Index

All Ceylon Muslim Congress (ACMC), 153n14 All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), 32, 93, 129 All Party Conference (1984), 40 Aluthgama attack, 179–180 ambivalence, 11, 164, 171 Amirthalingam, A., 39 Anandasangaree, V., 152n4 Annexure C (1983-1984), 46n24 anthropology of war, 6, 24–25 anti-colonial struggle, 20 anti-political performance governing as a demonstration of institutional deficiency, 131, 140-144, 151 oath-of-allegiance politics, 131-136, 150 political abstinence, 136–139 anti-political repertoires of Tamil nationalist movement, 128 aporetic state, 9, 48 aragalaya, 176–180 as-if politics, 27–28 asymmetry. See symmetry, asymmetry and parity Athaulla, A. L. M., 153n14 Ayngaranesan, 148

backchannel diplomacy (1986), 40 Badiutheen, Rishad, 153n14 Balasingham, Anton, 62, 66-67 Balasundaram, 106 Bandaranaike, Srimavo, 39 Bandaranaike–Chelvanayakam Pact (1957), 123n3 Batticaloa, 36, 84-86, 123n5, 153n13, 155n25 Batticaloa Tamils, 31 bill of rights, 174 'bills in hand', 113, 122 'Black July' 1983, 40, 46n21, 77, 180 body politic, 21 bootstrapping, the circularity of legal foundations, 22, 39, 44n12, 162 Bose, Subhas Chandra, 54 boycott, electoral, 76n27, 123n5, 128, 136-138, 140, 144, 150-151, 153n10-11, 164, 166 Bryant, Rebecca, 9 bureaucracy, 12-13, 26, 29, 32, 42, 60, 103, 122, 158, 161, 164, 169, 171 Butler, Judith, 26

caste and kudi hierarchies, 6-7, 14, 73n8, 78-79, 89-95, 103, 130, 138–139, 150–151, 171 displacement, relocation and return, 84-86, 88-91 land claims, 98 LTTE commitment to eradicate, 57-58, 60-61 and purity, 22, 51, 84, 86, 92, 97-98 Tamil identity, 30-31 in temple affairs, 33-34, 60-61, 70,91 and water, 90, 94 ceasefire (2002), 50, 62-63, 66-71, 74n13, 84, 130, 165 violations, 65 census data, 35-36, 153n13 chairperson of the provincial council, 157 Chandrakanthan, Sivanesathurai (Pillayan), 138, 151 Chatterjee, Partha, 79 Chelvanayakam, S. J. V., 56, 129-130 memorial, 131-134 Chenaiyur, 89–90, 95 chief minister's fund, 115-116 Christian proselytisation, 139 churches, 91 citational practice, 8, 10, 27, 29, 40, 49, 152n7, 158, 163, 169 citizenship, 17, 159, 174 civic democracy, 179-180 civic nationalism, 20, 22 civil servants, 100–102 clans. See caste and kudi hierarchies class emancipation, 50, 57, 171 Clausewitz, Carl von, 81 Nebel des Krieges, or 'fog of war', 81 - 82Clingendael Institute, 1, 15n5, 63 cohabitation, 66 colonial law, 19

colonial rule, 19, 21, 30, 175n4 colonial sovereignty, 19 concurrent list, 116, 141, 173 consent, popular, 30 consent-based theory of law, 44n5, 162 constituent assembly, 39, 104, 164 constitution 1972 Republican, 41 1978 Republican, 40-41 Donoughmore, 38 Section 29 of Soulbury, 45n17 Soulbury, 38 Thirteenth Amendment to, 41, 47n25-27, 102, 116, 121, 123n4, 125n13-14, 126n19, 141, 144, 157 constitutional crisis of 2018, 156, 173 constitutional designs, 163 constitutional settlement, 37–38, 41, 43, 45n13, 45n15, 148, 160, 163 conversion. See Christian proselytisation Coomaraswamy, Radhika, 57 COVID-19 pandemic, 177 customary authorities, 19 cyanide pill, 54

