

Chapter-5

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Geography has made India and Sri Lanka close neighbors. The sea that parcels distinctive nations interfaces them. Their normal history is stacked with events of development starting with one country then onto the next, particularly from the Indian side. Distinctive Tamil-speaking bunches diversely ensure Indian parentage. Sinhala-Buddhism, both as a religion and language, has a recorded history of Indian beginning stages. Despite the overall subsidence that hit air cross the world, air travel among Colombo and objectives in India continues being over-booked and direct. India is starting at now being perceived as a nearby power in its own particular benefit, and an overall power truly coming to fruition. History is stacked with events of proposed overall strengths sustaining ties with the neighbors, before driving past them. The US, through settlement, and the late Soviet Union, through military may, did accurately that. While the past succeeded, the last slumped pitifully. With respect to creating relations among India and Sri Lanka, New Delhi has as often as possible been seen as over shooting speedy neighbors for a place on the greater table, especially in the years after the complete of the 'Cold War'. The Indian approach ought to be found in setting having expanded its traverse in the earlier decade India now seems to have returned to the base, to manufacture a stage by decided stride association with brisk neighbors, at the level of the council and moreover their social orders. There will be more clear change in the coming years and decades in India-Sri Lanka relations as they revamp themselves to the rising reality of a region without the LTTE proximity. India as the adjoining neighbor significantly incorporated into the Sri Lankan issue, would consistently be called upon to scan for commendable responses for equal issues. Beside the ethnic issue, the creating geopolitical reality relating to the basic waters of the Indian Ocean neighborhood including India and Sri Lanka is in like manner a fundamental sensitivity toward New Delhi. The foreseen improvement of China as an overall military/ocean control at standard with the US in the hereto with unipolar world has been an issue of mind blowing stress to ranges of the indispensable gathering in India.

5.1 Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

India and Sri Lanka have uncommon and firmly fixed relations that are 2500 years old. The geographical continuance, paired with consistent people mobility across borders of the two countries, furnished the start of Indo-Sri Lanka relations. The two Countries have ethnic and traditional similarities, for example, the Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal population have links with Sinhalese of Lanka While people of Tamil Nadu have far reaching connection with Sri Lankan Tamils since ancient times.

Sri Lanka and India have great past together as per historical records. “It is generally accepted that ‘Vedas’ were the first who colonized the Island. The next who came to Sri Lanka in 500BC were the Aryan of Northern India. It was the Prince Vijay, Who founded the first independent Kingdom of Sri Lanka. Another stock of People who settled mostly in the north-east region of Sri Lanka was the Dravidians from South India.”¹

Indo-Sri Lankan relations were mark ably harmonious during Mauryan Emperor Asoka’s reign(247-237BC) which marked popularization of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Asoka sent his son Mahindra as an ambassador and preacher of Buddhist teachings in Sri Lanka whose efforts made Buddhism affix it roots firmly in the country. The societal development in Sri Lanka had similar ways as India had during contemporary ages. Both Societies were agricultural caste based and encompassed joint families. However, Sri Lanka invasion by South Indians led to disharmony in Indo-Sri Lanka relations some time. “For the first in 177 BC, two South Indian sena and Guttika possessed the power of Anuradhapura and ruled for twenty years.”²

Tamil king Elara of Chola Dynasty Captured the Anuradhapura throne in 14 BC and continued rule for 44 years. The increasing Tamil assertions by three South Indian kingdoms, Pandyas, Pallavas and Cholas, in 5th and 6th century severely threatened the Sinhalese Buddhist Kingdom. Sinhalese made a protective alliance with cheras and Pandyas against the Cholas. Medieval Sri Lanka ages were under north

1 Farazana Begum, Dynamic of Indian Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs, Swashik Publication, Delhi, 2009, Page- 6-7.

2 Ibid, Page- 8.

Indian influence and later the island was invaded by South Indians leading to declination of Sinhalese power feel apart and local governors sought South Indian help in their disputes resolution. The Sinhalese were affixed firmly in center and Southwest parts of island.

(I) Buddhism and Indo Sri Lanka

The primitive Sinhalese tradition as per Mahavamra depicts that the first Indian colony in Sri Lanka was established by Vijaya, son of Simhabahu king of Lala in India continued to rule for 30 years (483-445BC).

The Mahaparinibana sutta and Sri Lankan Pali Text, Dala Danamsa, specify about the question for relics among the rulers after the Lord Buddha passing. Before this, a specific Arhant named khema there gathered the left Canine tooth of the ruler Buddha and gave it over to the King Brahmadatta who was vuling the kalinga and Magadha for the tooth relic, lord Brahmadatta requested that his grandson Dantakumara hand over the relic to the decision ruler of Sri Lanka, Mahasena of security and reverence in a stupa. The tooth relic loved today by the Sinhalese at Anuradhapura was truly transported from the India soil amid the fifth – fourth BC. Accordingly it creates the impression that the early foundations of Buddhism in Sri Lanka can be gone back to Buddha's life. Asoka sent a mission drove by his child Mahindra to Sri Lanka as a component of his endeavors of Proliferating Buddhism to far zones. The Sinhalese convention underpins this and around 300 yards toward the west from the foot of the Mihimtale slope popular in the historical backdrop of Ceylon Buddhism as the Scene of the initially meeting between Tissa, the King of Ceylon and Mahindra sent by Asoka to lecture the religion of Sakyamuni.

The Kajargama copper inscription mentions about the Kshatriya clan in Kajargama who witnessed the arrival and plantation of Bodhi tree by Sanghamitra in Anuradhapuram and later one of the eight shoots of vriksha Ghana (the Buddhi tree) was planted in Kajargama also. In this way, Sinhalese accepted Buddhism totally by the 2ndBC this faith further provided the Kernel for Sri Lanka's consequent political and economic might to assure unity uprightness and cognizance. Subsequently, India and Sri Lanka relationship intensified closer due to religious pursuance.

(II) India-Sri Lanka during Colonization

The modern history of Sri Lanka can be traced back into the arrival of Portuguese in 16th century with their trading Centre being established in Colombo in 1505 AD in accordance to their main objective of trade. The advent of Portuguese marked the end of Indian period of Sri Lankan history. Portuguese were succeeded by Dutch from 1658 to 1795. The period was characterized by a total political disconnection between India and Sri Lanka. India was under the Mughal rulers tried to exercise direct Control over south India. The British Colonialism in Sri Lanka was a product Anglo-French Confrontations in South India as Britishers emerged as a dominant authority in Indian Ocean and thus, affected Sri Lanka became a British colony under the treaty of Amiens (1802) between Dutch and British's followed by a complete authority over the island in 1815. Initially for 4 years Sri Lanka was ruled by the Madras government but later came under the direct subjection of British Crown leading to a series of proximate correlation with India. They Preferred Indian laborers to Sinhalese laborers due to the formers attribute of being "manageable, regular and hardworking" and adopted such measure which caused clefs and gaps between Sinhalese and Tamils. The inception of Roman Catholic Churches in Sri Lanka caused Strains between Sinhalese and the Catholic Church. India has persistently been essential to Sri Lanka.

5.2 India Sri Lanka Relationship from 1947 To 1971

"India-Sri Lanka relations over the years since independence, stand out a unique example the manner in which two neighboring states in South Asia have succeeded in resolving their disputes and problems through political co-operation, discussion, negotiation, diplomatic efforts etc."³

"Although India-Sri Lankan relations were normal and Cordial in the post-independence period, yet there were a few disagreements between them, of which the most important were Sri Lanka's pro-western orientation in the context of the Strategic importance of Sri Lanka from the point of view of India's security, its 'Defense pact' with Britain. The presence of Indian Tamil in Sri Lanka, Citizenship

3 Jyoti lal Oran, "Tamil Problem of India and Sri Lanka: socio-economic and Political perspective", classical publishers, New Delhi, 2004, Page -9.

issue of Indian Tamils, Ethnic conflicts of Sri Lankan Tamils, Ethnic riots, Sri Lankan Tamils 'demands for Eelam and the constant influence of Tamil Nadu in Sri Lankan affairs are the Main constraints in the India-Sri Lanka's relation. On the other hand, Sri Lanka suspected that India being a big bother may cause harm to its sovereignty in order to establish its hegemony in South Asia.'"⁴

Mr. D.S. Sennanayake told his Indian correspondent in December 1947, that he was desirous of the friendliest relation existing between the two countries our attachment to India, whether it is cultural or otherwise he told the house of representative, makes us feel that it is very necessary focus to be in close Friendship with the country.

In an interview, Mr. Sennanayake stated in an interview with the Statement (Calcutta), "our position today is different from what it was previously. Then India and Ceylon were units of the British Empire, but today we are members of the same commonwealth and two independent members. So the relationship between members will be discussed as between two independent members.""⁵

A Ceylon delegate, in Asian relation Conference of 1947, stated "to fear of small countries like Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia etc., that they might be faced with Aggression not necessarily political but economic and Demographic by Their big brothers like China and India.""⁶

This fear, being the reason for Ceylon's evergreen policy perplexity towards India during whole Period, on one hand combined with island's vulnerability obliged Sri Lanka to have friendly approach for India. While, on the other hand, the same ingrained fear and sense of Vulnerability of their island, Sri Lanka did not take this friendliness to extent of intimate Political links, especially outlooks advised by Indian leadership. Notably UNP leadership, 1948-56, best reflected this Ceylonese Dilemma

4 Gurnam Chandra, "Dynamic of Indian -Sri Lankan relationship since independence, swastika publication, New Delhi, 2012, Page -25

5 Birty Gajameragedara, "Sri Lanka and the Power", 'GODAGE international publishers private limited, Sri Lanka, 2011, Page -131

6 Asian Relations: Being report of the proceedings and documentation of the first Asian Relation Conference, Asian relation Organization, New Delhi, 1948, Page -74.

by opting the Commonwealth framework imbining friendly as well as distant relationship.

K.M Parrikar, closely associated with Mr. Nehru, was the first to emphasize on an extensive “Ocean policy” to ensure Indian defense through Strategic togetherness between India and the Indian oceanic countries. The Fundamental objective of “Oceanic policy” was to form a “steel ring” “around India” with air naval base at suitable points” Parrikar explained the aims, “with the islands of the Bay of Bengal with Singapore, maurihus and socoha, properly equipped and protected and with a navy based on Ceylon, Security can return to the past of the Indian ocean which is of Supreme importance to India.”⁷

In his study, the basis of Adzed-British Treaty, Parrikar Continued to Converse and Envisage a ‘maritime state System’ formed by two ‘blots’ namely, “a western European bloc for Britain” and “Indian ocean bloc” for India. “As far as India’s defense perimeter was concerned, Mr. Nehru’s defense Strategy was geared towards achieving two objectives. One was the development of close and Friendly relations with the countries in the Defense perimeter by Utilizing the tactical Posture of his foreign policy.”⁸

“The Second Objective was the protection of India’s defense perimeter from any form of Hostile influence Mr. Nehru’s Asian diplomatic Strategy, which manifested itself in terms of his advocacy of ‘Asianism ‘and ‘peace area’ was to a great extent governed by this desire to free India’s defense perimeter from any possible hostile influence.”⁹“In other words, he had felt that India’s serenity interests were best served by having west Asian states, states of the Indian sub-continent and South East Asia free from the dominant influence of any external power.”¹⁰

Laterally, Sri Lanka intentionally opted out of the India’s proposed Asian diplomatic Strategy in an attempt to exploit its commonwealth relationships,

7 Parrikar Geoge, “India and Indian Ocean”, Allen and Unwin Ltd, London,1945, Page -15.

8 Birty Gajameragedara, “Sri Lanka and the Power”, ‘GODAGE international publishers private limited, Sri Lanka, 2011, Page -141.

