “The Relation of Intellectual Capital Disclosure Strategies and Market Value in Two Political Settings,” *Journal of Intellectual Capital* 12, no. 2 (2011): 319–338,

<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?issn=1469-1930&volume=12&issue=2&articleid=1906496&show=html>

¹⁶³ Tatiana Nenova, *Expanding Housing Finance to the Underserved in South Asia: Market Review and Forward Agenda* (Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2010), 303.

¹⁶⁴ Nimali Hasitha Wickremasinghe and Savindi Jayakody, “Sri Lanka,” in *Outlook 2011: South-South Economic Links* (Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2011),

www.adb.org/documents/books/ado/2011/ado2011.pdf

¹⁶⁵ “Mitchell Consortium Invests US \$700 M,” *Daily News* (Sri Lanka), 12 March 2011,

<http://www.dailynews.lk/2011/03/12/bus01.asp>

¹⁶⁶ Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, “Reconciliation Quest – Sri Lanka’s Security After the Conflict,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, 15 July 2011,

contributor to post-war reconstruction projects and is bankrolling much of the development of the Hambantota, which will include a first-class deepwater port, airport, top-tier hotels, a Volkswagen manufacturing facility, and other enterprises taking advantage of the newly created free-trade zone.^{167, 168, 169}

Standard of Living and Employment Trends

In 2010, Sri Lanka ranked 93rd out of 172 countries on the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index (HDI), a medium human-development country. The country is within striking distance of becoming a highly developed country. Having risen significantly each year since 1980, the country should make that list shortly.¹⁷⁰ The HDI measures factors such as adjusted net saving, literacy, fertility rates, carbon emissions, education enrollment, health and education expenditures, gender inequality, crime rates, internet users, longevity, malnourishment, and unemployment.¹⁷¹



© Manfred Lentz
Fishing industry

Sri Lanka had an estimated unemployment rate of 5.8% in 2010. One-third of all workers are in agriculture. Another 26.3% are employed in the industrial sector, and the remaining 41% work in the service sector.¹⁷² This figure is somewhat misleading, however, because many Sri Lankans work abroad where they can make far more money. The government estimates more than 1 million have emigrated to work abroad.¹⁷³ The per capita GDP in Sri Lanka was USD 5,000 in 2010, ranking 148th out of 228 countries (by comparison the per capita GDP in the United States was USD 47,200, ranked 11th in the world).¹⁷⁴

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/mags/jir/history/jir2011/jir11155.htm@current>

¹⁶⁷ Amal Jayasinghe, "Building Booms in S. Lanka's Tsunami Town," *AFP*, 16 August 2011,

http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iaiu2Pk3heBG6DG3qiM8RkKt_27w?docId=CNG.5a6cab0fccd7e341e00101949a99c732.1d1

¹⁶⁸ Parama Sinha Palit, "China's Soft Power in South Asia" (working paper, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 8 June 2010), <http://dr.ntu.edu.sg/bitstream/handle/10220/6499/WP200.pdf?sequence=1>

¹⁶⁹ "Volkswagen to Invest in Sri Lanka Hambantota [sic] Port Development Zone," *Colombo Page*, 25 August 2011, http://www.colombopage.com/archive_11A/Aug25_1314283569CH.php

¹⁷⁰ UNDP, "Sri Lanka: Country Profile of Human Development Indicators," 2010, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/LKA.html>

¹⁷¹ United Nations Development Programme, "HDI 2010 Index," 2010, http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/Lets-Talk-HD-HDI_2010.pdf

¹⁷² Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 27 September 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹⁷³ Ministry for Foreign Employment, Welfare, Promotion, and Welfare, Government of Sri Lanka, "National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka," October 2008, http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/download/mpolicy_srilanka_en.pdf

¹⁷⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparison: GDP – Per Capita (PPP)," in *The World Factbook*, 1 July 2010, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>

Sri Lanka actively promotes labor migration, providing pre-departure loans, training, insurance, and other services. This helps to keep the unemployment level down, increases remittances, and provides greater opportunity for socio-economic mobility.¹⁷⁵

Those living in territories controlled from 1983 to 2009 by the LTTE and other Tamil militant groups suffered severe economic hardships. Many traditional occupations, such as fishing and farming, proved untenable in the war zones.¹⁷⁶

Today, the standard of living in Sri Lanka varies drastically by social class and region of the island. The divide between the extravagantly wealthy and the destitute is dramatic. Likewise, the affluence found in Colombo or Kandy stands in stark contrast to the poverty of the north, which was devastated by the war and is only now being reconstructed.^{177, 178} However, Sri Lanka ranks third among all South Asian nations in terms of per capita GDP, behind only Maldives and Bhutan and ahead of India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh.¹⁷⁹

Public vs. Private Sector

Politicians have used the Sri Lankan economy as a platform to criticize officials and to gain public office. Thus, the economic system has fluctuated between government-controlled and free market capitalism, depending upon the fortunes of the two major political parties.¹⁸⁰



© Markus Spring
Public transportation

Since the late 1970s, Sri Lanka has pursued privatization. This trend gained full traction in the 1990s, and in 1996 the parliament passed the Public Enterprise Reform Act No. 1, which hastened the privatization of several manufacturing and trading companies, utilities, and service-sector enterprises. This trend has continued, with the government divesting itself of

¹⁷⁵ Sridhar K. Khatri, "Chapter 10: Labor Migration, Employment, and Poverty Alleviation in South Asia," in *Promoting Economic Cooperation in South Asia*, ed. Sadiq Ahmed, Saman Kelegama, and Ejaz Ghani (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage / World Bank, 2010), 231–258,

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOUTHASIAEXT/Resources/223546-1192413140459/4281804-1192413178157/4281806-1265938468438/BeyondSAFTAFeb2010Chapter10.pdf>

¹⁷⁶ Deborah Winslow and Michael D. Woost, eds., "Articulations of Economy and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," in *Economy, Culture, and Civil War in Sri Lanka* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 1–27.

¹⁷⁷ Tara Vishwanath and Nobuo Yoshida, "Chapter 12: Poverty Maps in Sri Lanka: Policy Impacts and Lessons," in *More Than a Pretty Picture: Using Poverty Maps to Design Better Policies and Interventions*, eds. Tara Bedi, Aline Coudouel, and Kenneth Simler (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2007), 225–240,

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPGI/Resources/342674-1092157888460/493860-1192739384563/10412-12_p225-240.pdf

¹⁷⁸ Jyotsna Shankar, "Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Sri Lanka and Cyprus: Avoiding a Stalemate" (thesis, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, 2011), 16,

http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1102&context=cmc_theses&sei-redir=1#search=%22%2Bdisparity%20between%20colombo%20tamil%20%2Bblanka%22

¹⁷⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparison: GDP – Per Capita (PPP)," in *The World Factbook*, 1 July 2010, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>

¹⁸⁰ John Richardson, *Paradise Poisoned: Learning about Conflict, Terrorism, and Development from Sri Lanka's Civil Wars* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2005), 189–216.

public transportation and more utilities. In 1992, recognizing its gross mismanagement of government-operated plantations, the government handed over management to 24 private companies, and in 1995, properties were sold, passing again into the hands of private companies.¹⁸¹ Privatization generated a great deal of revenue for the government.^{182, 183}

Although the relationship between the public and private sector was frequently lukewarm, because the latter feared government intervention, international non-government organizations have helped to bridge the divide, which has led to joint ventures.¹⁸⁴

Future Outlook

Although many of the world's advanced economies continue to be challenged, numerous developing economies, including Sri Lanka's, have grown throughout the global economic downturn that began in 2008. International credit rating agencies predict that the Sri Lankan economy will continue to expand, with Standard & Poor's estimating 6.8% growth in 2011. However, the specter of inflation continues to be a major concern. High debt and interest burdens also are obstacles with which the government and private sectors must deal.¹⁸⁵



© Haviz Issadeen
Fishing tourism

As internally displaced persons (IDPs) return to communities they fled during the war, another concern is pervasive disputes over properties and land ownership. If the government is able to resolve this situation peaceably, the return of IDPs could trigger positive economic growth in war-ravaged communities, which would benefit the overall economy.^{186, 187}

¹⁸¹ Rozana Salih, "Privatization in Sri Lanka," in *Privatization in South Asia: Minimizing Negative Social effects through Restructuring*, ed. Gopal Joshi (Bangkok: Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, International Labour Organization, 2001), 175–209, <http://www2.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/bangkok/paper/privatize/chap6.pdf>

¹⁸² Rozana Salih, "Privatization in Sri Lanka," in *Privatization in South Asia: Minimizing Negative Social effects through Restructuring*, ed. Gopal Joshi (Bangkok: Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, International Labour Organization, 2001), 175–209, <http://www2.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/bangkok/paper/privatize/chap6.pdf>

¹⁸³ Cecilia Tortajada, "Private Versus Public in Water Provision: Encouraging Case of Sri Lanka" (paper, Human Development Reports, United Nations Development Program, New York, 2006), http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2006/papers/cecilia_tortajada_srilanka_casestudy.pdf

¹⁸⁴ Tamara Failor and Jayantha Wickremanayake, "Kandy Revitalization Project Bridges Rifts Between Sri Lanka's Public and Private Sector," *In Asia*, 10 August 2011, <http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2011/08/10/kandy-revitalization-project-bridges-rift-between-sri-lankas-public-and-private-sector/>

¹⁸⁵ Roopa Kudva, "Sri Lanka Economic Outlook 2011," Ram Ratings (Lanka) Limited (website), 2010, <http://www.ram.com.lk/reports/pdf/Roopa-Kudva.-S&P-South-Asia-Presentation.pdf>

¹⁸⁶ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, "Sri Lanka: IDPs and Returnees Remain in Need of Protection and Assistance," 1 July 2010, <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/srilanka>

¹⁸⁷ Jyotsna Shankar, "Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Sri Lanka and Cyprus: Avoiding a Stalemate" (thesis, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, 2011), http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1102&context=cmc_theses&sei-redir=1#search=%22%2Bdisparity%20between%20colombo%20tamil%20%2Blanka%22

The end of the civil war has been a boon to the fishing and tourist industries, allowing for the development of coastal communities and maritime industry.¹⁸⁸ Many sectors of the economy have the potential for extensive growth including tourism and corporate outsourcing from Western economies. However, the Sri Lankan private sector faces the need to diversify if it hopes to generate greater market penetration with its exports, especially during the prevailing global economic situation.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Executive Summary," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 21 April 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils010.htm@current>

¹⁸⁹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Executive Summary," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 21 April 2011,

<http://search.janes.com/Search/printFriendlyView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/sassu/sriils010.htm@current>

Chapter 3 Assessment

1. The majority of Sri Lankans are employed in the agricultural sector.
False
Only one-third of Sri Lankans work in the agricultural sector.
2. Gemstones are a major export product of Sri Lanka.
True
Sri Lanka is one of the world's leaders in gem exports, deriving USD hundreds of millions each year from the industry.
3. The garment and tourism industries have eclipsed more traditional revenue streams in the Sri Lankan economy.
True
Although tea and rubber were historically the chief exports, since the onset of the civil war the garment and tourism industries have eclipsed them.
4. Sri Lanka lags behind other South Asian nations in terms of its standard of living.
False
Sri Lanka ranks third among all South Asian nations in terms of per capita GDP, behind only Maldives and Bhutan and ahead of India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh.
5. Many analysts expect the Sri Lankan economy to continue to grow, despite the current worldwide economic situation.
True
While many of the world's advanced economies continue to be challenged, Sri Lanka's economy has grown. International credit-rating agencies predict that the Sri Lankan economy will continue to expand, with Standard & Poor's estimating 6.8% growth in 2011.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIETY

Introduction

Sri Lankan society shares many cultural traditions and norms with its South Asian neighbors. Buddhism, which died out in India during medieval times, has thrived on the island since missionaries converted the ancient kingdoms in the third century C.E. Many people from North and South India, Central Asia, the Middle East, and elsewhere migrated to the island in ancient times. They discovered aboriginal Veddahs and forged a new civilization. Sri Lanka's religious and ethnic diversity stems from immigration and invasions from South India, Thailand, and Europe.