Dalai Lama, 9 debt trap, 176 December 1986 proposals, 46n24 decolonisation, 20, 38, 44n7 de facto sovereignty, 23-24 defensive nationalism, 44n9 demerger of Northern and Eastern Province, 137, 153n12 democratic boundary problem, 44n4 democratic theory, 22, 162 demos, 20, 30, 42, 44n4, 71, 98, 178-179 Deniswaran, 148-149 devolution debate, 37, 42, 45n13, 46n24, 123n4 devolution of power, 37

devolution package, 64, 123n4, 175n4 devolution without politics, 104–107, 122diaspora. See Tamil diaspora displacement camps, 85, 88, 95 Divineguma authority, 124n10 divine kingship, 55 Dixit, J. N., 103 dog whistles, 27 Duraiappah, Alfred, 131 Easter bombings (2019), 177 Eastern Province, 36, 46n24, 108, 118, 120, 124n11, 127, 137 Eastern Provincial Council, 137–138, 146, 151 Eelam Democratic Republic, 104 Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF), 123n5 Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), 32, 57, 103–105, 123n5, 144, 148 Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), 32, 94, 139 elections 1977 parliamentary, 39 2010 parliamentary, 150 1982 presidential, 39 2005 presidential, 39 2010 presidential, 153n10 2015 presidential, 154n23, 173 2019 presidential, 173 Eastern Provincial Council (2008), 137-138, 151 Eastern Provincial Council (2012), 151 North-Eastern Provincial Council (NEPC) elections (1988), 151 Northern Provincial Council 2013, 151 Elilan, 148

ethno-political conflict, 32-34, 37-39 anti-Tamil pogroms, 40 'Black July' 1983, 40, 46n21, 77, 180 India's involvement, 40-41 institutional transgressions by Tamil nationalist movement in 1970s, 38-40 IPKF counter-insurgency campaign against LTTE, 41 Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism and linguistic chauvinism, role of, 38-39, 45n16 in terms of power-sharing and minority rights, 37–39 Eviction of 1990 (expulsion of Muslims), 33, 58–59, 77 Exodus (Tamil displacement from Jaffna in 1995), 58, 77, 83 farcical performance, 26, 165

federalism, 37, 39, 65, 75n19 feminist critique of Tamil national thought, 33–34 Fernando, Austin, 118, 155n25 finance commission, 113, 115, 125n12 fog of war. See *Nebel des Krieges*, or 'fog of war' *Führertum*, notion of, 55, 72n4

Galle Face Green, 177–180 Gandhi, Rajiv, 34, 54, 69 gendered subjectivity, 22, 79 genocide, Tamil claims about, 78, 81–82, 145 Gilmartin, David, 21, 159 Goffman, Erving, 25 Goodhand, Jonathan, 2 Gota go *gama*, 178, 180 governor, 105, 108, 111, 116, 118, 122, 125n15, 126n18, 149, 155n25, 157 grama niladaris (village- or ward-level officers), 60, 71 Gunaseelan, Gnanaseelan, 148 hartals (public shutdowns), 128 Hasbullah, Shahul, 82-83, 132 Hatay, Mete, 9 Helgesen, Vidar, 67 Hindu nationalism, 128, 134, 145 Hindu space, 84, 91, 98, 171 Hindu temples, festivals, 60–61, 70, 91, 112-113, 146 Human Rights Council. See United Nations Human Rights Council humour, political, 25, 27 hunger strikes, 128 hybridity, 4 Hyderabad, 43n2

Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi, or Federal Party (ITAK), 14, 32, 39, 93-94, 127, 129-130, 148, 166 boycott of NEPC elections (1988), 137-138 crisis within, 149 critique against Sri Lanka's democratic system, 131 governing as a demonstration of institutional deficiency, 131, 140–144, 151 ITAK-TNA alliance, 140–144, 147 Northern Province Council elections. 140 - 144oath-of-allegiance politics, 131–136, 150 performative politics of enacting provincial rule, 143-144 political abstinence, 136–139, 150-151, 153n10 in post-return Sampur, 146 postwar positioning, 127

schizophrenic challenges, 14, 127 and intra-Tamil divisions, 139 voting for, 134-136 impresst, 113-115 indeterminacy of LTTE de facto state, 49 Indian peace efforts (1980s), 40, 67-69 Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF), 41-42, 106, 132 Indo-Lankan Accord (1987), 40-41, 46n24, 47n26-27, 102, 125n13, 137 institutional practices, 7, 26, 28, 49, 165 insurgencies, 4, 6 insurgent performativity, 10, 29, 162 - 166insurgent sovereign experiments, 69. See also Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) inter-ethnic irrigation management, 6 Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA), 68 International Humanitarian Law violations, 81 Islamic Tamils. See Muslims ('Islamic Tamils')

Jaffna, 1, 30, 49, 61, 86, 98, 108, 141–142, 145, 152n8, 158, 171 Northern Council elections, 141 S. J. V. Chelvanayakam memorial, 131–136 temples, 31 Jaffna Fort, 132 Jaffna Tamils, 31, 138, 142 Jaffna Vellalas, 30–31 Jaffna Youth Congress, 93, 136 Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), 38, 41 Jayalalithaa, J., 86 Jayawardena, 46n21, 153n11 kachcheri, district administration, 112, 114-117 Kaddaiparichchan, 85, 89–90, 95 Karuna split of 2004, 68–69, 80, 137-138 Kodikara, Chulani, 153n15 Kuchchaveli tourism zone, 117-120 kudi. See caste and kudi hierarchies Kumaratunga, Chandrika Bandaranaike, 62, 64–66, 68, 74n14, 74n17, 80, 124n9 Kurdish nationalism, 9-10 Kurdish politics in Turkey, 9–10, 12 Kurukularajah, 148 legal pluralism, 19 legal skulduggery, 40, 42 liberation, 31, 34, 127, 142 ethnic, 98 girls and women as self-assertive agents of, 57 vs social justice/emancipation, 93-96 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 1, 11–14, 24, 28-29, 32, 38, 48, 100, 103, 127-128, 138-139 in Adivasipuram, 59-60 administration on the Jaffna Peninsula, 58-59 annual commemoration of martyrs (Maaveerar Naal), 52 assertion of power, 53-54 cadres, 54-55, 82 checkpoints, 62-63 2006 Child Protection Act, 175n2 communication officers, 63 controlled territory, 2, 13, 36, 53, 60-61, 63, 71, 73n12, 84 defeat, 78-83 departments, 62, 168 and the Eviction of 1990 (expulsion of Muslims), 58–59, 77, 142

female cadres, 57 gerontocratic hierarchies and gender roles, 57 ideology, 49-50 institutional framework, 2, 50, 54, 56–57, 62–64, 167 - 168international recognition, 61-64 killings, 34 marriage and sexual relations, 57-58 martyrs (tiyaki), 54 massacre of other militant groups, 53 Mavil Aru sluice gate scuffle, 84 Norwegian-facilitated peace process and, 61, 64-69, 73n10, 80 origins, 49 Political Wing, 63 proscription as a terrorist organisation, 68 regulation of temples, 60-61 ritualisation of martyrdom, 55 Sampur as regional hub and model village for, 51–53 signs and buildings of, 62–63 sovereign experiment, 51-57, 61, 70, 77, 121, 139, 169 strategy of adopting a sovereign state-like posture, 58 strategy of sovereign encroachment, 70-71 suicide squad, 54, 57 support to TNA, 130 in Vanni, 62, 165 violent sacrifice and harsh punishments, 54-55, 58, 60 Loganathan, Ketesh, 53