9 A.Subrahmanyam,”The Challenge of the Seventies to India’s security, in India Quarterly, April-June,1970, Page -139.

10 Ibid, Page-139.

especially with Britain, not only to ensure its own security against probable dangers from India, but also to act as a counterbalancing authority to India's diplomatic lunge.

The Indo-Ceylon relationship had different perspective in 1950 in comparison to today's relationship aims. The two basic relationship questions: - which Indian residents in Ceylon should be awarded Ceylonese citizenship and how they should be awarded this formed the basis for relation between two countries.

D.S Sennanayake was of the view that Indian origin people in Ceylon did not have much interest in country and migrated role and whole for employment opportunities. Nevertheless the basic differences between two countries that were visible in 1947 talks were followed by a 1949 Act (Indian and Pakistan act) in an anticipation of 50000 Indian residents in Ceylon being granted official Ceylon citizenship and other should return back to India. Indian dwellers in Ceylon should either become Ceylon citizen or Indian citizen, more favorably Ceylon citizenship should be taken up by the majority. Going a little further than his "foreign policy" 11 December Dudley in 1953, propounded 5 point formula negotiations between 2 nations:- 1 issuance of Ceylon Citizenship to 4000,000 persons and permanent resident, permits to 250,000 people to Mandatory revert back of 300,000 people to India. This formula was the fore-runner of the solution finalized in 1964.

Bandaranaike Government promoted friendly relations with India its power gain in 1956. However, in 1956 press conference he talked about US-Ceylon Defense agreement being beneficial to Ceylon Security in case of Indian attack. He said "I look upon India as a very friendly country, and I do not anticipate attack from India. I trust that the friendly relation between India and our self will continue as firmly as any friendly relations we may have with any other country. I have no more fear of attack from India on this country than that of any other nation."¹¹

The improved Indo- Ceylon relationships during Bandaranaike's period showcased neither a "high tide of friendship" between two as Prasad said, nor a change in political relations that were before 1956. As per Kodikera's analysis,

¹¹Birity Gajameragedara, "Sri Lanka and the Power", 'GODAGE international publishers private limited, Sri Lanka, 2011, Page -152.

nonetheless, this policy did not resolve the basic Indo-Ceylon questions that dominated their day to day bilateral relations.

“Though the Bandaranaike governments were not prepared to enter into ‘any detailed discussion of the country’s ‘defense Strategy’ it can be established without a shadow of doubt that the assumption there existed a potential danger from India-the key factor which conditioned the UNP’s attitude towards India-Constituted the basic premise of their defense policy”.¹²

In spite of the Bandaranaike’s view of overall friendship with India on the Indo-Ceylon question, the reality of this equitable friendly neighborhood relationship between two countries was its dependence on Sincere and Considerable efforts towards the Solution of mutual differences. Bandaranaike had his own Blueprint of ways for its success on the policies, good will and cooperation from India Government consequently; he conceptualized fresh agreements with India to ensure a cordial and enduring friendly relation between the two countries.

Since mid-50s, the Indian approach become resistant absurdly and the pressure of issue solution shifted entirely towards Ceylonese side.

There were no alternations in Ceylonese policies and attitudes of Friendly as well non-aligned relations towards India during 1962-1974. The Ceylonese leaders understood the influence of non-alignment policy to ensure country’s security and independence in the context of Changing South Asian dynamics.

The non-alignment Ceylonese policy was tested severely during the guided the Foreign policy of Sri Lanka towards Ceylon remain unchanged with the establishment of Proximate political association being the fundamental objective of Indian attitude.

The alternating south Asian power balance radiated issues to influence the relationship between two nations since 1962, “Considered from the vantage point of view of Indo-Ceylon relations, two basic aspects of these change stand out, the Sino-Indian rivalry, the gradual emergence of India as the dominant power in the region

¹² Ibid, Page -154.

which Culminated in her successful military intervention in East Pakistan in 1971-1972”.¹³

The east-west conflicts were replaced by the south Asian Power imperatives as the foreground for Ceylon's foreign policy decision.

5.3Lanka Increasing Geopolitical Importance and Security of India after 1971to 1990

“Mrs. Bandaranaike won majority in 1970 and formed government under united front. During this Period India and Sri Lanka had vast expansion of economic and cultural relations, in March 1971, the communalist party J.V.P led an insurgency against Sri Lankan Government emergency was declared on 16th march, 1971, on the request of Bandaranaike, India sent its forces to Sri Lanka to boundary tackle this situation.”¹⁴

In 1956, India extended its water boundary from customary 3 miles to six miles and later up to 100 nautical miles with new of guard fishing other living resources. This extension would have covered a small Ceylon area also. Sri Lanka too announced its territorial water extensions to 6 nautical miles claiming fishing rights over an area of 100 miles in her territorial waters. Both countries extended their territorial waters up to 12 miles in 1967 that result overlapping in both Palk Strait and Palk Bay. A maritime boundary demarching agreement in Palk Strait was signed between the after prolonged talks on 26th June 1974 which came into effect from 9th July 1974. The agreement demarcated boundary in the sea from a point about 18 nautical miles north of point Redo in Strait of Palk to Adam's bridge that was approximately 86 nautical miles. The agreement considered the sovereignty of both countries and recognized independent jurisdiction in the land and water on their respective boundary lines.

(I) Issue of Kachcha Tivu:

The ownership controversy for Kachcha Tivu,a small island of half mile length and half mile width situated in Palk Strait between Danuskody of South India

¹³ Ibid, Page -161.

¹⁴ Ravi Kant Dubey, “Indo-Sri Lanka Relation: with special reference to the Tamil problem”, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1995 Page -102.

and the north east coast of Ceylon, emanated in early 1955. Although, the issue did not create much tensions between the two nations but, the matter attracted considerable Public interest from both sides of Palk Strait from mid-1960's and therefore, made the two governments to concentrate on this issue. The issue was put up in front of Mrs. Gandhi during her visit to Ceylon in September 1967 and a round of official discussions were agreed upon to the resolution of the matter ultimately the subject was again taken up by Mr. Dudley Sennanayake during his visit to India in November 1968. This time both sides kept their respective view on the issue and articulated the hope that they would be "able to come to a satisfactory settlement before long."¹⁵

The question was discussed a new in April 1973 at a prime-ministerial level during the Ceylon trip of Mrs. Gandhi where the two sides acknowledged the Succession of Senior official level explorations on the issue with an aim of arriving at an 'early decision' The findings of these officials served as a base for an agreement between the two government on June 26, 1974 marking another essential triumph of Indo-Sri Lanka diplomacy. As per this agreement the ownership of Kachcha Tivu was with Ceylon. The agreement considered the related territorial water issue and decides to demarcate 18 miles sea boundary from North West of point Dedro i.e. the northern most point of Ceylon in Palk Strait to Adam's Bridge. Though, the territorial water demarcation was not much significant at that time but had the possibilities of assuming great importance in future. Mrs. Bandaranaike explained the need of territorial waters demarcation between two nations in the following words. "In these negotiations we did not consider Kachcha Thivu in Isolation. we decided that it was in our long term interest and advantageous for the purpose of identifying and developing our natural resources, to demarcate a maritime boundary between the two countries in the whole area from the Palk strait to adman's Bridge".¹⁶

Another maritime breaking point assentation of 1976 impacting the cutoff in the narrows of way and the Bay of Bengal was path by extension and longitude at 13 centers which were equidistant from the shoreline of the two countries. The lines partner their concentrations constituted, each social affair was moreover required to

¹⁵ The Hindu, November 3, 1968

¹⁶ Birty Gajameragedara, "Sri Lanka and the Power", 'GODAGE international publishers private limited, Sri Lanka, 2011, Page -186.

respect benefits of course through its provincial sea and particular money related zone according to the laws and controls and gauges of worldwide law.

Several uprising occurred all over Sri Lanka in 1971 with attacks on American embassy and death of one police personnel. Emergency was proclaimed 16 marches 1971 and Mrs. Bandaranaike, in a broadcast to nation, said that the insurgency was caused by certain parties under 'Guevara movement' that aimed at dethroning the democratically elected government in the country. She requested various Countries, including India, for help.

Simultaneously, Indo-Lankan relations whereon tough roads due to Ceylonese help of air facilities Pakistan through Colombo from west Pakistan to East-Bengal during Indo-Pakistan was 1971. Sri Lanka justified that she wanted to be neutral in Indo-Pak war and continue congenial relations with Pakistan.

Another reason, accordingly to political analysts, was that the danger to Pakistan's integrity meant a danger to Ceylon integrity. The Psycho-fear of India has been a major Factor in Sri Lanka's foreign policy". Same way, India was also cautious about its Security reasons with Sri Lanka. That way probably explain why Sri Lanka foreign policy during the first 8 years of it west.

The Ceylon-UK agreement of 1947,"would give to each other Military assistance for the security of their territories, for defense against external aggression and for the protection of essential communications and for this purpose United Kingdom was authorized to base in Sri Lanka her naval and air forces and land forces"¹⁷

"In 1950, Sri Lanka granted harbor facilities to an American flotilla on its way to Korea and when asked whether this did not conflict with the Policy of non-alignment professed by the Government D.S Sennanayake declared: 'I do not see any reason why facilities which were available to the Americans in the past should not be Available now.'"¹⁸

17 D.M.prasad, "Ceylon's foreign policy under the Bandaranaike's 1956-65,"Indian journal of political science, vol.33, no 3, July- September, 1972, Page -272.

18 Gurnam Chandra, "Dynamic of Indian -Sri Lankan relationship since independence, swastika publication, New Delhi,2012, Page -78.

In 1954 the Kotewala government granted permission to the United States to route through Aircraft carrying French paratroops between France and Honai.

The Kotewala government issued permission to US in 1954 to route through aircraft carrying French paratroops from France to Hanoi.