© James Gordon
Buddhist monks in prayer

Ethnic Groups and Languages

Although Sri Lanka is a small country, slightly larger than West Virginia, the population is quite diverse. According to ancient Pali chronicles, the Sinhalese arrived on the island in the 6th Century B.C.E. Shortly thereafter, Tamil immigrants began arriving from South India. Arab traders, the forebears of the Moors, began settling around Sri Lankan ports, bringing Islam to the island. The Burghers are descended from the European peoples who migrated the island during colonial times. The Veddahs, the aboriginal people of what is now Sri Lanka, have lived on the island for millennia.

Sinhalese

The Sinhalese, the current majority group in Sri Lanka heavily represented in the government, are an Aryan people who trace their lineage and culture to North India. They were isolated among the Dravidians of South India (Tamils), and many scholars have discussed their feeling of being outnumbered in their country. This unease was exacerbated by the British colonial administration that from 1796 to 1948 treated the Tamil population of Sri Lanka as a privileged class, to the detriment of the Sinhalese.¹⁹⁰ The Sinhalese speak Sinhala, an Indo-Aryan language closely related to the language of Maldives and the Indian island of Minicoy.¹⁹¹

Tamils

The Tamils, a minority group in Sri Lanka, are a Dravidian people who originated from India. More than 72 million Tamils live in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, across the narrow Palk Strait from Sri Lanka.¹⁹² Tamil is a Southern Dravidian language, closely related to Kannada and Malayalam.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ A.R.M. Imtiyaz, "The Politicization of Buddhism and Electoral Politics in Sri Lanka," in *Religion and Politics in South Asia*, ed. Ali Riaz (New York: Routledge, 2010), 155.

¹⁹¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: People," in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹⁹² Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, "Provisional Population Totals—Census 2011: Tamil Nadu: Provisional Population Totals at a Glance," 2011,

According to the 2001 provisional census, which was conducted in only 18 of the 25 districts because of the civil war, Tamil peoples make up roughly 8.5% of the population of Sri Lanka.^{194, 195} But in the northern and eastern districts, which were heavily affected by the civil war, Tamils historically represented between 18% and 90% of the population. These figures have been derived from the 1981 census, which was based on prewar populations.¹⁹⁶ Maps created by the International Centre for Ethnic Studies show more than 66% Tamil in Trincomalee, concentrations between 33 to 49% in Batticaloo, and virtually no Tamils in the Ampara area, all in the Eastern District.¹⁹⁷ At the time of this writing, the government is in the process of conducting its 2011 census and new figures are expected to paint a clearer picture of demographics.¹⁹⁸



© James Gordon
Tamil dance of worship

Moors (Muslims)

The Moors of Sri Lanka are the island's ethnic Muslims. They are descended from Arab traders, Indian migrant laborers, mercenaries, and other Muslims who came to the island and stayed.¹⁹⁹ The Department of Census and Statistics report that the Moors make up 8% of the population.²⁰⁰ Most Moors speak Tamil as their first language.²⁰¹ They are concentrated along the eastern seaboard of the country; however, many live in the country's major cities.

Muslim leaders compared attacks by the LTTE to the early 90s, in which Muslims were forced out of Jaffna.²⁰² The Sri Lankan government has resettled Moors who were dislocated by the

http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/data_files/tamilnadu/2-FIGURES%20AT%20A%20GLANCE-tn.pdf

¹⁹³ M. Paul Lewis, ed., "Tamil," in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009),

http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=tam

¹⁹⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: People," in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

¹⁹⁵ Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka "Ethnic Group and Religion: Population by Ethnic Group, Census Years," in *Statistical Abstract 2010*, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/abstract2010/chapters/Chap2/AB2-10.pdf>

¹⁹⁶ International Centre for Ethnic Studies, "Principle Ethnic Groups: Sri Lanka," n.d.,

http://www.ices.lk/sl_database/ethnic_groups.shtml

¹⁹⁷ International Center for Ethnic Studies, "Distribution of the Tamil Population in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka," n.d., http://www.ices.lk/sl_database/maps/eastern_map2.shtml

¹⁹⁸ "Sri Lanka Census after 30 Years to Form Official Data," *South Asian Focus*, 18 May 2011,

<http://www.southasianfocus.ca/international/article/98287>

¹⁹⁹ Patrick Peebles, *The History of Sri Lanka* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 7–8.

²⁰⁰ Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), "Sri Lanka: Difficult Homecoming for Muslim IDPs," 22 March 2010, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4bb06c8414.html>

²⁰¹ Anton Piyarathane, "Human and Minority Rights in Sri Lanka," in *Minority Rights in South Asia*, eds. Rainer Hofmann and Ugo Caruso (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 55–56.

²⁰² Michael D. Woost and Deborah Winslow, "Epilogue, or Prelude to Peace?" in *Economy, Culture, and Civil War in Sri Lanka*, eds. Deborah Winslow and Michael D. Winslow (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 196–197.

conflict.^{203,204} Religious tensions exist within the Muslim community between radical Islamists and those who subscribe to the local Sunni and Sufi traditions.^{205, 206}

Burghers

Descended from European colonialists, the Burghers are a tiny population; however, they are an important element of Sri Lankan culture. Although some families have Dutch and English ancestors, most are Portuguese, a heritage upheld by the Burgher community.²⁰⁷ Just after independence, when the government mandated Sinhala or Tamil curriculum in the schools rather than English, many Burghers immigrated, largely to Australia, Canada, and the United States.^{208, 209} Although Burghers had been almost exclusively Christian, some have converted to Buddhism because of the emergence of Sinhalese nationalism. Most Burghers live in Sri Lanka's major cities, including those in the east of the country with predominantly Tamil or Moor populations.²¹⁰

Veddahs

The Veddahs, or *Vanniyaletto* as they call themselves, are the aboriginal people of Sri Lanka, who may have originally spoken an Austro-Asiatic language. Today, most speak Sinhala. They have long dwelled in the forests of the island, living as hunters and gatherers.^{211, 212} Some scholars believe the Veddahs are direct descendants of the Neolithic peoples of prehistoric times. However, intermarriage and intermixing with Sinhalese and Tamils has taken place over time, causing a change in genetic makeup and the loss of their language. The ancient Pali chronicles,

²⁰³ Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), "Sri Lanka: Difficult Homecoming for Muslim IDPs," 22 March 2010, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4bb06c8414.html>

²⁰⁴ Ministry of Resettlement, Sri Lanka, "Situation Report as at 07-01-2011," July 2011, http://www.resettlementmin.gov.lk/idps_statistics.html

²⁰⁵ A.R.M. Imtiyaz and M.C.M. Iqbal, "The Displaced Northern Muslims of Sri Lanka: Special Problems and the Future," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46, no. 4 (August 2011), 375–389, doi: 10.1177/0021909611399733.

²⁰⁶ Sergi DeSilva Ranasinghe, "Sri Lanka's Wahhabi Issue," *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, 21 June 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_6&sn=jiaa&ed=jiaa2011&docid=3cb22bb1e50e835bb2803887da5d1fe4

²⁰⁷ Dennis B. McGilvray, "The Portuguese Burghers of Eastern Sri Lanka in the Wake of Civil War and Tsunami," in *Re-Exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, ed. Jorge Flores (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 325.

²⁰⁸ Nanda P. Wanasundera, *Sri Lanka* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2002), 66.

²⁰⁹ Tessa J. Bartholomeusz, "Buddhist Burghers and Sinhala-Buddhist Fundamentalism," in *Buddhist Fundamentalism and Minority Identities in Sri Lanka*, eds. Tessa J. Bartholomeusz and Chandra R. de Silva (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 167–185.

²¹⁰ Dennis B. McGilvray, "The Portuguese Burghers of Eastern Sri Lanka in the Wake of Civil War and Tsunami," in *Re-Exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, ed. Jorge Flores (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 337.

²¹¹ Jana Fortier, "The Ethnography of South Asian Foragers," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 99–114, <http://www.annualreviews.org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-anthro-091908-164345> doi: 10.1146/annurev-anthro-091908-164345

²¹² Ravi Vaitheespara, "A Post-National, Post-Colonial History of Early Sri Lanka and South India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 34, no. 2 (2011): 298–307, <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/pdf/10.1080/00856401.2011.587394> doi: 10.1080/00856401.2011.587394

the *Cūlavamsa* and *Mahavamsa*, describe this intermixing in the beginning of the Sinhalese kingdoms.²¹³

Although the Veddahs once inhabited much of the inland forests, their range today consists of small tracts of land around Anuradhapura, parts of the Central Highlands, and isolated areas of the eastern and southern coasts. Many consider their way of life to be endangered by encroaching urban development, deforestation, and pressures to assimilate into mainstream Sri Lankan society.²¹⁴



© James Gordon
Veddah men

Religion

Along with many ethnic groups, many religions thrive in Sri Lanka. Frequently, ethnic groups are associated with particular religions. The Sinhalese are predominantly Buddhist, although some are Christian. The Tamils are overwhelmingly Hindu, with a small but influential Roman Catholic minority. The Moors are nearly all Muslim. Although some converted to other religions, the Veddahs, who are a tiny ethnic group, continue to practice their traditional religion. Once overwhelmingly Christian, many Burghers converted to Buddhism following independence.