Maaveerar Naal (Martyrs' Day), 52, 55 Mafia Raj, 5 Majeed, Abdul, 72n1 Majeed's Bridge, 51 malaiyaha Tamils ('Indian Tamils'), 31, 44n8 Maoists movement in Nepal, 5 martial cult, 115, 165 martyrdom, 25, 52, 54–55, 70, 165 Mavil Aru sluice gate scuffle, 84 McNamara, Robert, 81-82 mediated state, 4 mediator shopping, 74n17 Montevideo convention, 21, 43n3, 44n7 mosque attacks, 33 mother state, 28 Mullivaikal, 79, 82–83, 94, 132, 169 musical chairs, political game of, 149, 166 Muslims ('Islamic Tamils'), 31, 33, 58, 81, 103, 110, 141–142, 153n13, 179 Aluthgama attack, 179–180 claim to non-contiguous self-government, 65 critique of Tamil nationalist thought, 33 Eviction of 1990, 58-59, 77 in Jaffna, 58, 142 parties, 153n14 Muttur, 51, 84, 136 Nadarajah (pseudonym), 94–96, 135, 146, 150, 155n27 Nallur, 30, 90, 145 nation, as gendered construct, 22 national anthem, 110 National Congress (NC), 153n14 national demarcation of democracy, 22, 44n4 national self-determination, 24 Navalar, Arumuga, 30, 32–33 Naxalite movement, 20 no fire zones, 80 non-violent struggle. See satyagraha

normalcy, 4, 6, 14, 15n1, 67, 122 resumption political normalcy after war, 107-112 North-Eastern Provincial Council (NEPC), 3, 11, 41–42, 75n19, 100, 102, 121–123, 137, 165-166, 169 administration, 102-104 collapse of, 104-105 constitutional arrangements and governance structure, 102–104, 122, 123n4 elections, 123n5 and foreign donors, 107 Indian involvement, 102-103, 124n6, 155n26 interim period, 105, 116, 118, 121 under LTTE remote control, 105 - 107Navarathri celebration, 112-113 as a political body, 102 provincial planning commission, 115, 125n12 provincial public finance, 112-115 provincial statutes, 116-120, 125n15, 126n18 tourism development, 117-120, 126n16-21 wartime bureaucratic survival. 107-112, 122 North-East Local Service Improvement Project (NELSIP), 155n26 Northern Province, 124n11, 127, 137 Northern Province Council (NPC) corruption, 148 elections, 140-144 and the fall of Rajapaksa government 2015, 145, 154n23 ITAK/TNA coalition, 140–144, 147, 154n23 political crisis of six ministers (for five seats), 149

showdown of, 146–149 under Vigneswaran, 147–148, 154n22 Norwegian-facilitated peace process, 61, 64-69, 73n10, 80, 121 asymmetry, 66 even-handed approach, 65-69 India's views, 67–69 internationalisation and role of donor community, 61-64 LTTE suspension, 66–67 origin and history and mediator shopping (1990s), 65, 74n17 strategy, 61, 65-67 Norwegian global peace diplomacy, 67 - 68oath-of-allegiance politics, 131–136, 150 Omanthai checkpoint, 1, 62 opposition leader, 145, 154n24, 155n25 Oslo talks of December 2002, 65 'our boys' (namada podiyankal), 57 panchamar castes, 89-90, 99n3 parity. See symmetry, asymmetry and parity Pathmanabha, K., 104 patronage politics, 115, 122, 147, 151, 166 patron state, 28, 69, 72 peace process. See also Norwegianfacilitated peace process Indian government involvement, 40, 67-69 Indo-Lankan Accord (1987), 40-41, 46n24, 47n26-27, 102, 125n13, 137 mid-1990s, 73n10 peasant uprising of Telangana, 43n2 Peiris, G. L., 67