Further, Sri Lanka tied up with west in 1984 for Trinocomalee Tank farm Development Project (TTFDP) to be built by three companies, namely Ormolu (pvt) Ltd Singapore, oil Tanking of west Harmony and Tradinaft of Switzerland in for Petroleum products Storage Facility. The hundred tanks, under this project, had 1 million tones capacity with the Potential of Refueling facility for naval ships and submarines sailing in the Indian Ocean. "In response the Indian government expressed its concern over the above mentioned development. The minister for external Affairs, Narasimha Rao said "India considered the existence of any foreign Military or Naval base in the Region as threat to peace and tranqnility and this would have adverse Consequences on our Security Environment."¹⁹

"The India-Sri Lanka relations were further strained when in 1983 a large scale ethnic riot broke-out in Sri Lanka and J.R Jayewardene Government was seeking help from external powers for a military Solution to the ethnic crisis."²⁰

Sri Lankan government offered refueling and recreational facilities for visiting US naval ships in an attempt for winning US Support. Sri Lanka's Anti-India foreign policies attracted support from Pakistan and china as well. "The involvement of Foreign forces in Sri Lanka, the Covetous glances from western powers at the Trinocomalee port, the induction of British Keenie-Neenie services, the south African mercenaries, and the Israeli Mussed to help Sri Lankan army fight against the Militants and the training of the Sri Lankan Soldiers in Pakistan, all these posed a big threat to regional stability and India's own Security."²¹

India as always was against foreign power interventions in Sri Lanka and tried to convince Ceylonese government to solve Ethnic issue politically and through discussion without foreign interference.

19 Ibid, Page -80-81.

20 Ibid, Page -81.

21 Ibid, Page -82.

(II) Ethnic Conflicts: India and Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, earlier known as Ceylon, becomes a British Colony in 1833. Sri Lankan Tamil minority hoped for a status at par with Sinhalese majority in the Post-independence years-based on their equal contribution towards Sri Lankan freedom efforts. But, the Tamil minority continued to be discriminated after independence also. Thus, it was obvious for Tamil Minorities to start rights and equality seeking movements against the government.

The Ceylon Tamil have a past as old as that of Sinhalese Community since both had migrated from India thousands of years ago. Ceylon Tamils are, on the whole, are an educated populace with professionals mainly settled in northern and three eastern provinces of the country and hail from an affluent caste of Tamil Nadu in India. This was an exception to the general Phenomena of lower caste South Indian Migration from India to Sri Lanka. The educated Tamil Professionals occupied many Professional and administrative jobs under British period in Sri Lanka. Ceylon Tamils, being qualified doctors, engineers and Administrators, migrated to several European Countries, USA, Canada, Malaysia Australia and Singapore etc.

In 1956, Sri Lanka government formulated a Statute giving official Language status to Sinhalese and was implemented in area of Tamil Majority also. This step proved to be the biggest prejudice against Tamils since Ceylon independence in 1948. In 1958, anti-Tamil riots commenced and government patronized colonization of ethnic Tamils in east continued to exist.

Sequentially, the Sri Lankan government in 1970 passed a law that made it mandatory for Tamil Students to score comparatively higher marks than Sinhalese to get admission in Professional courses like medical, engineering etc. During the same year, Sri Lanka Security forces had killed nine Tamils in an intended upon fire in world Tamil Conference Venue in Jaffna. The world distinguished Jaffna library was scorched down to ashes in 1981 burning lakhs of volumes of Tamil literature in the severe fire. Therefore, the Tamil agitation was the only redressed mechanism available to this community. The demand for autonomous local authority transformed itself into a demand for a distinct Tamil Homeland by merging the Jaffna Peninsula in North and the three eastern coast Provinces.

Birth of LTTE:

LTTE was constituted in 1975 with the Ceylon Tamils Support and help. In 1983, 64 Tamil prisoners were slaughtered in Ralli Khadi prison in a riot, according to official records. But it was an obvious fact that such a prison riot was practically impossible and the Tamil prisoners were executed brutally by a Sri Lankan agency outside the prison with the permission of Sri Lankan authorities. Consequently, the Tamil struggle took a violent shape in 1983 and LTTE came in the forefront to achieve Eelam for Tamils in Sri Lanka.

When viewed from the other side of perception, four reasons for Tamil-Sinhalese ideological clashes are visible. First, both the communities claim to be the Original natives of Ceylon. Buddhist mythology claims Sinhalese to be the earliest migrants to Sri Lanka from North India, while the Tamils Chronicles affirms Tamil inhabitation to be Earliest on Sri Lankan island with Sinhalese coming much Later to the Country. Thereupon, both the Communities fostered rival-postulations affirming their racial and Cultural Supremacy and Administrative Predominance over each other.

Secondly, the Indian connection of Tamils was an issue of tension between India and Sri Lanka as they had migrated from South India, particularly Tamil Nadu and Kerala, during the British rule.

Third, Tamils had occupied the major administrative and other fields during British period thus; making them influential Sri Lankan independence woke up the Dormant Sinhalese and Tamil differences which were inactive during British regime.

Fourth, the religious issues were existent Religion Loyalty played a keen role in affirming the ethnic consciousness of the two communities. Fifth, the issue of official languages. Sixth, geographical adjacency of India and cross-border support of Tamils was also one reason for Confrontations. The Sinhalese continued to put forward a suspicious nation about the deep emotional links of Sri Lankan Tamils with Tamils just across the Palk Strait i.e. Indian Tamils.

“The continuous discrimination and deprivation of the Tamils created more anger, resentment and frustration and the Tamil youth rejected the conventional method of Agitation.”²²

This triggered their shift towards militancy and disaffiliations. The federal party, Tamil Congress and other small Tamil parties grouped up to form the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) in 1976 and demanded a ‘Tamil Eeem’ but, through non-violent means. However, the youth wing of TULF disapproved the non-violent methods for Tamil liberation and framed a Guerilla Organization.

The propagation of camps led to induction of more than 35 guerilla organizations out of Which LTTE (liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam) gained Hegemony over other assemblies. The Politically violent Tactics employed by LTTE added new aspects to the Sri Lankan ethnic warfare. In this Context, several subterranean Tamil Groups intervened and Terrorism reached new Heights. The 1983 riots were marking ably daunting and offensive causing thousands of Tamils to escape and take shelter in India and other western countries as refugees.

“From 1987 to 1987, the objective of India’s involvement in Sri Lanka was twofold. India wanted to help Sri Lanka government and the Tamils to evolve a workable solution to the ethnic conflicts as it was wary of the emergence of a Tamil Eelam nation out of Sri Lanka. At the Same time, India also wanted to prevent Sri Lanka forking into cockpit of American Domination intruding in India’s sphere of influence”.²³

India refused to support the demand for separate Tamil state as it would have negative percussions in South as well as north- eastern Indian states. Another reason for India’s non-supportive attitude towards ethnic conflicts was the geopolitical importance of Sri Lanka and India’s internal security aspects. The Sri Lankan government started probing international help from other countries to restrain the mounting insurgency and intensifications of ethnic conflicts on the island. Jayewardene government, in Sri Lanka, sought military and Political assistance from Israel, USA, UK and Pakistan. This was Repugnant to India’s Security concerns in the

22 V.P. vadik, “ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka: - India’s options”, National Publication, New Delhi, 1986, Page -70.

23 Col. R. Hariham, “Reviving India’s Sri Lanka Policy Options”, Dialogue, Vol 10, No.5 July- September 2009, www.asthabharti.org.

region as China and Pakistan, who had an anti-India foreign policy attitude, gave military support to Ceylon.

India's strong opposition against Sri Lankan policy of Building strategic foreign relations impaired the affiliations between these two countries. It was nothing but the strategic concern that directed Indian interference in Sri Lanka from 1987 to 1990. Sri Lanka sighted the Indian concern and signed the India-Sri Lanka Accord in 1987 which made Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) to act in Sri Lanka. The LTTE supreme, V. Prabhakaran, was called to Delhi and shown the Provision of accord before its negotiations but, he did not agree with them. Despite his disagreement, India and Sri Lanka signed the accord. Prabhakaran was break to Jaffna on 1 august 1987.

"To begin with relation between the IPKF and LTTE were correct However, these relations took a dramatic turn for the worst when seventeen LTTE top candors who were apprehended by the Indian navy while crossing over the Tamil Nadu, Committed suicide by swallowing cyanide capsule when they were being handed over to Sri Lankan army by IPKF on 3 October, 1987. According to some watchers of Indo-Sri Lanka relations after the signing 1987 accord, there was an unwritten agreement that Indian coastal guard will turn a blind eyes to such crossings by LTTE cadres from Sri Lanka to Tamil Nadu and back."²⁴

Notwithstanding the complications created by LTTE and Sri Lankan government, IPKF still succeeded in establishing peaceful environment both in Jaffna and North-eastern peninsula by 1988. "As if this was not bad enough president Premadasa joined hands with LTTE attack IPKF whenever they were present in Sri Lanka. It is no longer a secret that Premadasa supplied continuously in a clandestine Mennen arms and ammunition to LTTE to fight against IPKF".²⁵

"Such was the role of Premadasa, which eventually resulted in the ignominious exit of IPKF from Sri Lanka in 1990".²⁶

24 Adluri, Subramanyan, Raju, India – Sri Lanka Partnership in 21th Century, kalpaz publication, Delhi, 2007, Page -64.

25 Ibid, Page -65.

26 Ibid, Page -65.

Tamil ethnic combats had two parts one is Indian Tamil problem and the second Sri Lankan Tamil minority problem, both had different aspects along with Tamil–Sinhalese ethnic clashes within same category in east.