Buddhism

Siddhartha Gautama was born in the Sixth Century B.C.E. in India. In traditional lore, he was a Hindu prince of the warrior caste who renounced his family life and luxuries to pursue a spiritual path. After many years, Siddhartha became aware of the cause of suffering. He also realized a way to overcome this state and dedicated his life to passing this knowledge to others. In doing so, he reached a state of consciousness known as enlightenment. Thereafter, he was referred to as the Buddha, or “enlightened one.” He articulated a religious-philosophical doctrine now known as Buddhism.²¹⁵



© James Gordon
Buddhist cave temple

The Buddha was interested in restoring morality to what he perceived as overly legalistic and ritualistic Hinduism. Thus, the tenets of Buddhism focused on humankind, rather than on deities. The central premise of Buddhism is that humans can escape life’s pain only by ending their worldly attachments. The ultimate goal is enlightenment, known as *nibbana*. According to

²¹³ David Blundell, “Revisiting Cultural Heritage in Sri Lanka: The Vedda (Vanniyaletto),” *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 26 (2006): 163–167, <http://ejournal.anu.edu.au/index.php/bippa/article/viewFile/21/20>

²¹⁴ David Blundell, “Revisiting Cultural Heritage in Sri Lanka: The Vedda (Vanniyaletto),” *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 26 (2006): 163–167, <http://ejournal.anu.edu.au/index.php/bippa/article/viewFile/21/20>

²¹⁵ Richard Francis Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 32–60.

Buddhist scripture and belief, enlightenment is a state of mind that transcends desire and therefore ends suffering.²¹⁶

The Buddha taught that people should avoid all extremes and attachments to passion in their lives and follow an ideal known as the Middle Way. This involves awareness of the Buddhist concept of the Four Noble Truths. According to the Buddha, desire is the cause of suffering and the Four Noble Truths outline a way to be free from it by following the Eightfold Path. This route, which requires no intervention by priests, consists of the following ethical-moral choices: “right views, right intent, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort.” The remaining two moral choices, right mindfulness and right concentration, involve the quality of meditation necessary to gain higher awareness and sustain oneself on the Eightfold Path.²¹⁷

Like most religions, Buddhism is not a monolithic faith. There are many branches of Buddhism, but the one most prevalent in Sri Lanka is the conservative Theravāda Buddhism.²¹⁸ Buddhism is the dominant religion among the Sinhalese, and 69% of all Sri Lankans follow this faith.²¹⁹

Hinduism

The core of Hinduism is in the Vedas, ancient texts describing the beliefs and practices of the Vedic civilization, which developed in northwestern India during 2000 B.C.E.²²⁰ The Upanishads serve as a continuation of the Vedas and focus on religious knowledge. The great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, explained issues of duty, destiny, and virtue.²²¹



© Radsmatazz / flickr.com
Hindu temple

Hindus believe in the reincarnation (*samsara*) of the soul (*atman*) and that the quality of a person's next life is determined by one's actions in previous ones (*karma*). The caste system, in which people are born into a particular social class, is tied to this concept. To improve their position, Hindus must remain spiritually devout and follow the social and moral guidelines according to their station in life (*dharma*).²²² One can only overcome the cycle of rebirth through eradication of desire and ignorance. Achieved through monastic or devotional paths, this liberation from rebirth (*moksha*) is, in some conceptions, a union or reunion with Brahman, the eternal and infinite force from which everything else derives.²²³

²¹⁶ Anil D. Goonewardene, “Buddhism,” in *Six World Faiths*, ed. W. Owen Cole (New York: Continuum, 2004), 104–122.

²¹⁷ Herant A. Katchadourian, *Guilt: The Bite of Conscience* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 239–241.

²¹⁸ Rupert Gethin, *The Foundations of Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 253–276.

²¹⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, “Sri Lanka: People,” in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

²²⁰ R.C. Zaehner, *Hinduism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 36–38.

²²¹ Bud Heckman, et al., *InterActive Faith: The Essential Interreligious Community-Building Handbook* (Woodstock, VT: SkyLight Paths Publishing, 2008), 168–169.

²²² R.C. Zaehner, *Hinduism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 102–124.

²²³ Murray Milner, *Status and Sacredness: A General Theory of Status Relations and an Analysis of Indian Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 42–45.

The pantheon of Hindu gods and goddesses—hundreds of millions in scripture—are all expressions of Brahman, the Universal Supreme from which all things emanate and to which all must eventually return. Thus, worshippers may venerate any of these deities.²²⁴ The major sects of Hinduism are Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and Shaktism, which take, respectively, Vishnu, Shiva, and Shakti (the goddess) as their primary deities.²²⁵ Hindus often worship these and other deities according to caste, locality, or personal choice.

Tamils make up roughly 8.5% of the Sri Lankan population, or about 1.9 million out of a total population of 21.2 million.²²⁶ The majority of Tamils are Hindu.²²⁷ The main form of Hinduism practiced in Sri Lanka is Shaivism. Because the cultural impact of the faith is widespread throughout Sri Lanka, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, and Veddahs regularly visit some Hindu sites.^{228 229}

Islam

Islam is a monotheistic religion, meaning that its followers believe in a single deity. The Muslim community (*ummah*) calls this deity Allah. The Arabic term *islam* means “to submit” or “to surrender.” So a Muslim is one who submits to the will of Allah.²³⁰ Muslims believe that Allah revealed his message to the Prophet Muhammad, a merchant who lived in Arabia from 570 to 632 C.E. They consider Muhammad as the last in a long line of prophets including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Allah’s message, as relayed by Muhammad, is delivered in the Quran, the sacred text of Islam. Additional sacred scriptures include the Hadith, a collection of the sayings of Muhammad, and the *sunna*, which describes the practices of Islam by way of Muhammad’s example.



© Flickrmor / flickr.com
Islam prayer

The essential beliefs and rites of the Muslim faith are encapsulated in the Five Pillars of Islam. The first and central pillar is the faithful recitation of the *shahada*, or Islamic creed: “There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah.” The remaining pillars include performing ritual prayers five times per day, giving alms to the poor and needy, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, and undertaking a pilgrimage to the Islamic holy city of Mecca.²³¹

²²⁴ David Smith, *Hinduism and Modernity* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 34.

²²⁵ Sudhir Kakar, *Mad and Divine: Spirit and Psyche in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 142–150.

²²⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, “Sri Lanka: People,” in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

²²⁷ Walter Nubin, *Sri Lanka: Current Issues and Historical Background* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002), 146.

²²⁸ Bryan Pfaffenberger, “The Kataragama Pilgrimage: Hindu-Buddhist Interaction and Its Significance in Sri Lanka’s Polyethnic Social System,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (February 1979): 253–270.

²²⁹ Margaret A. Mills, Peter J. Claus, and Sarah Diamond, eds., *South Asian Folklore: An Encyclopedia: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 330–331.

²³⁰ Frederick Mathewson Denny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1994), 177.

²³¹ Frederick Mathewson Denny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1994), 118–136.

Muslims believe that Allah will judge them for their actions on earth, with the consequence of spending their afterlife in either heaven or hell.²³²

The Muslims of Sri Lanka, originally descended from Arab merchants, subscribed to Sunni and Sufi teachings. (Sufi is a more individual relationship to Allah, without an intermediary.) However, as a result of the ethnic cleansing of the north by the LTTE, many Muslims sent their children to the Middle East for their education. There, many came under the influence of more radical forms of Islam, including Wahhabism.²³³ When these youths returned to Sri Lanka, they came into conflict with the more liberal traditions of mainstream Islam. Violence between radical and traditional Muslim groups in communities along the eastern seaboard ensued and remains a major security issue.^{234, 235, 236}

Roman Catholicism

The Portuguese introduced Roman Catholicism to Sri Lanka, with the first missionaries arriving in 1546.^{237, 238} The Roman Catholic Church traces its roots to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. With the passing of millennia, a complex hierarchy emerged with the Pope at its pinnacle. During the same time, Catholic theologians developed an elaborate theology.^{239, 240}



© Ronald Saunders
Roman Catholic church

In addition to caring for the Portuguese garrison, the first Catholic missionaries ministered to the local population. However, it was the conversion of the heir to the Kotte Kingdom that served as a watershed event. An estimated 3,000 Sri Lankans followed the prince's suit and embraced the faith. Rejecting the Christian faith, however, the king of Jaffna sent troops to slaughter several thousand Tamil converts on Mannar Island. In response, the Portuguese fortified the island and used it as a base to conquer the Kingdom of Jaffna. It was among those Tamil converts on

²³² Michael Anthony Sells, *Approaching the Qur'an: The Early Revelations* (Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 2005), 35–40.

²³³ Wahhabism is a puritanical sect of Islam that aims to strip away any folk elements, superstitions, or perceived innovations in Muslim communities. The movement also calls for a very strict implementation of shari'a law. It first took root in the Arabian Peninsula when the Saud family tied its fortunes to the progenitor of the sect, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, in the mid-18th Century. Since that time the movement has spread to other countries through the missionary efforts of the Saudi Kingdom, which continues today.

²³⁴ Department of Census and Statistics, Government of Sri Lanka, "Brief Analysis of Population and Housing Characteristics," n.d., 11,

<http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PDF/p7%20population%20and%20Housing%20Text-11-12-06.pdf>

²³⁵ A.R.M. Imtiyaz and M.C.M. Iqbal, "The Displaced Northern Muslims of Sri Lanka: Special Problems and the Future," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46, no. 4 (August 2011), 375–389, doi: 10.1177/0021909611399733.

²³⁶ Sergi DeSilva Ranasinghe, "Sri Lanka's Wahhabi Issue," *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, 21 June 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_6&sn=jiaa&ed=jiaa2011&docid=3cb22bb1e50e835bb2803887da5d1fe4

²³⁷ Patrick Peebles, *The History of Sri Lanka* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 41–43.

²³⁸ Jeyaraj Rasiah, "Sri Lanka," in *Christianities in Asia*, Peter C. Phan, ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 46–47.

²³⁹ Gregg Allison, *Historical Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 430–449.

²⁴⁰ Michael J. Walsh, *Roman Catholicism: The Basics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 91–111.

Mannar Island that the Catholic faith took the strongest roots in Sri Lanka, with an estimated 100,000 or more converts by the end of the Portuguese presence in 1658.²⁴¹

During the Dutch period, missionaries introduced Calvinism to the island, and under British colonial rule other Protestant missionaries made some inroads, especially among the upper classes.^{242, 243, 244} However, Roman Catholicism remains the dominant strain of Christianity in Sri Lanka today.

Although a small minority, Roman Catholics have played a significant role in Sri Lankan history. The late leader of the LTTE, Velupillai Prabhakaran, was Catholic, which contradicts the idea among many international journalists, scholars, and policymakers that the terrorist group was a Hindu organization. Catholic clergy were among the more vocal supporters of the organization.²⁴⁵

Cuisine

A typical Sinhalese dish may require more than a dozen herbs and spices, which are blended to create unique flavors that distinguish Sinhalese cuisine from related traditions from India. These spices include chili peppers, cumin, coriander, curry leaves, fenugreek, lemongrass, ginger, fennel seeds, garlic, onion, turmeric, cinnamon, and onion. Although many dishes include meat, Buddhists and Hindus do not eat beef and Muslims refrain from eating pork.²⁴⁶



© Arthur Chapman
Roadside food cart

Coconut milk is used frequently and in a wide array of dishes, often as a thickening agent for gravies. Grated coconut also is a common ingredient and its use in *roti* distinguishes the Sinhalese variety of this traditional South Asian flat bread from those found among other peoples in the region.²⁴⁷ The Sinhalese also make good use of Maldivian fish, tiny chunks of dried tuna with a savory taste, to accent many dishes.²⁴⁸

²⁴¹ Jeyaraj Rasiah, "Sri Lanka," in *Christianities in Asia*, Peter C. Phan, ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 46–47.