People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), 32, 57, 139 Perera-Rajasingham, Nimanthi, 57 performance of institutional deficiency, 131, 140–144, 151 performative politics/political performativity, 8, 11-13, 24-29, 40, 71, 150, 158, 170 academic origins, 25 as-if politics, 27-28 authentic performative conduct, 26 citational practice, 27, 29 depiction of sovereignty, 28–29 dramaturgical metaphors, 25 in everyday social interaction, 25 Goffman's analysis of social interaction, 25 institutional practices and performances, 26-27 repertoires of anti-politics, 27 stage, symbols, props, 27 subaltern meaning, 27-28 veracity and authenticity, 9–11, 26 performative script, 168 performativity, 8-10 Perumal, Varatharajah, 103–104 Petersen, Jan, 67 Pillai, Navi, 86 planning secretariat, Eastern Provincial Council, 108–109, 111–112 Plantation Tamils. See Tamils of recent Indian origin plebiscite. See referendums **PLOTE**, 148 'the political', 25 political abstinence, 136–139, 150-151, 153n10 abstentionism, 137-138, 153n13 boycotts, 76n27, 123n5, 128, 136-138, 140, 144, 150-151, 153n10-11, 164, 166

political anthropology, 24–25, 163 political interference with civil service, 102, 122, 158 Political Wing, LTTE, 63 Ponnambalam, G. G., 129, 139 Ponnambalam, Gajen, 139, 147 post-, as an ambivalent prefix, 171 postwar transition, 78, 97, 121, 150, 171-172 power-sharing, 18, 37–39, 42, 45n13, 46n24, 65, 68, 75n19, 100, 123n4, 127, 162–163, 169, 172, 176, 179-180 Prabhakaran, Vellupillai, 52, 54–56, 69, 77, 132 death of, 78 as talaivar (leader) or anna (older brother), 54–55 Premadasa, Ranasinghe, 54, 104 Premadasa, Sajith, 156 princely states, 19 Provincial Council Act, 104, 157 provincial council system, 121–122, 123n4, 124n11, 127, 137, 140, 144, 147, 150–151, 156, 172 - 173de facto bureaucratic institutions, 115 funding and tax base, 115 as white elephant, 123n4 See also statutes, provincial legislation provincial legislation, 116-120 provincial list, 116 provincial planning commission, 115, 125n12 public authority, 26 Pulitheevan, S., 63-64 Punchinilame, Susantha, 136 purge, of northern Muslims by LTTE, 33, 58. See also Eviction of 1990

Rajapaksa, Basil, 117–118 Rajapaksa, Gotabaya, 80, 156, 173, 177, 180 Rajapaksa, Mahinda, 68, 77, 80, 85–87, 136, 138, 145, 153n10, 173, 180 Rajasingham, 106 rebel governance, 4–7, 167–168 re-democratisation, 179-180 referendums, 22, 135, 139, 152n7 Eastern Province, 46n24 performing elections as, 39-40, 46n22, 129-130 self-declared, 28 among Tamil diaspora in nationalist aspirations in 2009, 134–135, 150, 152n7 resignation, ITAK protest to 1972 constitution, 39 Rural Development Society (RDS), 59-60 Rutherford, Danilyn, 27

Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), 9 saiva siddhantam (Saivite philosophy), 30 saltwater test, in relation to right to self-determination, 30, 44n7 Sampanthan, R., 86, 128, 131, 135, 146, 149, 152n8 Sampur, 146, 158 government conquest of, 98 high-security zone, 84-85 as a Hindu space, 91–92 litigation and court case, 87–88 as model village for LTTE, 51–53, 79-80,93 reconstituting pure Tamil space, 87-93,96 reconstruction, 87-93, 151, 155n26 struggles over caste, kudi and other forms of social differentiation, 89-95 sustained displacement of, 86-87