The Indian Tamil issue wrecked Indo-Sri Lankan relationship that led to origin of “Sri Lanka Tamils” problems with the demand of separate state by them. Unlike the Sri Lankan Tamils who had been the residents for many centuries, Indian Tamils migrated to Ceylon to work as laborers in 1837 when coffee had emerged as first plantation “Starting with small quantities in the beginning by 1880, 500,000 tons of coffee exported from Sri Lanka. After Coffee was struck by a blight tea cultivation started, tea was a crop that needed a regular settled labor force more than coffee. Although even during Coffee Cultivation, Tamil plantation workers had become settled in the country with introduction of tea this became consolidated workers also settled in the rubber plantations which were established during this period.”²⁷

“There are 3 main reasons for Indian Tamil to work as laborers in Ceylon:

1. The Sinhalese population of Sri Lanka was neither inclined nor hibernated to work on the plantations established on the hills in the Kandyan province of Ceylon.
2. “Slavery had already been abolished throughout the British plantation in Ceylon.
3. The South Indian Tamil labor was cheaply available because of prevailing poverty and unemployment. Thus the shortage of labor on these plantations caused by the apathy of the Indigenous people to work was removed by the immigration and recruitment of cheaply available South Indian labor”.²⁸ “However when Donoughmore constitutional reforms and extensions of universal adult Franchise was introduced in 1931 the majaiterian leaders abandoned the undertaking given in 1923 and wanted

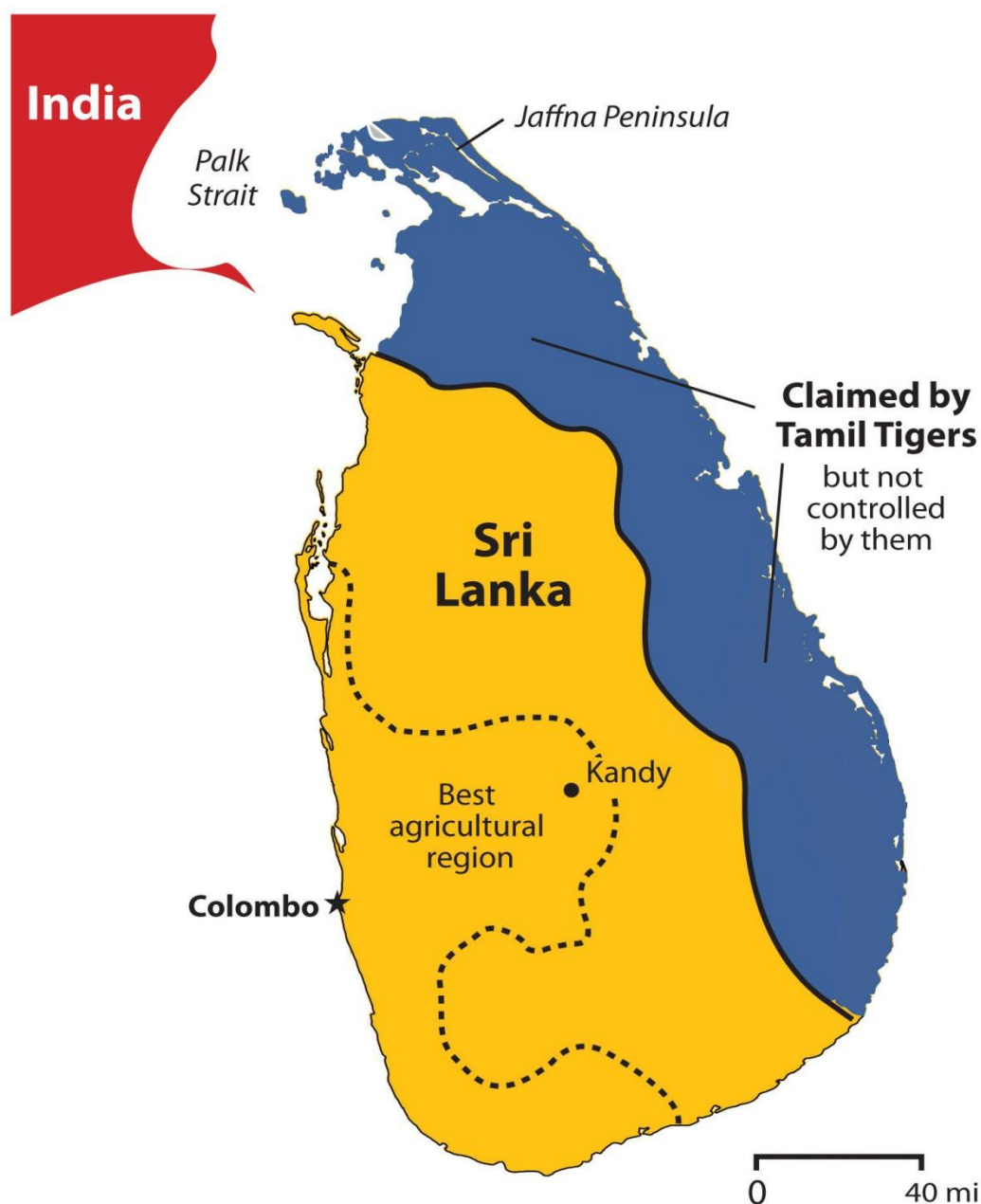
27 P.P. Devraj, A Cinderella community in transition, “The Indian Origin Tamils of Sri Lanka, India-Sri Lanka partnership in the 21st Century” ,Editor Aduri Suramanyan Raju ,kal Paz ,Publications, Delhi, 2007, Page -71.

28 Gurnam Chandra, “Dynamic of Indian –Sri Lankan relationship since independence, swastika publication, New Delhi, 2012, Page-105.

provisions to be included to exclude a large number of IOTS (Indian origin Tamils) from getting Franchise.”²⁹

Map : 5.1

Tamil high population area in Sri Lanka



Source:https://saylordotorg.github.io/text_world-regional-geography-people-places-and-globalization/section_12/00e922629d1b0136dcda11243e0f49b9.jpg

29 P.P. Devraj. A Cinderella community in transition, “The Indian Origin Tamils of Sri Lanka, India-Sri Lanka partnership in the 21st Century” ,Editor Aduri Suramanyan Raju ,kal Paz ,Publications , Delhi, 2007, Page -73.

“Under these restricted provisions, 100,000 persons of Indian origin were registered as Voters in 1931, with increasing awareness by 1939, 225,000 Indian origin persons were registered as voters. A new condition was introduced only in regard to IOT applicants. Oral interview was made compulsory for those many persons were not aware of the new condition.” “And through Systematic discrimination the number of voters of Indian origin persons was reduced from 225, 00 to 168000 in 1941.”³⁰

“In 1939, the Government of India banned the exodus of unskilled laborers to Sri Lanka, since then Indians can go to Sri Lanka either with a valid passport or as illicit immigrants.”³¹

‘As emigration of labor into Sri Lanka was totally banned, most of the Indian Tamils who stay there has made the island their home and would not like to come back unless they are compelled to do so. Although they are cut off from their homeland in India, mainly Tamil Nadu and Kerala, they are rapidly getting absorbed in Sri Lankan national life.

The government of independent Ceylon Sought to redefine the conditions of Ceylonese Citizenship through two enactments the citizenship Act 1948 and 1949.

“The Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, which came into operation on 15th November 1948, lay down that a person could not acquire Sri Lanka. Instead, he had to prove his Family Connection with the Ceylon for at least two generations.”³²

“The conditions of Citizenship were further restricted by the Indian and Pakistani Resident (Citizenship) Act of 1949. These Acts deprived the great Majority of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka of their Citizenship rights and Franchise. These Act had an immediate impact on India and its Domestic politics. The people of Tamil Nadu

30 Ibid, Page -73.

31 D.M. Prasad, “Indo-Sri Lanka relation: natural problems and common Approaches”, in surinder Chopra (Ed). Studies in India’s foreign policy G.N.D.U press, Amritsar, 1983, Page -13.

32 V.Suryanagan, “Tamil Repatriates: Rehabilitation not easy”, World focus, vol.5, No.1, September, New Delhi, 1984, Page no-17.

were worried about the decision of the Sri Lankan Government to deprive most of them, the Citizenship rights.”³³

The Tamil Nadu pressure led Indian to entry into bilateral negotiations with Ceylon 1954. “Nehru-Kotelwala pact, 1954”, under this pact, both governments to strictly restrain illegal immigrations. Ceylonese government decided to prepare new register to limit unlawful emigrations. Both the governments argued that after the new registration any person, who had Indian language mother tongue, would be considered illegal immigrant in Sri Lanka and would be deported back to India with help of Indian High Commission. Unluckily, the Nehru –Kotelwala pact fell into bad waters even before its enactment. Neither of the parties, be it Ceylon Government Indian High Commission in Colombo implemented the pact ‘honestly’. Ceylonese government wished majority out of 9, 84,327 Indians to choose Indian Citizenship. Bahadur Shastri Succeeded J.L. Nehru as PM of India. The Ceylon PM Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Ms.Shastri issued conference on the problem saying “deliberations concluded an agreement which is known as ‘Sirimavo-Shastri pact 1964’”.³⁴

“As per this pact, out of a total of 9, 75,000 Indian Tamils, 5, 25,000 were to be accepted by and eventually brought back to India, 300,000 were to be accepted by Ceylon and the case of the remaining 150,000 was to be taken up after fifteen years.”³⁵The plight of Civil rights for Indian origin Tamils and their statelessness was out of the reach of 29 July 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan pact. Howbeit, Sri Lankan government under President J.R. Jayawardhane enacted a bill on 9 Nov, 1988 to grant Citizenship to all on stateless Indian origin people in an effort to alleviate the prolonged issues since its Independence.

5.4 India Sri Lanka Relations in Post- Cold war Context

The changing dynamic of India- Sri Lankan foreign policy, since 1991, depicts the impact of Cold War termination and advent of liberal economic reforms on foreign policy dimensions between two ambiguous neighbours. Economic negotiations, rather than conflict mediation, acquire the centre stage in their

33 Sadhan Mukherjee, “Ceylon –Island that Changed”, People’s Publishing house, New Delhi,1971, Page -63.

34 Farazana begum, “growing mutuality in India-Sri Lanka relations” India quarterly, Vol Lx1 no-4, New Delhi, 2005, Page -170.

35 Ibid, Page -170.

relationship. This shift of foreign policy from conflicts intercession to economic oriented engagement ensures safe distance from mistrust and animosity that was prevalent in late 1980's and early 1990's between two countries. Free from the obligation of cold war interference, India's main security worries in Sri Lanka drifted from foreign power presence to presence of diminishing separatist agitators in and around the island. A sustainable political resolution through mediation and counter-military solution efforts against Sri Lanka ethnic conflicts marked the Indian diplomacy on Sri Lanka's thwart ethnic conditions. On the contrary, increased trade and investments became the catalysts for improved economic bilateral relations. India's offers to Sri Lanka for laudatory trade terms have reaped not only more economic commitments but politico-strategic advantages also. Sri Lanka and India, encompassing energy sector, have interlaced an economic credence in the bilateral relations and provided a forum for non-economic issues as well like countering terrorism. The indo- Sri Lanka relation underwent conditional reforms along with a switch in Indian foreign policy perception after the end of Cold War and American emergence as the sole super powers. As the changing global economic and trade scenario, Indian foreign policy understanding underwent mutations during last two decades. Indian security concerns have a broader range engaging economic, energy, and social security concerns of people in additions to territorial forthrightness.

Indo- Sri Lankan relations are affecting by the internal power oscillations as well the external power antagonism for establishing their respective influences. For instance, Sri Lanka, in the leadership of ex-president Mahindra Rajapakse benefitted from Indo-China geopolitical struggle in Indian Ocean with US trying to retain its influence intact. Strategically, it will be beneficial for India to keep the rivals out of its influence spheres through various bilateral agreements and negotiations with Sri Lanka.