²⁴² Patrick Grant, *Buddhism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 53–54.

²⁴³ David Scott, "Conversion and Demonism: Colonial Christian Discourse and Religion in Sri Lanka," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 2 (April 1992): 331–365, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/178949>

²⁴⁴ John D. Rogers, "British Rule and Social Classification in Lanka," *Modern Asia Studies* 38, no. 3 (July 2004): 625–647, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876684>

²⁴⁵ Asoka Badarage, *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 67.

²⁴⁶ Maeve O'Meara, *Food Safari: Glorious Adventures through a World of Cuisines* (Prahan, Victoria: Hardie Grant, 2009), 228–229.

²⁴⁷ Charmaine Solomon, *The Complete Asian Cookbook*, 2nd edition (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 121–122.

²⁴⁸ Maeve O'Meara, *Food Safari: Glorious Adventures through a World of Cuisines* (Prahan, Victoria: Hardie Grant, 2009), 228–229.

Tamil cuisine is primarily vegetarian. Like most South Asian dishes, Tamil food tends to be quite spicy by Western standards (e.g., *rasam*, a spicy and sour soup; *kool*, a spicy seafood soup popular in northern Sri Lanka; and *vadai*, a deep-fried bread made from black gram flour).²⁴⁹

Traditional Dress

Dress is traditionally conservative for both men and women. Among Sinhalese women the sari is most common. It is made from a rectangular piece of cloth measuring from 5.5 to 8.2 m (6 to 9 yards) in length. It is usually first wrapped around the waist, creating eight or nine pleats in the front, each one smaller so they drape nicely. This wrapped material is then tucked into an underskirt to keep it in place. The remaining fabric is then stylishly draped diagonally across the midriff and over the shoulder. The sari is worn over a tight-fitting blouse that is often short, leaving the midriff bare.²⁵⁰ Among Tamil women, both the *salwar kameez* and sari are common. A salwar kameez is a loose fitting blouse worn over pants, something with a scarf draped over the shoulder or arm. Clothing is usually made of light, breathable materials to accommodate the oppressive heat.²⁵¹

In rural areas, men are likely to wear a sarong, a span of cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body, instead of jeans or trousers.²⁵² Traditional men may opt to wear the Sri Lankan “national suit,” a long, collarless, full-sleeved, typically white, shirt with a matching sarong.²⁵³

However, in the cities of Sri Lanka both genders have largely adopted Western clothing including jeans, slacks, dresses, shorts, t-shirts, and the like. However, many prefer more sensible footwear, wearing sandals and thongs, which are more comfortable in the tropical heat than sneakers or dress shoes.²⁵⁴

Gender Issues

Although Sri Lankan society has historically been patriarchal, in 1960 the country became the first to elect a woman prime minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Her daughter, Chandrika Kumaratunga, also served as prime minister and president of the country. However, women remain underrepresented in government, especially at the provincial, district, and local levels.²⁵⁵ These seeming contradictions reflect gender relations in Sri Lanka.

²⁴⁹ Douglas Bullis and Wendy Hutton, *The Food of Sri Lanka: Authentic Recipes from the Isle of Gems* (Boston: Periplus Editions, 2001), 13.

²⁵⁰ Lauren, “Trying On My First Sari,” *Abandon the Cube Travel Journal* (blog), 6 August 2010, <http://www.abandonthecube.com/blog/trying-on-my-first-sari/>

²⁵¹ Culture Crossing, “Sri Lanka: Dress,” n.d., http://www.culturecrossing.net/basics_business_student_details.php?Id=19&CID=190

²⁵² Marion Armstrong, ed., *Peoples of Eastern Asia* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2005), 9: 519.

²⁵³ Charles A. Gunawardena, *Encyclopedia of Sri Lanka*, rev. ed. (New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2006), 41.

²⁵⁴ Sandya Hewamanne, *Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone: Gender and Politics in Sri Lanka* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 178.

²⁵⁵ Velayudan Jayachithra and Chulani Kodikara, “Women’s Representation in Politics in Sri Lanka,” video, *Engendering Democratic Governance* (website), Women and Media Collective, International Center for Ethnic Studies, 2010, <http://www.engenderingdemocracy.net/womens-representation-politics-sri-lanka>

In 1931, while still a British colony, universal suffrage was granted in Sri Lanka. Social reforms in the 1940s and 1950s provided equal access to health and education. In 1978, a new constitution established affirmative action policies to address gender discrimination. Reforms in family law in the 1990s brought greater equality in property and financial transactions.²⁵⁶



© James Gordon
Women picking tea leaves

Since the 1970s, many women have joined the workforce outside the home. Although the majority remain in Sri Lanka, where they work in such diverse fields as education, construction, and industry, many women from lower socioeconomic classes serve as domestic workers abroad, especially in the Middle East.²⁵⁷

In their traditional roles as wife and mother, women have experienced less social change. Men are the final authority in most Sri Lankan homes, and women are expected to perform domestic duties in addition to any job outside the home. Recent research suggests that domestic violence is a continuing concern in many Sri Lankan families.²⁵⁸

Arts

Sri Lankan arts are a unique mixture of Indian, Southeast Asian, European, and indigenous traditions.

Dance

Dance is a very important element in the cultures of Sri Lanka. Although prevalent forms vary from region to region and among the island's ethnicities, they share common features and influences.



© Ashish Gautam
Kandyan dancers

Kandyan dance, originating in the Kandyan Kingdom of the Central Highlands, is a highly regarded cultural form in Sri Lanka. In fact, the Sri Lankan government was instrumental in establishing dance instruction through provision of state funding for the development of dance academies. Devoid of the overt eroticism of some other South Asian dance forms, Kandyan dance relies more heavily upon rhythmic movements and weight shifting in more abstract form.

²⁵⁶ South Asia Regional Department and Regional and Sustainable Development Department, Asian Development Bank, "Sri Lanka: Country Gender Assessment," 2004, 2–3, <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Country-Gender-Assessments/CGA-Women-SriLanka.pdf>

²⁵⁷ Chamila T. Attanapola, "Changing Gender Roles and Health Impacts Among Female Workers in Export-Processing Industries in Sri Lanka," *Social Science & Medicine* 58, 11 (June 2004): 2301–2312.

²⁵⁸ Achini Jayatilleke, et al, "Wives' Attitudes Toward Gender Roles and Their Experience of Intimate Partner Violence by Husbands in Central Province, Sri Lanka," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 26, no. 3 (2011), 414–432, <http://jiv.sagepub.com/content/26/3/414.full.pdf+html>

Traditionally performed only by males, dancers wear ornate regalia over a bare torso and a simple white sarong. The accompanying music relies heavily upon native drums.^{259, 260}

The Low Country dance form is more colorfully dramatic. Dancers don elaborate carved masks and costumes and often depict the act of exorcism from disease.²⁶¹

Sri Lankan Tamils adhere to classical dance forms imported from South India. Burghers maintain their European roots in preferring Western dance styles in their communities.²⁶²

Music

Although many Sri Lankans listen to Western music, folk music remains an important element of Sri Lankan society. Although contemporary Sinhalese music is strongly influenced by the musical traditions of India, the inclusion of folk elements distinguishes it from Indian music. Sinhalese nationalists have promoted music that romanticizes such folk elements because they create a national identity. Many Sri Lankan musicians receive state sponsorship, and their concerts are televised on government-operated television and radio outlets. Among the most renowned musicians of this genre are W.D. Amaradeva, Sunil Edirisinghe, and Nanda Malini.^{263, 264}

Traditionally serving as a means of social commentary, *bailā* music is a Portuguese- and African-influenced genre popular at parties and informal social functions. The roots of *bailā* can be traced to Portuguese colonialists and their African slaves. Blending Sri Lankan folk elements and contemporary pop music, *bailā* enjoys great popularity on the island.²⁶⁵

Folk Art

Sanni masks are one of the most popular forms of Sri Lankan folk art. Representing demons associated with the Sinhalese Buddhist cosmology, these masks are used in ritual healing. Today they are popular tourist items; however, many Sri Lankans continue to place them near entrances to their homes, believing they will protect the family from illness and evil. These masks also are used in dances of the Low Country.^{266, 267}

²⁵⁹ Janet O’Shea, “Performing Politics: State Power, Ethnicity, and Gender in Sri Lanka,” *Dance Chronicle* 34, no. 1 (2011), 146–151, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01472526.2011.549024>

²⁶⁰ Brett Atkinson, *Sri Lanka* (London: Lonely Planet, 2009), 45–46.

²⁶¹ Nanda Pethiyagoda Wanasundera, *Sri Lanka*, Cultures of the World series (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2002), 105.

²⁶² Nanda Pethiyagoda Wanasundera, *Sri Lanka*, Cultures of the World series (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2002), 105.

²⁶³ “President Patronises in the State Musical Awards Ceremony,” *ITN News* (Sri Lanka), 31 August 2011, <http://www.itnnews.lk/latest/?p=29109>

²⁶⁴ Shibuya Toshio, “Popular Music and Social Changes in Sri Lanka,” *Senri Ethnological Studies* 71 (2008): 19–34, http://ir.minpaku.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10502/1146/1/SES71_002.pdf

²⁶⁵ Mark Ellingham and Simon Broughton, ed., *World Music: The Rough Guide: Volume 2: Latin and North America, Caribbean, India, Asia and Pacific: An A-Z of the Music, Musicians and Discs* (London: Rough Guides, 2000), 230.

²⁶⁶ Meryl Doney, *Masks* (Milwaukee, WI: Gareth Stevens Publishing, 2004), 18.

²⁶⁷ Royston Ellis, *Sri Lanka* (Chalfont St. Peter, UK: Bradt Travel, 2011), 233.