as Tamil-free space, 84-87 Vellala community, 90 Vellala elites, 86 samurdhi, 60 Sarveswaran, Kandiah, 148 Sasitharan, Ananthy, 148 Sathiyalingham, 148 satire, political, 11, 27 satyagraha, 128 Gandhian non-violent resistance of, 132, 150 ITAK's 1956 sit-down on Galle Face Green, 179-180 schizophrenic politics, 14, 127 self-coup. See constitutional crisis of 2018 self-determination, 14, 18, 21–24, 28-29, 31, 33, 39, 43n3, 44n7, 65, 98, 102, 130, 135, 138, 141, 145, 159, 161–162, 169, 179 internal, 65 Senanayake–Chelvanayakam Pact (1965), 38, 123n3 Senathirajah, Mavai, 128, 144 separatist insurgency, 23-24 separatist militancy, 11 separatist politics, 18, 23, 28, 36, 39-40, 61, 88, 93, 120, 130, 141-143, 149, 158 shared sovereignty, 37-42, 172-175 Silva, T. T. Ranjith de, 117 Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism, 38–39, 68, 173, 177 Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism and linguistic chauvinism, 38, 45n16 Sirisena, Maithripala, 78, 146-147, 154n23, 156, 173 Sivagnanam, S. V. K., 129 Sivanesan, Kandiah, 148 Sivankumaran, 106–108 social subjectivities, 6

sole voice/representative of the Tamil people, LTTE claim to, 40, 48, 50, 58, 70, 130 Solheim, Erik, 66, 74n14 sovereign aspirations, 28 sovereign encroachment, 29, 49, 56 - 61sovereign erasure, 29, 78-79, 82-87, 98, 160 sovereign experiment, 51-57, 61, 70, 77, 121, 139, 169. See also Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) sovereign mimicry, 13, 39, 48-49, 71 sovereign performance, 28 on an international stage, 61–64 sovereign power, 6, 18, 21, 23-24, 37-38, 44n12, 55, 78, 117, 138, 159–160, 162, 174 sovereign state, 17-18 sovereignty, 18-24, 43n1 colonial, 19 contradictions of, 17, 21, 37, 50, 159 de facto, 5, 13, 23–24, 29, 43n1, 49-50, 68-69, 71, 105, 160, 162, 166, 169 de jure, 24, 162 India's discourse of, 20 of insurgent movements, 24 internal and external, 28 LTTE aspirations, 51–56 popular, 20, 174, 178 as self-referential concept, 22 shared, 37-42, 172-175 in spatial and temporal terms, 19 as supreme right and ability, 24 Tamil, 42, 71 Westphalian notion of, 19 Wilsonian conception of, 21, 29 spectacle, performative, 8, 12–13, 18, 27, 128, 163, 178 Spencer, Jonathan, 24, 88-89, 92-93

Sri Lanka challenges of provincial devolution, 45n13, 157 constitutional democracy of, 38 constitutional reforms, 78, 146-147, 154n23, 156, 163 decolonisation process, 38 devolution of power, 37–38, 44n12, 45n13, 64 ethnic and political geography, 35-36 history of ethno-political conflict, 32-34, 37-39 schizophrenic nature of constitution, 125n13 sharing and contesting sovereign power, 37-42 Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), 39, 45n17, 62, 64, 68 Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC), 33, 103, 155n25 Sri Lankan planning service, 110 Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna (SLPP), 156, 175n1 Sri Paththirakaali temple, 60-61 statutes, provincial legislation, 26, 116 - 120Stokke, Kristian, 50 stranger-king, 143 strongmen, 4-5, 23-24, 115, 153n14, 169-170 sublime violence, 23, 55 Supreme Court, 46n20, 47n25-26, 85, 107, 116, 124n10, 125n13, 129, 143, 149, 153n12 symmetry, asymmetry and parity, 13, 45n13, 64-69, 71, 160

talaivar (leader), 13, 55–56, 70, 98 Tamil community of eastern Sri Lanka, 79 Tamil diaspora, 50, 73n12, 81, 134-135, 138 Tamil Eelam, 2, 51–52, 56, 62–63, 71, 73n12, 78, 102, 130-131, 135, 160 Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), 32, 44n11, 123n5, 139, 141, 148, 152n2 Tamil-free space, in postwar Sampur, 83-87 Tamil human rights, activism at **UNHRC**, 138 Tamil identity politics, 30–31, 143 Vellala-dominated caste hierarchy, 30-31 Tamil language, 30, 88, 93, 141 Tamil Makkal Peravai. See Tamil People's Council Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP), 137–138 Tamil National Alliance (TNA), 32, 86, 94, 128, 130, 137-139 crisis in Northern Provincial Council, 166 demand for inquiry into 'ethnic cleansing', 144-145 election manifesto, for 2013 NPC elections, 141 2013 Northern elections victory, 144 Tamil National Army, 104 Tamil nationalism, 3, 11, 18, 29-34, 44n9, 48, 50, 55, 57-58, 68, 174 abolition of caste and kudi hierarchies, 93-96 agenda of national selfdetermination, 14, 18, 21-24, 28-29, 31, 33, 39, 43n3, 44n7, 65, 98, 102, 130, 135, 138, 141, 145, 159, 161–162, 169, 179