Indian government has often encountered with big policy perplexity regarding Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic conflicts which deeply affect the Indo- Sri Lankan ties. India, being cautious about evolution of Tamil 'Eelam' nation out of Sri Lanka, Wished to help in raising a workable solution between Sri Lankan government and Tamils. But at the same time, India wanted to prevent external power interventions in this matter. As according to India, these ethnic conflicts were Sri Lanka's internal issues. India was in favours of finding solutions to these conflicts by Sri Lanka itself based on its

own sovereignty and integrity. The intensification of Sri Lankan ethnic agitations and external power intervention possibilities combined with India's perception and Sri Lankan engrossments made both the nations to enter into an agreement on 29 July 1987. Consequently, IPKF was sent to Sri Lanka to intervene the problem areas through it was a failure, still it can be stated that Indian intervention saved Sri Lanka from geographical fragmentation and ensured India's security concerns by preventing external interruptions in the region. The 1983 to pre 1990's, years were the most turbulent and controversial phase in Indo- Sri Lankan ties as Indian intervention alienated its relationship with both the government as well as Sri Lankan People.

(I) Indo- Sri Lanka after 1990

The intensifying economic cooperation in the Post- 1990s years between the India and Sri Lanka took its strength from the ripening political ties. India's sincere and constant pledge for unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and its help for harmonious adjudicated settlements of Sri Lankan ethnic agitations led to replacements of hatred by the seed of belief eliminating the hindrances in between the political relations of two countries. In the light of New Delhi's dynamic foreign policy conception, India's earlier experiences of agreement of 1987 with Sri Lanka followed by IPKF missions in 1987-1990 and subsequent assassination of PM Rajiv Gandhi by LTTE, India avoided considering, the mediation option in Sri Lanka's domestic conflicts. The blustery 1987-1990 period gave new direction to the bilateral ties and proved to most furious and disharmonized fears so far in Indo- Sri Lankan Alliance. India realising the costs and problems due to its direct mediation in Sri Lanka's internal matters from 1987-1990 took a shift towards a new policy of non-intervention emphasising more on economic coordination with Sri Lanka along with active, interest in its internal agitations. This new policy gave new dimensions to the old stand of India as the Indian non- intervention policy commensurate with Sri Lanka's commitments towards India's security concerns created conducive atmosphere for credible relationship era between the two nations. During the Post 1990's years, India and Sri Lanka restructure an intensified bilateral network of institution and mechanisms to safeguard the mutual cooperation irrespective of their respective domestic politics and external environment. Indo-Sri Lankan Free Trade Agreement(ISFTA) signed in Dec 28, 1998 with the goals of improving bilateral economic and trade relations and promoting FDI emerged as a significant legal

framework for the harmonious consensus between the two countries. Apart from legal, the institutional framework was also strengthened by frequent intension discussions about entire scope of mutual interaction at highest political level between the president, PM and foreign minister of both the countries.

In the post LTTE era, Sri Lanka increased proximity with China, Pakistan and Israel due to their Civil War. China took the opportunity to fill the vacuum created by Indian reluctance to participate in Sri Lanka's war efforts. The timely military aid by China has helped it to gain a strong strategic and credible threshold in Sri Lanka. US have also been an active and critical player in Sri Lanka war efforts and promoting peace making campaigns. However, US managed to have close discussion with India on Sri Lankan issues. Evidentially US values India for its unmatched geographical and strategic benefit in Sri Lanka. The nearing US- India relationship is likely to counterbalance the Chinese influence in South Asian region. The Indian Ocean Sea routes are critical for, India's expanding economy as these Sea lanes carry fossil fuels to satisfy Indian energy demands. Now, India needs to necessarily invest heavily in Sri Lanka to keep China out of its Zone of influence on the island nation. The Indian strategic and economic interests should be safeguarded in Sri Lanka by means of strong mutual bond of cooperation. The bilateral relationship have improved since 1990's due to the change of governments and their ideologies in both the countries, as the power shifted from UNP to SLEP in Sri Lanka after 17 years and in India, P.V. Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister. Rao declared that India did not play to active part in Sri Lankan problems solving efforts. Later, an agreement for establishing of Indo- Sri Lanka Joint Commission on trade, investment, finance, science and technology was signed by India- Sri Lanka in July 1991.

In 1990, IPKF was entirely withdrawn from Sri Lanka and V.P. Singh government was short- lined and P.V. Narasimha Rao (congress party) came into power in 1991 general elections. The new PM was reluctant to interfere in Sri Lankan matters. "These problems would have to be solved by Sri Lankans themselves, regardless of whether they are Sinhalese or Tamils. At the bilateral level, India showed more interest in developing of framework for a working relationship with Sri Lanka, rather than identifying relationship with Sri Lankan Tamil cause."³⁶

36 Farazana Begum, "Dynamic of Indian Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs, Swastik Publication, 2009, Page -65.

Sri Lankan President Premadasa visited India in 1992 to discuss upon the bilateral ties between two nations, later followed by President Chandrika Kumar in 1995 again for the same cause. In 1996, President Kumaratunga sent his foreign minister for goodwill visit to India during the reign of H.D. Devi Gouda as PM of India. In 1998 “as soon as Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the new PM of India. The Sri Lanka representative was among the first to reach India. India reassured Sri Lanka that it respected the sovereignty and integrity of Sri Lanka and it had no intention to intervene in its internal affairs.”³⁷

In 2001 general election of Sri Lanka, UNP won the majority and Ranil Wickremasinghe sworn in as the new Prime Minister. The cordial relations between the two nations are prevalent since his visit to India on December 24, 2001. Wickremasinghe's vision was of warm ties were more comprehensive extending to the efforts of building a bridge across Palk- Strait between the two neighbours. In 2002, LTTE chief Velupillai Prabhakaran signed a ceasefire agreement with government of Sri Lanka; however the agreement failed due to breach of truce by Sri Lankan government inciting Norway monitor to withdraw from the nation. Further, Mahindra Rajapaksa of SLFP was elected as President in November 2005. In 2006 the Sri Lankan resorted to bombing solutions in the Tamil regions of northern parts of island during the war. This evoked strong concerns from Tamil made political parties. “In August 2006 when news about the air attack on Sencholai Orphanage and also a school went for the internally displaced children reached Tamil Nadu there was righteous indignation. Almost all the Political Parties came together and the Tamil Nadu legislative assembly passed a unanimous resolution. The resolution characterized the air attack as ‘barbaric, uncivilized and inhuman’. The resolution also requested New Delhi to step up pressure on Colombo to cease fire immediately and try to arrive at a negotiated settlement.”³⁸

In same year 2006, Sri Lankan government undertook rigorous military campaigns against LTTE and succeeded to drive LTTE out of the East by capitalizing Karuna's defection. The government security forces and LTTE conflicts were

37 Avatar Singh Bhasin, “India- Sri Lanka Relation”, Section IX, Indian Research Press, New Delhi, 2001, Page- 25.

38 Gurnam Chand, “Dynamics of India – Sri Lanka Relationship, Since Independence”, Swastik Publications, New Delhi, Page -166.

restructured firmly after the East capture by Sri Lankan Forces. “After a 30 month long military defeated the LTTE and freed the nation from three decades of terror in May 2009.”³⁹ The end of military –LTTE conflict proved to be critical juncture in Sri Lanka’s history. The death of LTTE chief Velupillai Prabhakaran marked the halt of separatist militant agitations for Tamil state in Sri Lanka. “India has played a significant role in Sri Lankan Post independence political life as it did in the early 1980s and Rajiv Gandhi’s dispatching of the Indian peacekeeping force to enforce the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka accord to India’s support for Sri Lanka’s final military campaign against the Tamil Tigers in 2008-2009, the violent-conflicts between Tamil nationalist militants and the Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan state has always been intertwined with policies and attitudes in New Delhi and in the southern state of Tamil Nadu.”⁴⁰ “Underlying Indian policy towards Sri Lanka over the past three decades has been a set of relatively stable interests and goals, not all of them, however have always aligned with each other.”⁴¹

The geopolitical Concern and Security need always had been the predominant interest for India. The increasing importance of Indian policy makers since 1990s liberalisation reforms combined with the end of civil war in Sri Lanka in 2009, demanded more equitable and co-operative relationship with Sri Lanka in accordance to Indian Economic and trade Interests. “India’s official position on the ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka has been Clean and relatively consistent for the past two decades. While opposing the LTTE’s military and terrorist struggle for a separate state of Tamil Eelam, India has supported greater rights for Tamils and other minorities. It has rights for Tamils and other minorities. It has consistently endorsed devolution of power to the northern and eastern provinces, urging the full implementation of the thirteenth Amendment be followed by further constitutional reforms.”⁴²

India has been undertaking lucrative Post-war financial assistance of more than \$1.5 billion since the LTTE’s defeat in May 2009 in Sri Lanka. The assistance includes first, humanitarian help to resettle roughly 300,000 Tamils in the Northern

³⁹ Ibid, Page -167.

⁴⁰ India and Sri Lanka after the LTTE, Asia Report N°206, International Asia Crisis Group, 2011, Page -1.

⁴¹ Ibid, Page -2.

⁴² Ibid, Page -2.

Province, secondly, loans for infrastructural advancements (especially in north and east along with southern and central areas), thirdly, trade and economic intensifications between India and Sri Lanka through CEPA, reestablishment of cross-borders services and integration of Indian and Sri Lankan electrical power grids. According to international crisis group Asia 2011, 'Indian diplomats admit in private that they have serious concerns about the direction President Rajapaksa in taking Sri Lanka since the defeat of the LTTE. They accept that what is happening in Sri Lanka runs counter to Indian goals in important ways.' New Delhi favoured Colombo in 2009 when EU introduced a human rights violation resolution against Sri Lanka in UNHRC. Moreover, India was hesitant to support resolution and opted to work through bilateral engagements. Sri Lankan President during his India visit from 8-11 June, 2010, expressed his perseverance to work out such political settlements agreeable by all communities that prove to be conducive for peace, justice and dignity of Sri Lankan population on the lines of democracy, pluralism, equity and respect for human rights. "After three years of EU resolution of 2009, US introduced in UNHRC in March 2012, to take steps to bring back normalcy on the island unlike in 2009, India supported the resolution and went against Sri Lanka. India viewed that through the Sri Lankan government had made initiatives in re-habilitation work but the latter did not take steps regarding the political process, devolution of power, return of private land, demilitarisation, reduction of high security zones, promotion of trilingual policy and restoration of civilian administration."⁴³

The Indo-Ceylon bilateral ties remained shackled during the tenure of former Sri Lankan President Mahindra Rajapaksa due to latter's near clinch with China. However, "In 2013, Professor G. L. Peiris minister of external affairs of Sri Lanka visited India for the Eighth meeting of the India-Sri Lanka joint Commission which was held on 22 January 2013. During the visit the two sides signed two agreements on, (1). Combating International terrorism and illicit drug trafficking and secondly, revised double taxation avoidance agreement."⁴⁴

Mr Ajit Daval made a visit to Sri Lanka in November- December 2014, to take part in the annual International maritime conference 'Galle Dialogue'. The

⁴³ Ibid, Page -2.