Other forms of woodwork, metal work, and weaving are among Sri Lanka's other folk art traditions. The government actively promotes training to keep these traditions alive.^{268, 269}

Sports and Recreation

Sri Lankans enjoy a wide variety of sports, including rugby, surfing, tennis, golf, badminton, and track and field. While legislators named volleyball the national sport in 1991, the national obsession and most popular sport is cricket.^{270, 271}



© James Gordon
Beach cricket

A ball game somewhat similar to American baseball, cricket is played with two opposing teams of 11 players each on an oval field. When on defense, a team attempts to break two sets of three sticks, known as wickets, that are set in the ground. The offensive team defends the wickets by striking the ball with a long flat bat. Points are scored when batsmen run between the two sets of wickets. Matches may vary in length depending on the type of match, lasting from a few hours to an entire day.²⁷²

Introduced to the island during the British colonial period, cricket is by far the most popular sport in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka has been a member of the International Cricket Council (ICC) since 1981 and a member of the Asian Cricket Council (ACC) since 1983.²⁷³

Throughout the three decades-long civil war, the Sri Lankan National Cricket Team presented a unified national identity by persuading Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim players to compete together and to make positive contributions to reinforce national pride.²⁷⁴ Sri Lanka co-hosted the 1996 and 2011 Cricket World Cup matches. The team won the championship in 1996, defeating Australia in the final match. In 2007, Sri Lanka again reached the finals but lost a close match to the Australian team. In 2011, Sri Lanka and India served as co-hosts of tournament. India emerged as the champions, defeating the Sri Lankan squad in a hard fought battle.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁸ Walter Nubin, *Sri Lanka: Current Issues and Historical Background* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002), 166.

²⁶⁹ J. Tilakasiri, *Handicrafts of Sri Lanka* (Moratuwa: Srimati Tilakasiri, 1994).

²⁷⁰ Patrick Peebles, *The History of Sri Lanka* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 12.

²⁷¹ Revata S. Silva, "Elle, National Sport of Yesteryear," *The Island* (Sri Lanka), 3 September 2011, http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=33839

²⁷² Encyclopædia Britannica, "Cricket," 2011, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/142911/cricket>

²⁷³ C.A. Gunawardena, *Encyclopedia of Sri Lanka* (Elgin, IL: New Dawn Press, 2005), 93–94.

²⁷⁴ N. Schulenkorf and D. Edwards, "The Role of Sport Events in Peace Tourism," in *Tourism, Progress and Peace*, ed. Omar Moufakkir and Ian Kelly (Cambridge, MA: CABI, 2010), 99–117.

²⁷⁵ John Mehaffey, "India Beat Sri Lanka to Win World Cup," *Reuters*, 2 April 2011, <http://in.reuters.com/article/2011/04/02/idINIndia-56076720110402>

Chapter 4 Assessment

1. The Moors are the Muslims of Sri Lanka and were originally descended from Arab merchants who settled in the port cities.

True

The Moors of Sri Lanka are the ethnic Muslims of the island. They are descended from Arab traders, Indian migrant laborers, mercenaries, and other Muslims who found their way to the island, stayed, and intermarried with the other ethnic groups on the island.

2. Hinduism is the most common religion practiced in Sri Lanka.

False

Estimates indicate that more than 69% of Sri Lankans are Buddhist. Most Tamils, however, practice Hinduism.

3. A small but powerful minority of Tamils practice Roman Catholicism.

True

The late leader of the LTTE, Velupillai Prabhakaran, was Catholic. Further repudiating the misplaced notion that the terrorist group was a Hindu organization, Catholic clergy were among the more vocal supporters of the LTTE.

4. While Hindus and Muslims do not eat certain foods because of religiously reasons, Buddhists typically eat beef, pork, and other meats.

False

Many Sri Lankan dishes include meat; however, Buddhists and Hindus do not eat beef, and Muslims refrain from eating pork.

5. Brought to the island by the British colonials, the most popular sport in Sri Lanka is badminton.

False

Sri Lankans enjoy a wide variety of sports, including rugby, surfing, tennis, golf, badminton, and track and field. While legislators named volleyball the national sport in 1991, the national obsession and most popular sport is cricket.

CHAPTER 5: SECURITY

Introduction

Having concluded a 27 year civil war in 2009, Sri Lanka's security outlook has changed dramatically in the last few years. Although the war has ended, many of the root causes of communal violence, which ignited the bloody conflict, have not been resolved. However, the influx of foreign aid and the transition to a peacetime economy have allowed the country to progress and to rapidly transform itself. Overseeing the transformation of the country's armed forces, which are oversized for a peacetime force, from combat to reconstruction, remains a challenge.



© Bianca Polak
Election riots

Fears of resurgent Tamil militancy and the rise of radical Islamist movements in Sri Lanka also plague the nation. Violent clashes with law enforcement and security forces have occurred in a number of incidents in the latter half of 2011. Furthermore, relations with the international community have been strained by accusations that the government committed war crimes in the final stages of the civil war.

U.S. – Sri Lanka Relations

Lying in the middle of international shipping lanes, Sri Lanka aspires to become a major international shipping hub.²⁷⁶ The island is of strategic and economic interest to regional and world powers, including India, China, and the United States.^{277, 278}



© James Gordon
US food aid, Dambula

In the late 1980s, the United States was searching for a new naval base to replace Subic Bay in the Philippines, and considered Sri Lanka's deep-sea port at Trincomalee. However, political unrest and civil war plaguing the island and Indian opposition to the plan, both quashed U.S. interest in Sri Lanka's east-coast port. However, with the war now concluded and the U.S. lease on Diego Garcia expiring in 2016, the location may become a viable option for a U.S. base.^{279, 280}

²⁷⁶ Dhaneshi Yatawara, "Making Lanka a Maritime Hub of S. Asia," *Sunday Observer* (Sri Lanka), 14 November 2010, <http://www.sundayobserver.lk/2010/11/14/fea16.asp>

²⁷⁷ Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, "Sri Lanka: Recharting U.S. Strategy after the War," 111th Congress, 1st Session (U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 7 December 2009), 3, http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=111_cong_senate_committee_prints&docid=f:53866.pdf

²⁷⁸ Cory N. Gassaway, "A Diamond in the String of Pearls: The Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka for Indian Ocean Regional Stability" (paper, Naval War College, Newport, RI, 2011), 2, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA546182>

²⁷⁹ Hugh Tinker, *South Asia: A Short History*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 271–272.

The United States remains Sri Lanka's most important trading partner, receiving more than 20% of Sri Lankan exports. Since Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948, the U.S. has provided more than USD 3.6 billion in assistance, making it a major contributor of military, economic and food aid. In 2007, direct, non-food aid approached USD 9.4 million.^{281, 282}

Beginning in the mid-1990s, the United States has provided in-country training for Sri Lankan forces under the auspices of the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. In 2007, Sri Lanka signed on to the Access and Cross Servicing Agreement with the United States that permits U.S. warships and aircraft to utilize Sri Lankan ports and airfield facilities in return for U.S. economic aid.²⁸³

In 2009, the United States provided another USD 6.6 million to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to help in mine-clearing projects in Sri Lanka.²⁸⁴ In support of Internally Displaced Persons housed in camps after the civil war, the United States also provided USD 28.3 million in food aid through the United Nations World Food Program.²⁸⁵ Relations between the United States and Sri Lanka, however, typically have been warmer when center-right parties are in control of the Sri Lankan government.²⁸⁶

Relations with Neighboring Countries

India

Sri Lanka's relations with India have their roots in ancient history, because Sri Lanka has long striven to distinguish itself from India and to retain its independence against multiple waves of invasion and immigration from its larger neighbor.^{287, 288}

²⁸⁰ Global Security (firm), "Diego Garcia "Camp Justice" 7°20'S 72°25'E," 7 May 2011, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/diego-garcia.htm>

²⁸¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

²⁸² K. Alan Kronstadt, "Sri Lanka: Background and U.S. Relations" (Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, Washington, DC, 22 January 2008), 28–29, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA486249&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

²⁸³ Cory N. Gassaway, "A Diamond in the String of Pearls: The Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka for Indian Ocean Regional Stability" (paper, Department of Joint Military Operations, Naval War College, United States Navy, 04 May 2011), 17, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA546182>

²⁸⁴ Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, "Sri Lanka: Recharting U.S. Strategy after the War," 111th Congress, 1st Session (U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 7 December 2009), 6, http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=111_cong_senate_committee_prints&docid=f:53866.pdf

²⁸⁵ Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, "Sri Lanka: Recharting U.S. Strategy after the War," 111th Congress, 1st Session (U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 7 December 2009), 5, http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=111_cong_senate_committee_prints&docid=f:53866.pdf

²⁸⁶ K. Alan Kronstadt, "Sri Lanka: Background and U.S. Relations" (report, Congressional Research Service, 22 January 2008), <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA486249&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

²⁸⁷ Paul K. Kerr, "U.S. Nuclear Cooperation with India: Issues for Congress," Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 14 February 2011, <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/r133016.pdf>

²⁸⁸ Neil DeVotta, *Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalist Ideology: Implications for Politics and Conflict Resolution in Sri Lanka* (Washington, DC: East-West Center, 2007), 10.

Sri Lanka and India share a legacy of British colonialism. Post-independence, one of the most pressing issues between the two countries has been the plight of the Tamils of Sri Lanka, whose welfare is a concern to India. During the Sri Lankan Civil War, relations between the two countries were severely strained because the southern Indian states, especially Tamil Nadu, was a base for recruiting and training operations of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). India's deployment of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka in 1987 was unpopular there, sparking a major insurrection on the island. Sri Lankan leaders maneuvered carefully, trying to appease Indian demands while satisfying Sri Lankan voters. The IPKF mission was unsuccessful, and Indian forces were withdrawn by 1990. This failure and the LTTE's assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991, this experience distanced India from the LTTE. Subsequently, India helped arm and train Sri Lankan forces during the end of the war.^{289, 290}



© vishal dutta photo's / flickr.com
Shrine of Rajiv Gandhi

Currently, India is financing a new railway in northern Sri Lanka between Olanthai and Palali. The country is helping to renovate the north Sri Lankan port of Kankesanthurai, which was damaged in the 2004 tsunami.^{291, 292, 293} Furthermore, India has loaned Sri Lanka USD 200 million to build a major coal power plant in Trincomalee.²⁹⁴ India also is a major contributor to demining efforts in the former war zone.²⁹⁵

India would share in the rewards of a rebuilt Sri Lankan economy, because it is among the nation's closest trading partners. India is Sri Lanka's top importer and buys 4% of all Sri Lankan exports.²⁹⁶

²⁸⁹ Brian Orland, "India's Sri Lanka Policy: Towards Economic Engagement" (paper, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, India, 2008), http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/1102576411_RP16-Brian-SriLanka.pdf

²⁹⁰ Sandra Destradi, "India and the Civil War in Sri Lanka: On the Failures of Regional Conflict Management in South Asia" (working paper, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, Germany, December 2010), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Data_Integrity_Notice.cfm?abid=1730156

²⁹¹ Indrani Bagchi, "India Ups Lanka Aid to Offset China Presence," *The Times of India*, 24 November 2010, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-11-24/india/28239418_1_hambantota-sri-lanka-mannar

²⁹² Ministry of Defence, Government of Sri Lanka, "Inauguration of Kankesanthurai Harbour Rehabilitation," 27 July 2011, http://www.defence.lk/new.asp?fname=20110727_06

²⁹³ Cory N. Gassaway, "A Diamond in the String of Pearls: The Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka for Indian Ocean Regional Stability" (paper, Naval War College, Newport, RI, 2011), <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA546182>

²⁹⁴ Jyotsna Shankar, "Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Sri Lanka and Cyprus: Avoiding a Stalemate" (thesis, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, 2011), 23, http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1102&context=cmc_theses

²⁹⁵ M. Samatha, "Prospects and Challenges of Peace-Building: An Evaluation of External Actors in Sri Lanka," *History and Sociology of South Asia* 5, no. 1 (January 2011): 131–147, doi: 10.1177/223080751000500102

²⁹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Sri Lanka: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>

Pakistan

A key factor in Sri Lanka's victory over the LTTE terrorists was Pakistan's support. Sri Lanka's efforts to modernize its military, especially in terms of weaponry and training were funded by Pakistan.^{297, 298} Given the LTTE's integral role within the international terrorist network—trafficking guns, drugs, and personnel for other organizations—Sri Lanka's efforts to eradicate the organization were important to Pakistan's battle against Islamist terrorists.