campaign for sovereign selfdetermination, 31 challenges, 96 Chelvanayakam memorial, 131-134, 150 conservative strand, 31, 92–95, 139, 150 and cultural traditions, 139 emancipatory strand of, 93–96 feminist critique of, 33-34 historiography of, 32-34 key characters in, 32 Muslim critique of, 33 oath-of-allegiance politics, 131-136 political abstinence, 136–139 regional divergence between north and east, 31 role of women in, 33–34 tension between cultural preservation and liberation, 34 tensions between conservative and emancipatory strand, 93-94,96 Vaddukoddai resolution, 39 Wilsonian conception of sovereignty, 29 - 30youth movements, 93-94 youths, role of, 32 Tamil nationalist politics, 3, 7, 10, 68, 127 Tamil People's Council (Tamil Makkal Peravai), 96 Tamil Rise (Eluga Tamil) movement, 96 Tamilselvan, S. P., 63-64, 72n3 Tamil separatism, 7–10, 12, 30 Tamils of recent Indian origin, 31, 44n8 'Tamil-Speaking People', 141 Tamils Rehabilitation Organisation, 73n12 Tamil subjectivities, 6, 88, 163, 172

Tamil United Front (TUF)/Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), 32, 39, 44n10, 46n19, 46n24, 123n5, 130–131, 134, 137, 141, 152n4 thanthai Chelva memorial, 131-134, 150 thesavamalai, 30 Thileepan, 56 Thimpu Talks of 1985, 40, 152n7 Thiranagama, Rajani, 53 Thiranagama, Sharika, 6, 50, 56, 72n6, 79, 88-89, 92, 171 Thirteenth Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution, 41, 47n25-27, 102, 116, 121, 123n4, 125n13-14, 126n19, 141, 144, 157 Thiruchelvam, Neelan, 53 Tibetan Government in Exile (TGiE), 9 - 10performative practices, 9 Tiyaki. See martyrdom Tophur, 51 tourism bureau (and statute), EPC, 117-119, 122, 125n15, 126n20 transnational engagement by diaspora, 6. See also Tamil diaspora Trawick, Margaret, 50 Trincomalee, 12, 15n5, 51, 53, 55, 84, 91, 94, 96, 105, 108, 113, 115, 117, 120, 123n2, 123n5, 128, 135, 146, 152n8, 153n13, 158 Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), 9–10 twilight institutions, 26, 163 unilateral ceasefire, 62

unilateral constitution-making, 39 unilateral declaration of independence. *See* Eelam Democratic Republic United National Party (UNP), 40, 46n22, 62, 64–65, 68, 74n14, 105, 123n5, 156 United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), 78, 81, 138, 141

Vaddukoddai resolution (1976), 39, 130, 141, 178 Vanni, 2, 58, 62, 77, 80, 84, 162, 165 Veddah community, 36, 59, 73n8, 90–92 Vellala caste, 30–31, 51, 60, 70, 86, 89–92, 99n3 Vigneswaran, C. V., 128–129, 143–145, 147–149, 154n22 no-confidence motion against, 148 violent politics in democracy, literature on, 4, 170

war crime allegations, against Sri Lankan state, 138–139 wartime order, 4 Wickremesinghe, Ranil, 62, 65–66, 68, 156, 173, 180 women's social activism, 6

yahapalana (good governance) government, 154n23