⁴⁴ WWW.Mea.gov.in/portal/foreign relation/Seilanka_January_2014_.pdf.

presidential elections in Sri Lanka in 2015 and the new Ceylon government are inclined towards intensifying the ties with India resort to a shift away from China. The February 2015, India visited by Sri Lankan President Maithripala Srisena visit strengthening the bilateral cooperation. “Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Sri Lanka on 13-14 March, 2015. He also travelled to Anuradhapura, Talaimanner and Jaffna. External affairs Minister Mrs Sushma Swaraj was in Colombo on 6-7 March to prepare for Prime Minister visiting. Former President Dr. Abdul Kalam visited Sri Lanka from 25-27 June 2015 to participate in the ‘International energy symposium titled energy challenges in the knowledge economy’.”⁴⁵

“The leadership change in Sri Lanka is a welcome development for India- Sri Lanka relations, who had turned a little sour during President Rajapaksa’s second term in office due to trigger the reconciliation process with Tamils”⁴⁶. The other jarring note was Rajapaksa’s marked preference for China to the detriment of India not only in trade and commerce and the strategic sphere but also of India-aided projects.”⁴⁷

The Indian relations with South Asian countries have improved drastically, after Narendra Modi’s power gain, which were otherwise suffering pure neglect during earlier occupants times in his felicitating message to Srisena as his win, PM Modi said: ‘your historic victory is a tribute to your vision for Sri Lanka and your capacity to connect with people’s yearning for change’. Sri Lankan President Srisena needs Indian supports in UN to come out clean in the UNHRC case as well as for strengthening the gaining position with China on revised terms of China-aided projects and conducting investigations thereof. Indian support will be needed by Srisena in turning the TNA support towards him in the forthcoming elections. Notably, four posts were signed by both nations during Srisena visit to India; first being an agreement on civil nuclear cooperation and second being a pact on culture cooperation for 2015-2018, regarding various fields. The other two were memoranda of understanding (MoU). However none of pact on mainstream subjects like-maritime security or economic development, except the civil nuclear energy, was

45 [WWW.Mea.gov.in/portal/foreignrelation/Sri lanka/brief_August_2015_.pdf](http://WWW.Mea.gov.in/portal/foreignrelation/Sri%20lanka/brief_August_2015_.pdf).

46 Changing Political Dynamics in Sri Lanka: Implications for India- Sri Lanka Relations, Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, vol-10, no-1, January- March, 2015, Page -17.

47 Ibid, Page -17.

signed. Nevertheless the evergreen issues of Tamil Nadu fisherman poaching in Sri Lankan waters were discussed. Despite, the Tamil's emotional and political plight including full enactment of 13th Amendments and reconciliation of Tamil's interest founded no mention in the official statements.

5.5 Geopolitical Importance of Sri Lanka in IOR: Post-Cold War Era

“During the 18th and 19th century it was an important place as a naval port and had served the purpose of artificial harbour. It has the most spacious natural protected harbour in the central Indian Ocean area. On the East coast, Trincomalee harbour run inland some thirteen kilometres and the anchorage is large enough to shelter the full fleet of any of world's great power. In air routes, it serves as a connecting point between continents. Its central position in Geopolitical Significance attributes to its future development as a strategic point for the super powers”.⁴⁸

“At the focal points of sea and air routes, traversing the Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka is a Centre of attention, a magnet of risks. For military build-up, Sri Lanka is a necessary base for the super power's influence in the Indian Ocean region. Its existence as an independent country of great strategic worth has considerable liabilities towards its neighbours, specifically India, which broadly come under the overall strategic defence area in the IOR.”⁴⁹

(I) Some basic reasons for importance:

- Sri Lanka immediacy with the busiest international maritime lanes.
- Command post of key choke points in IOR.
- Trincomalee, Colombo, Galle and Hambantota as natural harbours.
- Disclosure of natural gas and oil resource beds in the manner basin.

Indian Ocean, being the third largest Ocean on earth, accounts for 20% of total Oceanic water and extends over an area of 10,000 km from Southern tip of Africa to the Western coast of Australia. The major choke point includes; Babel Mandeb, Strait of Hormuz, Lombok Strait, Palk Strait and Malacca Strait. Indian Ocean encompasses

48 Subnrasusekhar Misra, “Security of Micro Small States in International Politics: A Case Study of Geopolitics and Sri Lanka, JNU, New Delhi, 1986, Page no-42.(Unpublisheddissertation)

49 Ibid, Page -43.

the following eminent seas: ‘Gulf of Aden, Andaman Sea, Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal, Great Australian Bight, Gulf of Manner, Mozambique Channel, Gulf of Oman, Persian Gulf, Red Sea and others. Indian Ocean is connected to Mediterranean Sea through Babel Mandeb, Red Sea and Suez Canal and to Pacific Ocean by Strait of Malacca. The IOR is 28 million square km area inhabited by 1/3rd of total world population and sequels as a host to significant international sea- trade routes linking Europe and America with Middle East, Africa and East Asia. IOR is the main sea-trade lane for petroleum from the Persian and Indonesia. Robert Kaplan says “account that the Indian Ocean Rim land from the Middle East to the pacific accounts for 50 percent of the container traffic and 70 percent of the traffic of petroleum product of the entire world”.⁵⁰ He continued to mention that India is on the verge of becoming third largest oil imported in the world, preceded by US and China, accounting for over 90 percent of oil transmits traffic in Indian Ocean. China is also on the same threshold as already its 85 percent of imported oil passes through Indian Ocean. Additionally, Indian Ocean is a rich source of marine products and minerals and at present shared 40 percent of the total offshore petroleum products in the world. Sri Lanka is an interest area of the trade, security and marine resources for the littoral countries as well as the supreme world powers of the time. “During colonial times, it served as a strategic resource for the establishment and maintenance of colonialism by European powers in South Asia and South East Asia. It was 19th century American navy officer and Geo- strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan, who for the first time elaborated the maritime dimension of Security and dominance. In his seminal work, ‘the influence of Sea power upon history: 1660-1763, published in 1890, he enunciated the concept of Sea power which postulates that the countries with greater naval power will have greater worldwide impact and ability to exercise control over seas and territories”.⁵¹

Mahan book (*The Influence of Sea Power upon History-1660-1765*) depicts role played by Sea power during 17th and 18th centuries and recognises the action to be pursued for becoming sea power through a powerful fleet. His argument stated that a command over sea combined with strong land force will offer crucial benefits to a particular nation over others. British royal navy was the sole authoritative operant in

⁵⁰Latish Kapoor, contemporary Geo-Politics of Indian Ocean: India, China and Other Power, 23rd IPSA conference Montreal, Canada, July, 2014, Page - 2.

⁵¹ Ibid, Page -2.

Indian Ocean from Vasco de Gama's sail to Indian offshore in 1948 to the end of WWII with little opposition from other colonial power. The strategic Indian Ocean dynamics have changed in post-cold war period because of determined efforts put in by many new players to gain an upper hand in the IOR pertaining to their real interest or fear in the region. "While the US is still a Predominant position in Indo- Pacific, the new strategy may take, it prompt her to redesign her strategy may take, it underlined assumption would be to ensure that the emerging power also develop a stake in the emerging power also develop a stake in the maintenance of exiting global economic and political order in the region".⁵²

(II) India and IOR

India adopted liberalisation policy in 1991 with a now to assimilate its domestic economy with world economy thus making it one of the emerging economics on the global forum. The continuous momentum of her development requires India to safeguard her overseas trade, investments and energy flows. This perquisite added new realm to India's strategic interest in IOR and redefined has traditional coastal security concerns. India is a developing economy and has a key stand in the present multipolar world matrices. The wish of being a continental power in IOR has made India to put efforts to occupy this centre stage place. "While for other countries the Indian Ocean is only one of the important Oceanic areas, for India it is a vital region. Her lifelines are concentrated in this area and her freedom is dependent on the freedom of this region.

- To ensure the safety and security of SLOC's trade and energy critical points in Indian Ocean.
- To safeguard the Indian mainland and her island (Andaman and Nicobar, Lakshadweep and Minicoy) against traditional and non-traditional security dangers.
- To guarantee sustainable exploration and harnessing of marine resources in IOR.
- To confine unnecessary external intervention in IOR.

⁵² Ibid, Page -3.

- The present Indian naval security apprehensions are a matter of fear of China.

“In view of her economic interest Chinese presence and assertion in Indo-Pacific, India has also reoriented her maritime strategy to protect her strategic interest in the region. Among others, the three factors- India’s Look East Policy leading to India’s close engagement with Chinese neighbours in South East Asia, Chinese increasing forays in Indian Ocean and Indo-US closeness- have deep impact on India’s evolving Indian maritime strategy, which became proactive since the middle of last decade”.⁵³

The three dimensions of Indian maritime strategy discussed as per Latesh Kapoor(2014) are as follows: first being ‘enhanced capability and role of navy’, the expanding economic and strategic worth of India made her to unwind the new maritime doctrine 2014 characterised by enhanced capabilities and role of Indian naval forces in IOR. As stated in current naval modernization plans. India will raise her fleet size to 160 by 2020. Moreover the new maritime doctrine demands for control over strategic choke points, islands and channels in Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal including the legitimate areas from Gulf to Strait of Malacca also. On the western front India has positioned its ships around Gulf of Aden to restrict piracy and has established decisive relation with Vietnam and Singapore in East. Secondly one is ‘Regional maritime collaboration’; Indian Ocean is the courtyard for Indian subcontinent and any hazard to IOC security will reflect the same on the security of India. Consequently, India has resorted to a regional cooperative mechanism in IOR to ensure its maritime security interests. The formation of the Indian Ocean Rim Association of Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) and Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technological and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) witnessed India’s instrumental role play in their inception. The trilateral maritime security cooperation in 2011 by India, Sri Lanka and Maldives is others initiative for multilateral regional cooperation. Third dimensions are ‘bilateral and multilateral maritime cooperation with other power’; India has adopted the foreign maritime collaboration strategy with powers like Japan, Australia and other nations which have vested interests in IOR. Apart from timely Indo-US Malabar joint naval exercise, both

⁵³ Ibid, Page -6.

the notion have strived towards mutual inter-operational cooperation for instance, the naval security offered by India in Malacca Strait in 2002. Japan joined the Malabar exercise on the invitation by India in 2014 and Australia too may join in the times to come.

(III) Sri Lanka- India and IOR

Indian Ocean has since ancient times been a distinct water area of the world and features several small islands in its centre. Sri Lanka one of the Indian Ocean islands, is well known for its geographical location on the way of accidental and oriental trade routes. The transportation in water was without any laws in old times but the need of legal norms was felt since late 16th century due to expanding exploration and imperialism in the region. The Palk bay is bounded by Tamil Nadu on its north and west coastline, by Pam ban island of India, Adam's bridge and Manner island of Sri Lanka in east and by the Jaffna peninsula of Sri Lanka on the northeast coastline. The Palk Bay, being 137 km long and 64- 137 km wide, connects the Bay of Bengal in north to Gulf of Manner in South. The Palk Strait restricts passage of foreign ships due to presence of shoals at its southern end and allows transportation between India and Sri Lanka only for fishing and movements of goods and people. Palk Strait is the source of livelihood since early times for tens of thousands of Sri Lankan and South Indian Fisher man.