Pakistan's efforts to become a major worldwide arms supplier were boosted by its role in the defeat of the LTTE. The Pakistani military-industrial complex now has a marketing paradigm to supply arms against secessionist groups.²⁹⁹

Signed in Colombo in August 2002, the Pakistan-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (PSFTA) became effective in June 2005. It provides for the free exchange of goods and services between the two countries. Although neither country has emerged as a top-tier trading partner of the other, the value of bilateral trade has increased. With the stabilization of the post-war Sri Lankan economy, the PSFTA could prove to be significant—in part because it eliminates tariffs that previously stifled trade.³⁰⁰

China

China and Sri Lanka have long enjoyed amicable relations. In the second half of the 20th Century, and especially in the 21st, China has emerged as one of Sri Lanka's prime sources of financial and military aid.³⁰¹

At the end of the Sri Lankan Civil War, China was a major supplier of weaponry and munitions.³⁰² Now that the war is over, China is making major investments in Sri Lanka's infrastructure, funding projects for road construction, railway modernization, and other significant



© James Gordon
Sri Lankan jet, Chinese built

²⁹⁷ Jayadeva Uyangoda, "Sri Lanka in 2009: From Civil War to Political Uncertainties," *Asian Survey* 50, no. 1 (January/February 2010): 104–111, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/stable/pdfplus/10.1525/as.2010.50.1.104.pdf?acceptTC=true> doi: AS.2010.50.1.104

²⁹⁸ Ryan Clarke, "Conventionally Defeated but Not Eradicated: Asia Arms Networks and the Potential for the Return of Tamil Militancy in Sri Lanka," *Civil Wars* 13, no. 2 (2011): 157–188.

²⁹⁹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

³⁰⁰ Saira Ahmed, Vaqar Ahmed, and Safdar Sohail, "Trade Agreements between Developing Countries: A Case Study of Pakistan – Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement" (paper, Munich Personal RePEc Archive, Munich, Germany, November 2010), http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/29209/1/MPRA_paper_29209.pdf

³⁰¹ Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, "Sri Lanka: Recharting U.S. Strategy after the War," 111th Congress, 1st Session (U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 7 December 2009), 2, http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=111_cong_senate_committee_prints&docid=f:53866.pdf

³⁰² Amit Kumar, "China's Island Strategy in the Indian Ocean: Breaching India's Sphere of Influence" (paper, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, India, 2009), http://www.orfonline.com/cms/export/orfonline/modules/analysis/attachments/influence_1253251335478.pdf

projects. Although many of these projects employ imported Chinese laborers, the long-term benefits are expected to yield substantial economic advantage to Sri Lankan industry, government, and citizenry.³⁰³

Chinese capital and laborers, for example, are currently building a major port at Hambantota.³⁰⁴ Although the relationship is lucrative for Sri Lanka, it also is of strategic importance to the Chinese. Analysts have used the term “String of Pearls” to refer to China gaining geopolitical power by leveraging access to ports and airfields, developing favorable diplomatic relationships, and modernizing military forces, extending from the South China Sea to the Strait of Malacca, the entire Indian Ocean, to the Persian Gulf. This seems designed not only for economic benefits but also the encircling of India, which is the only true rival for Chinese control in the area. Thus, Sri Lanka, and the port at Hambantota has global security significance. At issue is control of the Asian continent by controlling the Indian Ocean.³⁰⁵ The Sri Lankans had first turned to India for funding but were refused. Many observers view this as a strategic blunder by the Indian government, which is scrambling to regain influence in Sri Lanka.^{306, 307}

Maldives

Based on linguistic and cultural ties, Sri Lanka and Maldives have long-held ties.³⁰⁸ Recently the two countries have discussed closer collaboration on energy, tourism, education, and fishing issues. Furthermore, Sri Lanka is a major trading partner with Maldives, accounting for 5.4% of its imports and 12.3% of its exports.³⁰⁹ The majority of foreign workers in Maldives are from Sri Lanka, employed mostly in the tourism and garment industries.^{310, 311}



© Beauty and Peace / flickr.com
Maldives airport

³⁰³ Jane's Defence, “Sri Lanka: External Affairs,” *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 27 April 2011.

³⁰⁴ Cory N. Gassaway, “A Diamond in the String of Pearls: The Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka for Indian Ocean Regional Stability” (paper, Naval War College, Newport, RI, 2011), 5, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA546182>

³⁰⁵ Cory N. Gassaway, “A Diamond in the String of Pearls: The Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka for Indian Ocean Regional Stability” (paper, Naval War College, Newport, RI, 2011), 3, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA546182>

³⁰⁶ Sudha Ramachandran, “Indian Navy Pumps Up Eastern Muscle,” *Asia Times Online*, 20 August 2011, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/MH20Df02.html

³⁰⁷ AFP, “Building Booms in S. Lanka President's Home Town,” *Arab Times* (Kuwait), 20 August 2011, <http://www.arabtimesonline.com/NewsDetails/tabid/96/smld/414/ArticleID/172826/refTab/149/Default.aspx>

³⁰⁸ Bruce Dwayne Cain, “Dhivehi (Maldivian): A Synchronic and Diachronic Study” (dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 2000).

³⁰⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, “Maldives: Economy,” in *The World Factbook*, 23 August 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mv.html>

³¹⁰ Regina Scheyvens, “The Challenge of Sustainable Tourism Development in the Maldives: Understanding the Social and Political Dimensions of Sustainability,” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 52, no. 2 (August 2011): 156.

³¹¹ Rajasundram Sathuendrakumar, “Countries and Their Cultures: Maldives,” *EveryCulture* (website), 2011, <http://www.everyculture.com/Ja-Ma/Maldives.html>

Despite being exiled as a dissident, current Maldivian President Mohamed ‘Anni’ Nasheed was welcomed by Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa.³¹² Predictably, Nasheed has been one of the few world leaders to support Rajapaksa despite international allegations that the Sri Lankan government committed war crimes in the final stages of the civil war.^{313, 314}

Bangladesh

Although neither country is a prominent trading partner of the other, agreements concluded in 2011 aim to increase economic cooperation and cultural exchange. The Lanka-Bangladesh Joint Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation and the Bilateral Investment Promotion Agreement, for example, when implemented, will extend cooperation in transportation, shipping, and related industry.³¹⁵

Police Force

Sri Lanka’s police force operates under the auspices of the Ministry of Defense. Aside from enforcing day-to-day laws, these units also assist in counterterrorism operations. There is a great deal of redundancy built into the organization. The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) investigates terrorism. The Security Coordinating Division has responsibility for intelligence gathering. The Bureau of Special Operations deals with interdiction of drug, contraband, and arms smuggling. The National Intelligence Bureau is comprised of the Directorate of Internal Intelligence (DII), which focuses on domestic intelligence matters, and the Directorate of Foreign Intelligence (DFI), which deals with international intelligence issues. The Special Investigation Unit is an internal affairs component, dealing with investigations and discipline of police misconduct. The Terrorism Investigation Division (TID) served as the investigative arm dealing with terrorist activity.³¹⁶ The Police Special Task Force conducts anti-insurgent operations. The Security Coordinating Division collects intelligence on subversive activities. The Bureau of Special Operations deals with interdiction of drugs, contraband, and arms smuggling.^{317, 318}



© Min Sheng Khoo
Police on patrol with K9

³¹² Jane’s Defence, “Maldives: Political Leadership,” *Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*, 22 March 2011.

³¹³ Abdul Latheef, “Maldives Welcomes Sri Lanka’s Decision to End State of Emergency,” *Miadhu Online*, 26 August 2011, <http://www.miadhu.com/2011/08/local-news/maldives-welcomes-sri-lanka%E2%80%99s-decision-to-end-state-of-emergency/>

³¹⁴ The President’s Office, Republic of Maldives, “President Sends Victory Day Greetings to Sri Lankan President,” 27 May 2011, <http://www.presidencymaldives.gov.mv/Index.aspx?lid=11&dcid=5384>

³¹⁵ Lankapuvath, National News Agency of Sri Lanka, “Lanka-Bangladesh Joint Committee to Be Implemented,” 26 May 2011, <http://www.lankapuvath.lk/index.php/latest-news/general/15403-lanka-bangladesh-joint-committee-to-be-implemented>

³¹⁶ Jagath P. Senaratne, “The Security Establishment in Sri Lanka: A Case for Reform,” in *Governing Insecurity: Democratic Control of Military and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies*, ed. Gavin Cawthra and Robin Luckham (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 181–204.

³¹⁷ Jane’s Defence, “Sri Lanka: Special Forces (Land),” *Jane’s Amphibious and Special Forces*, 7 June 2011.

³¹⁸ Rosy Cave, “Resistance to Reform; Submission to Status Quo: Security Sector Reform in Sri Lanka,” *South Asian Survey* 16, no. 2 (July/December 2009): 291–314.

