# CONTENTS

**Preface**  
**List of Tables**  
**List of Abbreviations**  
**List of Maps**

## Chapter 1  
**Introduction**  
1.1. An Overview  
1.2. Literature Review  
1.3. Objectives  
1.4. Assumptions  
1.5. Methodology  
1.6. Chapterisation  
Notes

## Chapter 2  
**Theoretical Perspective**

2.1. Marxian View  
2.2. Theory of Modernization  
2.3. Theory of Ethnicity  
2.4. Underdevelopment  
2.5. Internal colonialism  
2.5.1 Features  
2.6. Nationalism  
2.7 National development  
2.7.1 Cultural Integration  
2.7.2 Economic integration  
2.7.3 Political integration  
2.7.4 Diffusion model of national development  
2.8 Militancy  
2.8.1 Psychological  
2.8.2. Structural  
2.8.3. Positional  
2.9 Conclusion  
Notes
**Chapter 3**  
*Development or Underdevelopment: The Economic Policies of Sri Lanka*

3.1. Development of Underdevelopment  
3.2. Political economy of the Sri Lanka  
   3.2.1 The Economy of Sri Lanka before Independence  
      3.2.1.1. Portuguese  
      3.2.1.2. Dutch  
      3.2.1.3. British  
   3.2.2. Policy towards Primary Sector  
   3.2.3. Irrigation  
   3.2.4. Policy towards Secondary sector  
   3.2.5. Impact of Great Depression  
3.3 Independence and after  
   3.3.1. Land Development  
   3.3.2. Economic liberalization in Sri Lanka  
      3.3.2.1. Impact of Economic Liberalization  
   3.3.3. Coast conservation Act of 1981  
3.4. Conclusion  
Notes  

**Chapter 4**  
*Status of Tamils: Colonial and Post Colonial Period*

4.1. Colonial period  
   4.1.1. Under Portuguese  
   4.1.2. Under Dutch  
   4.1.3. Under British  
   4.1.4. In the field of Education  
   4.1.5. In the field of Administration  
4.2. After Independence  
   4.2.1 Political field  
   4.2.2. In Service Sector  
   4.2.3. Land holdings  
   4.2.4. Education  
Notes
**Chapter 5**

**Uneven Capitalist Development in Sri Lanka**

5.1 Earlier Development of Sri Lanka Settlement System 91
5.2 Salient Features of British Settlement System 94
5.3 Development of Capitalism in Sri Lanka 95
   5.3.1 Introduction of Property Ownership 98
   5.3.2 Crown Lands Ordinance of 1840 100
   5.3.3 Temple Lands Registration Act 101
   5.3.4 Waste Lands Ordinance of 1897 102
5.4 Ethno-Spatial Population Clusters 104
5.5 Conflict Over Territory 108
5.6 Rural Development 109
5.7 Urbanization of Sri Lanka 111
   5.7.1 The Effects of the Land Reform on Tea Plantation 112
5.8 Mahaweli Project 113
   5.8.1 Location 115
   5.8.2 Hierarchical Order 116
5.9 Conclusion 117
Notes 118

**Chapter 6**

**Various Socio-Economic Policies of Sri Lankan State**

6.1. Policy of Portuguese 123
6.2. Policy of Dutch 125
6.3. British Policies in Sri Lanka 125
   6.3.1 Colebrooke-Cameron Reforms 126
   6.3.2 Educational Policies of the British 127
   6.3.3 The Economic Factors of Education 128
6.4. Constitutional Reforms in Sri Lanka 132
   6.4.1 Donoughmore Constitution of 1931 133
   6.4.2. Soulbury Commission 134
6.5. Post-Independence Scenario 135
   6.5.1 Citizenship Act 135
   6.5.2 Language Policy 137
   6.5.3 Standardization and District Quota System 142
   6.5.4. State Sponsored Colonization 143
      6.5.4.1 Features of Organized Dry Zone Colonization Schemes 144
6.6. The Constitution of 1972 149
6.7. The 1978 Constitution 149
6.8.1 Plannings 150
6.8.2. The Ten-Year Plan 153
6.9. Role of Defense Forces 154
6.10 Conclusion 156
Notes 156

Chapter 7
Ideologies and Strategies of Various Militant Groups in Sri Lanka 163-189

7.1. Evolution of Tamil Militancy in Sri Lanka 163
7.2. The Birth of the Tamil Militancy 168
  7.2.1. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) 169
    7.2.1.1. Leadership 169
    7.2.1.2. LTTE’S International Relations 171
    7.2.1.3. Ideology 172
    7.2.1.4. Objectives of LTTE 174
  7.2.2. The People Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) 174
    7.2.2.1 Ideology 175
    7.2.2.2. Objectives 175
    7.2.2.3. Main Activities and Achievements 176
  7.2.3. The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) 176
    7.2.3.1. Ideology 176
    7.2.3.2. Objectives 177
    7.2.3.3. Achievements 177
  7.2.4 Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of students (EROS) 177
    7.2.4.1. Main Ideology 178
    7.2.4.2. Objectives 179
    7.2.4.3 Main Achievements 179
  7.2.5 Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) 179
    7.2.5.1. Ideology 180
    7.2.5.2. Objectives 181
    7.2.5.3 Main Achievements 181

7.3. The Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) 182
  7.3.1 Minimum Working Programme 182
7.4. Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) 183
7.5. Conclusion. 184
Notes 186
Chapter 8
Tamil National Freedom Struggle in Sri Lanka

8.1 Emergence of nationalism 191
8.2 Nationalism before independence 191
8.3 Nationalism after independence 194
8.4 Economic Underdevelopment 196
8.5 Economic Degradation of Northern states 197
8.6 Role of TULF in Tamil Separatism 199
8.7 Effect of 1983 Riot 204
8.8 Indian intervention 205
8.9 IPKF in Sri Lankan Politics 207
8.10 The Tamil Nadu (and Indian) interest in the Sri Lankan Tamil Question 210
8.11 Recent Developments 212
8.12 Conclusion 213

Notes 216

Chapter 9
Conclusion 221-229

9.1 Evaluation 221
9.2 Objectives 222
9.3 Findings 225

Select Bibliography i-xxi

Appendix xxiii