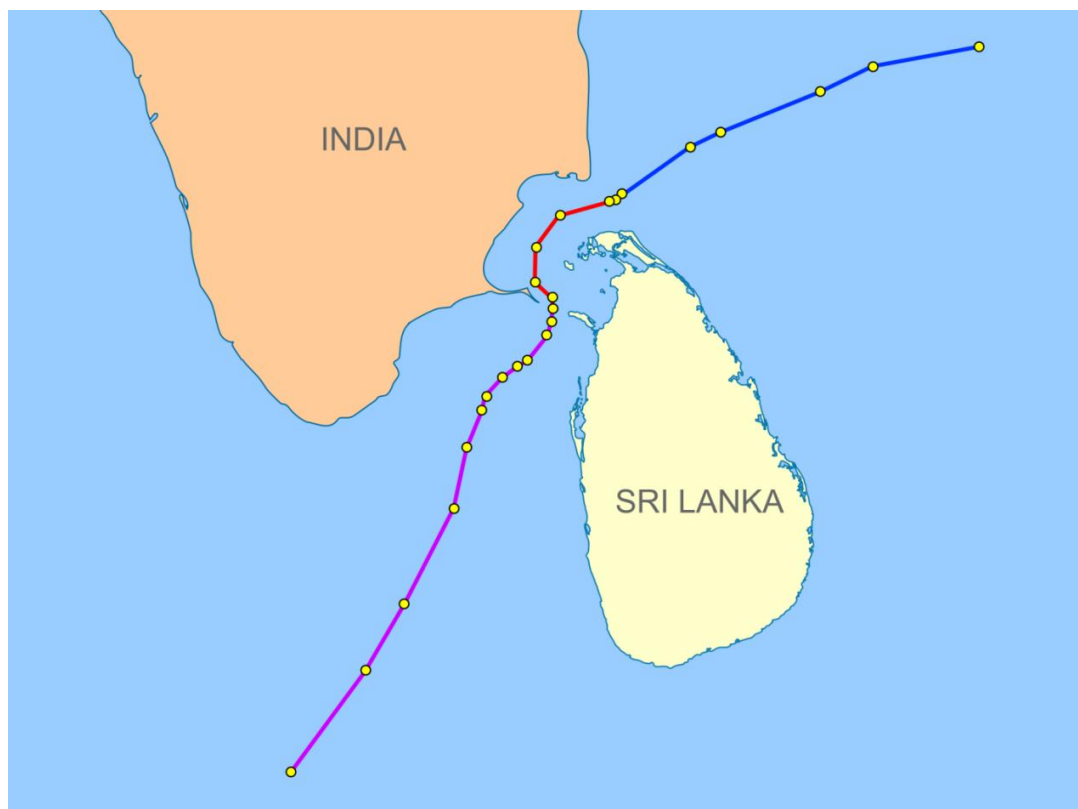
Sri Lanka's strategic maritime position as a power base of IOR has historical connects starting from the recognition made by Portuguese, later followed by Dutch and the British. The British masters utilised Sri Lanka not only for maritime purpose but also a security base to safeguard the neighbouring British-India. After independence Sri Lanka continues being treated strategically in the regional ecology.

The Indian interest in Sri Lanka drifted from geostrategic power balance to pragmatic security consideration in the Post- Cold war era. However, this economic and pragmatic security concerns demanded for a greater emphasis on Sri Lanka's peace during its conflictual times as any threat to Sri Lanka security will have a dismantling effect on Indian security too. Therefore, India has the peace, stability and security of Sri Lanka as its primary considerations. Moreover, the Indian Ocean maritime security between India and Sri Lanka plays a pivotal role in Indian policy making nonetheless, US and Chinese impact on Sri Lanka is a worrisome for Indian security interests and India tried to ward off the geo-strategic struggle away from its borders during cold- war. Indian policy makers saw the need of restricting US

encroachment in Sri Lanka and success to persuade the island country to eliminate US's strategic presence through the ISLA, 1987. According to ISLA, Sri Lanka had to scrap the US contract of Trincomalee oil storage facilities and remove the voice of America that served as the broadcasting centre of messages and intelligence reports by America to Soviet friendly territory. This agreement accomplished the Indian aim of warding off the American cold war to a safe distance from India's borders. Apparently, many geo-strategic analysts have been seen a decline in Sri Lanka's strategic importance since the end of cold war era. The impact made by Sri Lanka's instability on India's stability attracted the Indian strategic concerns. An unstable Sri Lanka meant a threat to IOC stability in which India had huge vested economic interests. Sri Lanka is prestige to have a strategic location in Indian Ocean as the major international sea lanes flow through its southern coast.

Map 5.2

India- Sri Lanka Maritime boundary in IOR



Source:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:India-Sri_Lanka_maritime_boundary.svg

The Colombo port is a passage for entry-exit of regional goods between east and west. The Indian Ocean encompasses half of world's containerized freight, one-third of its cargo bulk and two-third of the oil shipments.

The Indo- Sri Lankan ties in the past 1990s underwent contextual mutation along with the alterations in Indian foreign policy approach after the emergence of US as supreme power during post-cold war period. The Indian national security concerns were broadened to subsume economic and commercial security energy as well as social security with geographical integrity. The Indo- Sri Lanka relations are affected by the changing regional powers dynamics characterised by external interactions is a clash of hegemony over the area. India should ensure conducive strategic stability to guarantee its regional concern which is overlapped with Soviet aspirations in Indian Ocean. Indian Ocean has reflected a rising convergence of interest between India and US, China and other nations after the Post-Cold War matrices. The rising Chinese influence and presence in IOR geo-strategic power balance is a trembling fact for India. The need of the hour is that India should ward off its colonial hangover and resort to serious rechristening of its political engagements with Sri Lanka.

5.6 Influence of China- Sri Lanka Relationship on India

Economic and easy movement of ship have made globalisation possible today and the Indian Ocean (IOC) accounts for half of the world's containers traffic and 70 percent of the total petroleum product traffic on the way from Middle East to Pacific. Indian Ocean will be even more worthy in future being the international energy and trade seaway of the world. The energy demands will be an a rise from 2006-2030 with almost half of the growth demands coming from India and China. Chinese crude oil consumption is double of 2005 levels and will be doubled again by may be 2020. China imports approximately an estimated 7.3 million barrels of crude oil daily which is equal to half of the Saudi Arabia's planned economical output. Evidently, India and China bump into each other's security concern due to their land and sea expansionist efforts to gain greater influence from east to west and southward respectively. China is keen to bypass the oil and energy sea route by resorting to a gateway of roads and pipelines via Indian ports headed towards Chinese centre. The Chinese 'string of pearl strategy' for IOC and large naval setting have following major sites:

- In Gwadar, Pakistan (already Chinese monitoring centre for ship traffic through Hormuz Strait)
- Port in Pashi,(Pakistan) which is 75 miles east of Gwadar
- A fuelling facility on the southern cost of Sri Lanka
- Naval and commercial containers admittance in Chittagong, Bangladesh

The string of pearls includes various things ranging from increased access to airfields and ports to establishing compact trade and export agreement, modern military arrangement their regular exercise etc.

China visions Sri Lanka as its main area of emphasis in IOR. The Hambantota port is being restructured by China. The Chinese military aid to Sri Lanka during latter's civil war marked the outset of a new phase of China-Sri Lanka relationship. Apart from Hambantota, China has invested in oil storage facilities an exclusive airport, a coal- based power Plant and Expressways in Sri Lanka. "Rising power and China and its Growing quest for Energy and resources with ambitious maritime dominance have paved the way for China to approach IOR. This approach has made considerable impact on security and diplomatic matrix in the region as well as in Sri Lanka. The Chinese concept of string of Pearls and maritime silk route (MSR) has aggrieved the sentiments of India".⁵⁴

Secondly, the Chinese involvements in Sri Lankan matters and Sri Lanka's inclination towards China have around the Security Concern of India.

Points:

- China and Sri Lanka both are major economic players so India need to careful for its economic security(in case of trade; export and import)
- The historical and cultural Indo-Sri Lankan impacts on Tamils
- Tamil Nadu politics is directly influenced

⁵⁴ P. P. de Silva, "power Balance between China and India to Project Sri Lanka into Propitious Future", Proceeding of 8th International Research Conference, Published by Ministry of Defence, Colombo, Sri Lanka, November, 2015, Page -2.

- Naval safety and protection
- Safety guarantee against friends of China (Pakistan and Bangladesh)
- Maritime safeguard
- Increased foreign influence in Sri Lanka means greater threat to India
- Big hurdle for South Asia's Big Brother
- Upholding own hegemony in raising Asia and IOC region

Map 5.3

India and china's Projects in Sri Lanka



Source:<https://thuppahi.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/china-vs-india.png>

“As India and China are callously compelling each other for strategic presence and dominance in Indian Ocean Sri Lanka obviously had squeezed in managing its foreign policy with these two nations. Sri Lanka cannot progress by leaving one country aside”⁵⁵. “As India continuous its surge towards emerging as a key regional player, Sri Lanka needs to accept Geo-Political realities and manage its politics without aggrieving ambitious nations. In achieving these desired strategic dilemmas

⁵⁵ Ibid, Page -4.

careful and meticulous crafting of foreign policy is need of the hour. It would also facilitate these two nations to compete in a healthy Geo-Strategic environment without causing embracement for the sovereignty of the small nation through strategic dialogue and partnership”.⁵⁶

5.7 Influence of US- Sri Lanka Relationship on India

“Asia has been since the 19th century—and will continue to be—a region of vital importance to the United States. At present, Asia contains more than half of the world’s population; two of the three largest global economies (China and Japan); and the world’s fastest-growing economies, which generate 40 percent of the world’s GDP growth—more than any other region. Over half of the world’s commercial shipping passes through the waterways of the Indo-Pacific region. The Strait of Malacca, in particular, is one of the most important shipping lanes in the world. The strait links the Indian and Pacific Oceans and carries approximately 25% of all traded goods. It also carries approximately 25% of all oil that travels by sea. At its narrowest point just south of Singapore, the Strait of Malacca is only 1.5 nautical miles wide, making it one of the world’s most noteworthy strategic chokepoints. The control of Asia by a hostile power would threaten American economic and security national interests”.⁵⁷

Sri Lanka has been a friend and prevalence based associate of the United States since grabbing opportunity in 1948 and has maintained U.S. military operations abroad, for instance, in the midst of the principle Gulf War. Business contacts retreat to 1787, when New England sailors at first moored in Sri Lanka’s harbors to partake in return. Sri Lanka is purposely arranged at the nexus of ocean trading courses partner Europe and the Middle East to China and whatever is left of Asia. It is particularly in the midst of the “Old World”, where a normal bit of the world’s compartment ships venture to every part of the Indian Ocean. U.S. help has totaled more than \$2 billion since Sri Lanka’s flexibility in 1948. Through the U.S. Association for International Development (USAID), it has added to Sri Lanka’s monetary advancement with assignments planned to reduction unemployment,

⁵⁶ Ibid, Page -5.