The police are known for their strong-arm tactics. In June 2011, Inspector-General Mahinda Balasuriya resigned his position following an incident in which the police opened fire on workers protesting a government plan for pension reform. The incident resulted in at least 1 death and more than 100 injuries.³¹⁹

Officially created on 4 March 2010, the Sri Lankan Coast Guard conducts maritime law enforcement and border security operations. Among its most challenging missions are combating human trafficking, halting illegal fishing, and assisting in international anti-piracy efforts in the Indian Ocean.^{320, 321, 322}

Military

Army

Headquartered in Panagoda, a town in the Western Province about 20 km (12.43 mi.) southeast of Colombo, the Sri Lankan Army is comprised of roughly 150,000 regular and reserve troops divided into 13 divisions.³²³ Garrisons are located in Panagoda, Colombo, Diyatalawa, Anuradhapura, and Minneriya.³²⁴



© James Gordon
Army soldiers

Battle forces include 13 Infantry Divisions, with 1 Armored Brigade, 1 Air Mobile Brigade, 34 Infantry Brigades, 3 Special Forces Regiments, and 3 Commando Regiments; 9 Field Artillery Regiments, 1 Rocket Regiment, 1 Counter-battery Regiment, 1 Locating Regiment; 5 Signal Regiments, 4 Engineer Regiments, and 3 Logistic Command Areas.³²⁵

In terms of equipment, the army's armor is primarily composed of Czech-modified Soviet-built tanks; various Soviet-era armored infantry fighting vehicles (AIFV); various armored personnel carriers (APCs) of Soviet, Chinese, South African, and British manufacture; and British-made reconnaissance vehicles of various models. Artillery pieces are of various caliber of mainly Chinese, Slovakian, and Pakistani-manufacture. Air defense units utilize Bofors 40 mm L60/L70

³¹⁹ Charles Haviland, "Sri Lankan Police Chief Mahinda Balasuriya Resigns," *BBC News*, 01 June 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-13619409>

³²⁰ Dhaneshi Yatawara, "Making Lanka a Maritime Hub of S. Asia," *Sunday Observer* (Sri Lanka), 14 November 2010, <http://www.sundayobserver.lk/2010/11/14/fea16.asp>

³²¹ Neil DeVotta, "Sri Lanka: From Turmoil to Dynasty," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 22, no. 2 (April 2011): http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v022/22.2.devotta.html doi: 10.1353/jod.2011.0019

³²² Cory N. Gassaway, "A Diamond in the String of Pearls: The Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka for Indian Ocean Regional Stability" (paper, Naval War College, Newport, RI, 2011), <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GefTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA546182>

³²³ 11 Division (Panagoda), 21 Division (Gajasinghapura), 22 Division (Trincomalee), 23 Division (Batticaloa), 51 Division (Jaffna), 52 Division (Varani), 53 Division (Mirusuvil), 55 Division (muhamalai/Kilali), 56 Division (Kanakarayankulam), 57 Division (Vavuniya), 58 Division (Mannar), 59 Division (Weli Oya), and 61 Division (Wanni)

³²⁴ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka," *Jane's World Armies*, 19 August 2011.

³²⁵ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka," *Jane's World Armies*, 19 August 2011.

light anti-aircraft guns. The standard issue infantry weapons are a hodgepodge of primarily Western-manufactured models alongside a few Soviet-made SKS semi-automatic rifles.³²⁶

With the war concluded, the size of the army is now under question. Personnel have served on numerous United Nations peacekeeping missions, even during the worst of the civil war.³²⁷ Now, soldiers are adjusting to their peacetime mission of rebuilding areas devastated by the war.^{328, 329}

Air Force

With its headquarters in Colombo—and bases in Ratmalana, Katunayake, Anuradhapura, Hingaruwagoda, and China Bay—the Sri Lankan Air Force is approximately 30,000 strong. The force is divided into 12 squadrons. It is equipped primarily with Chinese fighter aircraft; Israeli Kfir fixed wing ground attack and fighters; Soviet 1970s-era ground attack and transport aircraft and transport, gunship, and attack helicopters; U.S.-made turboprop transport aircraft; and Israeli-manufactured EMIT Blue Horizon 2 and IAI Searcher unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV).³³⁰ The government is in the process of upgrading fighter aircraft, primarily with Russian and Chinese platforms.³³¹



© James Gordon
Air Force Mil Mi-24 helicopters

Security lapses during the war, including a breach of defenses at the civilian Bandaranaike International Airport and the adjoining airbase, led to a significant change in training and standard operational procedures aimed at addressing such deficiencies.³³²

Dozens of air force personnel currently are serving with the United Nations' peacekeeping mission in Haiti. Some personnel have received foreign training in the United States and India.^{333, 334}

³²⁶ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka," *Jane's World Armies*, 19 August 2011.

³²⁷ Policy Research and Information Unit, Presidential Secretariat of Sri Lanka, "Lanka's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Continued," *News Line*, 11 February 2011, http://www.priu.gov.lk/news_update/Current_Affairs/ca201102/20110211lanka_participation_un_peacekeeping_continued.htm

³²⁸ Jonathan Goodhand, "Stabilizing a Victor's Peace? Humanitarian Action and Reconstruction in Eastern Sri Lanka," *Disasters* 34, no. S3 (2010): S342–S367, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01212.x/pdf>
doi:10.1111/j.0361-3666.2010.01212.x

³²⁹ Xinhua, "Sri Lankan Army to Help Gov't in Reconstruction," *Global Times* (China), 19 July 2009, <http://world.globaltimes.cn/asia-pacific/2011-04/448562.html>

³³⁰ Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka, "S.L. Govt. Uses Israel to Soften American Pressure," *Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka* (website), 30 September 2009, <http://www.jdslanka.org/2009/09/sl-govt-uses-israel-to-soften-american.html>

³³¹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka – Air Force," *Jane's World Air Forces*, 19 August 2011.

³³² John Harrison, *International Aviation and Terrorism: Evolving Threats, Evolving Security* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 57.

³³³ Policy Research and Information Unit, Presidential Secretariat of Sri Lanka, "Lanka's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Continued," *News Line*, 11 February 2011, http://www.priu.gov.lk/news_update/Current_Affairs/ca201102/20110211lanka_participation_un_peacekeeping_continued.htm

Navy

Headquartered in Colombo, the Sri Lankan Navy has roughly 42,000 personnel and is divided into 6 fleets: Eastern Naval Area (HQ Trincomalee), North Central Naval Area (HQ Thalaimanar), Northern Naval Area (HQ Kankasanthurai), Southern Naval Area (HQ Galle), Western Naval Area (HQ Colombo), and North Western Naval Area (HQ Mulikulam). The ships are prefixed with the acronym SLNS. Equipment is comprised primarily of fast attack craft of mainly Chinese and Israeli-manufactured, with upgrades from the latter delivered in 2010, and patrol craft, including Indian-manufactured Vikram class offshore patrol vessel(s).^{335, 336}

The navy frequently intercepted LTTE-craft smuggling weapons and transporting personnel during the civil war. It was instrumental in the final stages of war, setting up a blockade that cut off the retreat of LTTE forces.³³⁷

The navy's current duties focus on coastal patrolling, along with escort and interdiction missions. It also finds itself in the center of international tensions associated with incidents of Indian fishing vessels violating Sri Lankan territorial waters.^{338, 339} During the civil war, the Sri Lankan Navy developed On Board Security Teams (OBST). These units are assigned to merchant ships navigating Sri Lankan waters. The OBST has virtually eradicated piracy in Sri Lankan waters during the past three decades.³⁴⁰

Sri Lanka has recently acquired a U.S.-manufactured maritime surveillance system in order to amplify its coastal defense capabilities.³⁴¹ Whether this will be transferred to the Coast Guard or employed as a shared resource is unclear.

Issues Affecting Stability

Resurgent Tamil Militancy

Many issues could challenge the recently established stability in Sri Lanka. The key threat is continued ethnic tension between the Tamil and Sinhalese communities. Although few Tamils in

³³⁴ S.I. Keethaponcalan, "The Indian Factor in the Peace Process and Conflict Resolution in Sri Lanka," in *Conflict and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka: Caught in the Peace Trap?*, ed. Jonathan Goodhand, Jonathan Spencer, and Benedikt Korf (New York: Routledge, 2011), 39–53.

³³⁵ Justin O. Smith, "Maritime Interdiction in Counterinsurgency: The Role of the Sri Lankan Navy in the Defeat of the Tamil Tigers" (thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, June 2010), <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA524725&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

³³⁶ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka," *Jane's World Navies*, 19 August 2011.

³³⁷ Justin O. Smith, "Maritime Interdiction in Counterinsurgency: The Role of the Sri Lankan Navy in the Defeat of the Tamil Tigers" (thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, June 2010), <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA524725&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

³³⁸ Justin O. Smith, "Maritime Interdiction in Counterinsurgency: The Role of the Sri Lankan Navy in the Defeat of the Tamil Tigers" (thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, June 2010), <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA524725&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

³³⁹ Chandan Mitra, "Remembering Loaves and Fishes of India," *The Pioneer* (New Delhi), 13 August 2011, <http://www.dailypioneer.com/360678/Remembering-loaves-and-fishes-of-India.html>

³⁴⁰ Kamalika Pieris, "Sri Lanka's Admired Innovations in War," *The Island* (Sri Lanka), 25 September 2010, http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=7538/

³⁴¹ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Coastal Defence Forces," *Jane's Amphibious and Special Forces*, 7 June 2011.

Sri Lanka supported the LTTE in the last decade of the war, many still believe that the injustices precipitating the conflict still exist and desire redress from the government—such as decentralizing power and granting greater autonomy to Tamil-majority regions. In the summer of 2011, clashes between security forces and Tamil vigilantes demonstrated just how fragile the peace is in some areas of the island.^{342, 343, 344}

A related issue is the existence of LTTE supporters among the Tamil community in the West. Although the vast majority of the LTTE's senior leadership were killed in the closing days of the war, much of the group's international apparatus remained intact. Supporters among the Tamil abroad have formed the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE), frequently referred to as the "rump LTTE."³⁴⁵ Although not recognized as a legitimate body by any international government, and claiming to be a non-violent resistance movement, the organization continues to lobby for the creation of a separate Tamil nation in Sri Lanka. During the final years of the war, Western governments made concerted efforts to dismantle LTTE's funding operations, resulting in the arrest of several Tamil immigrants in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe. Still, the group warrants careful observation by Western authorities and Sri Lankan intelligence organizations.^{346, 347, 348, 349}



© Duminda Jayasena
Bus bomb near Colombo

Islamist Violence

During the civil war, many Muslim (Moor) communities in the north and east of the country were ethnically cleansed by the LTTE. One consequence of this forced expulsion was that many Sri Lankan Muslim youth were sent abroad for their education by families concerned for their welfare. While abroad, many were exposed to the Wahhabi branch of Islam, a radical form

³⁴² Xinhua, "Sri Lankan Police Arrest Over 100 in Jaffna Following Clash," *China Daily*, 23 August 2011, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/xinhua/2011-08-23/content_3580627.html

³⁴³ Sujith Hewajulige, "Defense Secretary Denies Forces Involvement in 'Mysterious Men' Issue," [Sinhala], *Lankadeepa*, 24 August 2011, 18,

http://epaper.lankadeepa.lk/index.php?option=com_blog_calendar&&year=2011&month=08&day=24&modid=86

³⁴⁴ "Police Arrest 100 Suspects Attempting to Attack Navanthurai Army Camp in Jaffna," [Sinhala], *Lankadeepa*, 24 August 2011,

http://epaper.lankadeepa.lk/index.php?option=com_blog_calendar&&year=2011&month=08&day=24&modid=86

³⁴⁵ International Crisis Group, "The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora after the LTTE" (report, International Crisis Group, Brussels, Belgium, 23 February 2010), [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/186%20The%20Sri%20Lankan%20Tamil%20Diaspora%20after%20the%20LTTE.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/186%20The%20Sri%20Lankan%20Tamil%20Diaspora%20after%20the%20LTTE.pdf)

³⁴⁶ Jane's Defence, "Sri Lanka: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 24 March 2011.