⁵⁷ Daya Gamage, “The American Agenda for Sri Lanka’s National Issue, 1970-2014”,

<http://thuphi.wordpress.com/2014/07/05/the-american-agenda-for-sri-lanka-national-issue-1970s-2014>.

improve lodging, develop the Colombo Stock Exchange, modernize the lawful system, and upgrade forcefulness. At the June 2003 Tokyo Donors' Conference on Sri Lanka, the United States pledged \$54 million, including \$40.4 million of USAID sponsoring. Taking after the 2004 wave, the United States gave \$135 million in help and entertainment offer assistance. The United States gave over \$51.4 million in supportive help with 2009, and swore at any rate \$34.5 million for 2010. It is a direct result of this USA made its indispensable association with Sri Lanka and India. To counter the closeness of China in Sri Lanka, US and India coordinating at a couple motivations behind key. China dreams Sri Lanka as its basic region of complement in IOR. The Hambantota port is being revamped by China. Beside Hambantota, China has placed assets into oil storerooms a specific air terminal, a coal-based power Plant and Expressways in Sri Lanka. "Rising power and China and its Growing adventure for Energy and resources with enthusiastic ocean quality have arranged for China to approach IOR. This approach has had huge impact on security and key system in the locale and furthermore in Sri Lanka. From over starting from this sort of Situation US-Sri Lanka relations working for Indian security. From an American perspective, managing the Asian modify of compel ends up being a great deal less requesting to the extent that there is a strong, all around arranged state of practically identical weight to China close-by, which is the reason Washington must continue supporting the Indian government's attempts to fuel the kind of kept up budgetary improvement India thoroughly enjoyed the 2000s, when it created at yearly rates moving toward 10 percent. The United States furthermore has a persuading energy for propelling India as a productive vote based framework, to show to other rising powers that they require not duplicate China's despot change show in order to modernize. An element Indo-American association, in conjunction with strong U.S. participations in Europe and Japan, is presumably going to make an out and out various key future for Asia and the world than the Sino-driven one championed in Beijing however limited by practically every other power.

5.8 India and Sri Lanka – Present Era

The Indo- Sri Lankan relationship has its historical grassroots in the period 250000 years ago and both share a legacy of political, socio-economic, intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interactions. India is undoubtedly an authoritative

power due to its size, strategic location and potential capacity. Recently, the mutual relationship between the two nations amplified further in the fields of economic development, education, culture, defence as well as the border-sensitiveness on pivotal strategic matters.

As conclusion, India and Sri Lanka share similar colonial history and were covered under the same umbrella of British imperialism before their independence in 1947 and 1948 respectively. There have been several ups and downs in their relationships ranging from conjunct/mutual asymmetries, aggravations to co-operations, confederations and companionship. But both the Countries have Strengthen themselves to endure various tensions and constrictions. The fundamental power matrix between India and Sri Lanka depends upon their voluminous size discrepancies. The geo-political strategic location of Sri Lanka and the Tamil conflicts have always been the deciding factors in India- Sri Lanka relationships. The Sinhalese insecurities and inferiority Complex was evident in the Country's foreign policy towards India. The mutual Skepticism and delusions resulted in many highs and lows in their bilateral relation. India-Sri Lanka relations, since independence, serve as a perfect example of the Unique and genuine efforts by two neighboring South Asian Countries towards their Disputes resolution, political Concurrence, agreements and Dialogue, dexterous Strategic attempts etc. The Indo-Sri Lankan relations were stressed during the Chinese attack on India in 1962 when Sri Lanka refrained from Censuring the attack and Failed to label China as an aggressor. The Indo-Sri Lanka relations suffered further disappointment when the latter permitted flights from West Pakistan through Colombo during the Indo-Pak war of 1971.

The General elections of March 1977 in India marked the defeat of Indira Gandhi and paved way for Morarji Desai to power. He showcased his readiness for economic and technical cooperation with Sri Lanka. After the fall of Morarji Government, Indira Gandhi returned to power in 1980 for her second term which worked a different twist in India-Sri Lanka affiliations. Jayewardhna and Indira Gandhi shared a constrained personal equation with each other. These constraints were clearly reflected in 1981 when Jayewardhane's rejected the Indian tender for Tricomalee

Tank and handed over the project Singapore based company which was secretly associated with USA.

July 1983 marked the advent of severe ethnic riots in Sri Lanka which made Sri Lankan Tamils to flee to India as refugees. On account of these riots, Sri Lankan government endured a foreign policy which undeviatingly afflicted the Indian security the renewal of UK Defense treaty, magnification of scope for 'Voice of America'. Sri Lankan collusion with private British security organization keenly meeny services, having noteworthy Air services and numerous such steps led to tuneless discordant association between India and Sri Lanka.

Subsequent to 1983 riots, Jaywardhna made anxious appeals too many Countries like US,UK,China, Pakistan, Bangladesh,Malaysia and Israel for Political and Military Sustenance. India reciprocated this condition with "mutual respect", sovereign equality and friendship "ideology". The ethnic combat in Sri Lanka got off to a new target when LTTE's control over Jaffna Peninsula and the Prospects of Jaffna being declared as Eelam resulted in a very awful Condition in Sri Lankan parliament in January 1987.

A cautious study of Indo-Sri Lanka relations shows that Indian interventions in Sri Lanka during 1983-1990 were inevitable not only due to the severe Complications to the Tamil Citizens due to Sri Lanka's despotic and discerning policies but also due to the India's national security concerns triggered by the intensifying connections between Sri Lankan security and Countries Like US, Pakistan and Israel. India genuinely wanted to shield the Unity and territorial Uprightness of Sri Lanka government. The Indian mediations in Sri Lanka from 1983 to 1990 had two folded objectives. First India wished to assist Sri Lanka government and Tamils to negotiate a peaceful solution as it was against the demand of separate 'Eelam' nation out of Sri Lanka. Second, India wanted to safeguard Sri Lanka from turning into a Compartment for America Ascending Trespassing the Indian zone of Authority. The Indian government since starting advocated the need for political negotiations to resolve the Sri Lankan ethnic Crisis and continued to year the Sri Lankan Government to crystallize such a solution. India condemned the emergence of

separate state in Sri Lanka as an occurrence of such events could ignite separatist movements in Tamil Nadu too. Along with this, India did not want any foreign personal and assistance in and around Sri Lanka that could endanger India's geo security. Undoubtedly, Indo- Lankan Tamils prevented the entry of foreign elements in Sri Lanka in July 1987 by dismissing the demand of separate Tamil homeland. During the post 1990 period on say during last phase of cold war, India adopted a more realistic and logical policy of non-intervention in ethnic conflicts. The policy was on the lines of Indian government obligation to conserve Sri Lanka unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The India- Sri Lanka relationship had many peaks and valleys during the cold war phase due to uncertain and national priorities and securities. The geopolitical safety, ethical and religious aspects play their own part in molding the relations between two historically close South Asian countries in modern worlds. This would scenario changed after the cold- war phase characterized by the replacements of ideology was with the contests of hegemony is economic power. Such alterations had their impact on Indo-Sri Lanka relations also. An expansion of Indian Ocean zone in 21st century has marked a drift of prototype paradigm from West to East in the World. Indian Ocean links main continents and countries, thus benefits them due to its Geo-Political significance in World Politics. Sri Lanka is one of such countries who can avail the immense opportunities available in Indian Ocean Region.

On one hand, India's uncertain foreign policy towards Sri Lanka facilitated the growth of LTTE and on the other hand India actually supported LTTE terrorism termination with huge domestic support. The India support Sri Lanka continued even in the post conflict conditions in the form of infrastructural advancement projects such as construction of power plant, houses, hospital, deepening Kankasanthurai port and rebuilding northern railway lines. Further, Sri Lanka relies a booming trade and investment relationship with India. Presently, India is the largest trading partner of Sri Lanka while Sri Lanka is the Second Largest trading partner of India in SAARC region. "It is an accepted fact that, given India's growing strategic power potential, affiliation with major power and growing Indian leadership capability, Sri Lanka including other South Asian countries need to live under the Indian Sphere reasons.

India is aware of the necessity of carrying out, mutually beneficial atmosphere, which would enable it to address long-term wider strategic aspirations of playing a responsible role in the regional and global affairs”.⁵⁸

In South Indian pressure and LTTE, Tamil, Sri Lanka led to India's non-success in achieving its foreign policy goals and caused a strategic emptiness due to lack of Indian diplomatic supremacy. China grabbed the opportunity to exploit this strategic vacuum and actualize its imperative interests in Sri Lanka in terms of economic, military, political and socio-cultural aspects. “As a rising nation in the region, India has a wider and vital interest of dominating the IOC and projecting its power beyond the IOC which it considers critical for its security and trade”.⁵⁹ India has vested interest in terms of dual role, first to be a fore player in maritime mathematics and record to act as protector of strategic and economic concerns in IOC by confining any possible antagonist dominance by other power. In order to fulfil these maritime and security concern, India is expanding its diplomatic, military and economic command to play a centre stage role in foreign policy formulation. In the moment, Sri Lanka is in its transitional phase and high on people's aspiration of being a stable, economically sound and harmonious nation as India persists to move ahead on the way of being a forerunner in regional dynamic. Sri Lanka must accept the geopolitical actualities and start to manage its own politics without distressing the ambitious countries. Apparently, India voted against Sri Lanka in Human Rights council in Geneva 2012 and 2013 for the sake of making Sri Lankan government accountable for alleged war crimes and human rights violations during the LTTE-military conflicts. The Indian decision was criticised rigorously by the Sri Lankan government and politician as well. “The bi-lateral relations between India and Sri Lanka in the Post war era are based on two important facts. One is India's internal politics and the party interest which have always sought for strengthening their coalition power with the ruling government. The Tamil Nadu Politics plays an important role in this regard, by influencing the central government to intervene to the Sri Lanka Tamil issues during the civil war in Sri- Lanka. This is also further

⁵⁸ Ibid, Page -2.

⁵⁹ Ibid, Page -3.

complicated by fishermen issue. The Second issue is India's emerging power in the Asian region and its future threats from China who is ready to further strengthen her bi-lateral relations with Sri- Lanka. This factor has always influenced India with in her strategic plan in the Indian Ocean and security. Growing Sino-Lanka government relations are suspected by India and India shows her dislike to Sri Lanka with pressing the Sri Lanka government through human right violations on Tamil not only in regionally but also internationally".⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Osantha, N. Thalpawila, India- Sri Lanka Relations- In Post-Civil War Era In Sri Lanka, Research Forum: International Journal Of Social Science, Issue: 2248,4411, Vol-2, Issue-1,2014, Page -13.