³⁴⁷ "LTTE Defeat Could Lead to Bombings in Canada – ICG Report Warns," *The Sunday Leader* (Sri Lanka), 28 February 2010, <http://www.thesundayleader.lk/2010/02/28/lte-defeat-could-lead-to-bombings-in-canada-%E2%80%94-icg-report-warns/>

³⁴⁸ Shamindra Ferdinando, "No Double Standards Please, Lanka Urges Int'l Community," *The Island* (Sri Lanka), 28 August 2011, http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=33475

³⁴⁹ Communications Branch, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "PTGTE, the Western Legacy of Tiger Tolerance (Canada)," *CSIS Canadian News Digest*, 17 May 2010, https://www.opensource.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_0_200_203_121123_43/content/Display/13888188/csiscanadiannewsdigest20100517.pdf

prevalent in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Middle East and Central Asia. Returnees who had embraced Wahhabism found themselves in conflict with the more moderate Sufi and Sunni communities in Sri Lanka. Since the late-1990s, sporadic violence has erupted between Wahhabis and mainstream Muslims, especially Sufis. In 2003, Wahhabi students at the South Eastern University of Sri Lanka in Oluvil issued a declaration calling for the establishment of a semi-autonomous Muslim region carved out of the Eastern Province.³⁵⁰ The main Muslim political party, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, has adopted many of the issues put forth in this highly controversial document. Some analysts and Sri Lankan officials worry that the terrorist group Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT) may be making inroads among the island's Wahhabi population. If so, this may represent the next major threat to stability in Sri Lanka.³⁵¹

Outlook

The Sri Lankan armed forces are one of the few militaries to successfully defeat a terrorist organization. Their knowledge of effective strategies in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency combat provides the country with a degree of security, as it prepares them for any future uprisings. Given the tension among ethnic communities on the island, it is highly likely that this knowledge will be put to test at some point in the not too distant future. The disruptive process of resettling internally displaced peoples is nearly complete; however, it will take time and will power for post-war populations to renegotiate a sense of community. Until that is achieved, the situation remains vulnerable to extremism, vigilantism, and communal violence.³⁵² Such violence is not merely a concern in Sri Lanka but also among the various Tamil communities of the West. Just after the LTTE's defeat, Tamil protestors in Europe and Canada carried out violent attacks targeting Sri Lankan embassies, Sinhalese expatriates, Buddhist temples, and law enforcement personnel.³⁵³



© vikalpasi / flickr.com
Human rights protest

Inflaming such tensions and encouraging Indian involvement in Sri Lankan affairs, one political party from the Indian state of Tamil Nadu in India—the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party—is demanding a referendum among Sri Lanka's Tamils designed to obtain equal rights and bring a political solution to ethnic tensions. Jayaram Jayalalitha—leader of the affiliated All-Indian Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) and, as of 2011, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu—has previously called for the seizure of a small island awarded to Sri Lanka in

³⁵⁰ A.R.M. Imtiyaz and M.C.M. Iqbal, "The Displaced Northern Muslims of Sri Lanka: Special Problems and the Future," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46, no. 4 (August 2011), 375–389, doi: 10.1177/0021909611399733.

³⁵¹ Sergi DeSilva Ranasinghe, "Sri Lanka's Wahhabi Issue," *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, 21 June 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_6&sn=jiaa&ed=jiaa2011&docid=3cb22bbe50e835bb2803887da5d1fe4

³⁵² Xinhua, "Sri Lankan Police Arrest Over 100 in Jaffna Following Clash," *China Daily*, 23 August 2011, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/xinhua/2011-08-23/content_3580627.html

³⁵³ International Crisis Group, "The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora after the LTTE" (report, International Crisis Group, Brussels, Belgium, 23 February 2010), <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/186%20The%20Sri%20Lankan%20Tamil%20Diaspora%20after%20the%20LTTE.pdf>

the face of the rival Indian claim in 1974.³⁵⁴ If Jayalalitha or other Tamil nationalists gain more leverage at the national level, there will likely be a souring of relations between India and Sri Lanka.

Although Sri Lanka is rapidly modernizing its infrastructure and enjoying a robust post-war economy, the economic downturn may cause donors to reduce their foreign aid contributions due to their own country's economic woes.³⁵⁵ This would devastate the Sri Lankan economy and probably affect the security situation in a negative way.

³⁵⁴ K.V. Prasad, "DMK Calls for Referendum among Sri Lankan Tamils," *The Hindu*, 25 July 2011, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-tamilnadu/article2291484.ece>

³⁵⁵ Shamindra Ferdinando, "Post-War Rehabilitation Funds Drying Up," *The Island* (Sri Lanka), 2 July 2011, http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=29253

Chapter 5 Assessment

1. India and Sri Lanka have a complicated relationship, due in part to the large Tamil population on the island.
True
The Indian state of Tamil Nadu provided overt and covert assistance to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in their terrorist insurgency against the Sri Lankan government; whereas India's national government vacillated between interventionism and support for Sri Lanka's government in the war.
2. China maintained a position of neutrality during the Sri Lankan Civil War.
False
China provided much needed weaponry to the Sri Lankan armed forces in the final years of the conflict.
3. The Sri Lankan Army is now actively engaged in the reconstruction of the war zones throughout the island and transitioning into a peacetime force.
True
The Sri Lankan Army is redefining its mission in the post-war era.
4. The threat of renewed Tamil militancy and the increase in Islamist radicalism are major concerns facing Sri Lankan security.
True
Renewed Tamil militancy and the increase in Islamic radicalism threaten stability in Sri Lanka.
5. The Sri Lankan armed forces rely primarily upon U.S.-manufactured weapons systems.
False
The vast majority of equipment is of Soviet and Chinese make. These have been augmented with Pakistani, South African, Czech, and Israeli models, including Israeli-manufactured unmanned aerial vehicles.

FINAL ASSESSMENT

1. Sri Lanka is a landlocked country in the northern reaches of the Indian Subcontinent.
True / False
2. The Mahaweli Ganga is the longest river in Sri Lanka.
True / False
3. Deforestation has taken a serious toll on the forest cover of Sri Lanka.
True / False
4. The city of Kandy is renowned for its colonial architecture, especially its Roman Catholic churches.
True / False
5. The threat of devastating tsunamis is a major concern in Sri Lanka.
True / False
6. The origin legend of the exiled Prince Vijaya supports claims that the Tamil people were the first to settle the island of Sri Lanka.
True / False
7. The palace coup d'état of Kōṭṭe opened the door to European colonial encroachment by the Portuguese.
True / False
8. British colonial policies set the stage for the ethnic tensions that followed Sri Lankan independence.
True / False
9. The Norwegians replaced the Portuguese as the colonial power in Sri Lanka in the mid-17th Century.
True / False
10. Sri Lanka President Mahinda Rajapaksa won international acclaim for his leadership in defeating the terrorist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).
True / False
11. Sri Lanka is an oil-exporting country.
True / False
12. Sri Lanka has free-trade agreements with both India and Pakistan.
True / False

13. The Sri Lankan government plans to continue developing the tourism industry in the post-war era.
True / False
14. The Sri Lankan government retains control of most industry.
True / False
15. Resettling internally displaced persons (IDPs) could be potentially problematic for the Sri Lankan economy.
True / False
16. The Sinhalese are the indigenous people of Sri Lanka.
True / False
17. Tensions exist within the Muslim community and between the Muslims and other ethnic groups.
True / False
18. In contrast to other South Asian culinary traditions, Sri Lankan cuisine consists largely of bland dishes easily palatable by Westerners.
True / False
19. Gender issues in Sri Lanka are steeped in draconian patriarchal practices.
True / False
20. Sri Lankan art reflects influences of other South Asian, European, and indigenous traditions.
True / False
21. Sri Lanka and the United States have generally cordial relations.
True / False
22. Some analysts perceive an ulterior motive to China's warm relations with Sri Lanka.
True / False
23. Sri Lanka's Coast Guard has a long tradition of providing for the defense of the island's territorial waters.
True / False
24. The Tamil diaspora represent a security concern not only for Sri Lanka but for the host countries in which they live.
True / False
25. Wahhabis have generally displayed tolerance for followers of other branches of Islam.
True / False

FURTHER READING

- Ali, Ameer. "The Muslims of Sri Lanka: An Ethnic Minority Trapped in a Political Quagmire." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3 (2004): 372 – 383.
- Allchin, F. Raymond, et al. *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Amato, Edward J. *Tail of the Dragon: Sri Lankan Efforts to Subdue the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2002.
- Blackburn, Anne M. *Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- DeVotta, Neil. "The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Lost Quest for Separatism in Sri Lanka." *Asia Survey* 49, no. 6 (November/December 2009): 1021 – 1051.
- Hoglund, Kristine. "Obstacles to Monitoring: Perceptions of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission and the Dual Role of Norway." *International Peacekeeping* 18, no. 2 (2011): 210 – 225.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Jesse, Neal G. and Kristen P. Williams. "Sri Lanka: Protracted Rebellion," in *Ethnic Conflict: A Systematic Approach to Cases of Conflict*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011.
- Kaplan, Robert D. *Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power*. New York: Random House, 2010.
- Kois, Lisa. "The Art of Forgetting." (Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2005), DVD or online at <http://www.veoh.com/list/u/yajitha>
- Ondaatje, Michael. *Anil's Ghost*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.
- Orizio, Riccardo. "Sri Lanka: Dutch Burgers of Ceylon," in *Lost White Tribes: The End of Privilege and the Last Colonials in Sri Lanka, Jamaica, Brazil, Haiti, Namibia and Guadeloupe*. New York: Free Press, 2001.
- Peebles, Patrick. *The History of Sri Lanka*. Westport, CT: 2006.
- Riaz, Ali, ed. *Religion and Politics in South Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Scudieri, James D. *Indian Peace-keeping Force in Sri Lanka: A Case Study in Operations Other Than War*. Fort Leavenworth: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2007.
- Selvadurai, Shyam. *Funny Boy: A Novel*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1997.

Shastri, Amita. "Ending Ethnic Civil War: The Peace Process in Sri Lanka." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 47, no. 1 (2009): 76 – 99.

Stokke, Kristian and Jayadeva Uyangoda, eds. *Liberal Peace in Question: Politics of State and Market Reform in Sri Lanka*. New York: Anthem Press, 2011.

Wickramasinghe, Nira. "After the War: A New Patriotism in Sri Lanka?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68, no. 4 (2009): 1045 – 1054. doi: 10.1017/S0021911809990738