

Primary

Documents

“The Constitution of Sri Lanka.” Digital Image. Wikimedia Commons.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Lankan_Constitution_of_1972#/media/File:Page_1_1972_constitution_SL.png.

This is the first page of the Sri Lankan constitution written in 1972 by Sirimavo Bandaranaike’s government to replace the former British constitution. It is significant that this constitution’s preamble is written in English, as Sinhalese was not yet the official language of Sri Lanka, and that this constitution speaks of Buddhism, which Bandaranaike promoted heavily. This source helped me understand how Bandaranaike’s identity, as a Sinhalese-speaking Buddhist, influenced her actions and how her actions, in turn, affected Sri Lanka.

J.R. Jayewardene and Rajiv Gandhi. “Indo-Lanka Accord.” United Nations.

https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20LK_870729_Indo-Lanka%20Accord.pdf.

This is the Indo-Lanka peace treaty that was created between J.R. Jayewardene, the president of Sri Lanka, and Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister of India. It created an alliance between the Sri Lankan government and the Indian government, and allowed Indian troops to operate in Sri Lanka in order to disarm the LTTE. This showed me that Sri Lanka, even after Bandaranaike, held its strong diplomatic relations with India.

"Remarks By The Secretary-General At A Reception In Honour Of The Prime Minister Of Sri Lanka On 1 October, 1976." October 1, 1976.

<https://search.archives.un.org/uploads/r/united-nations-archives/3/8/a/38a18b77adfdb049b0f4548759ca00c3d2c92d1c4666422edcc84f84cbdfd164/S-0904-0070-23-00001.PDF>.

This is a transcription of the responses to Bandaranaike’s proposal to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace at the United Nations. Bandaranaike is received extremely politely, and she is spoken to with respect. This helped me understand the diplomacy between Bandaranaike, as a woman, and the other predominantly male politicians at the United Nations.

"United Nations General Assembly 1962nd Plenary Meeting." United Nations. Tuesday, 12 October 1971. <https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.1962>.

This record contains Sirimavo Bandaranaike's address of the 1962nd meeting of the United Nations general assembly. This was delivered by Bandaranaike herself to the United Nations. It helped me understand how Bandaranaike diplomatically represented her country and government, and even how she viewed Sri Lanka (then Ceylon)'s people.

Images

"Bandaranaike Family." Digital Image. *Sri Lanka Daily Mirror*.

<https://www.dailymirror.lk/print/opinion/Aftermath-Of-Bandaranaikes-Assassination-INVESTIGATION-TO-INDICTMENT/231-175319>.

This is a photograph of the Bandaranaike Family, including Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Solomon W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Chandrika Kumaratunga, Anura Bandaranaike, and Sunethra Bandaranaike.

"Black July." Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1983.

<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-black-july-38-years-pogrom>.

This is an image of the aftermath of the Black July riots, including the wreckage of buildings and cars. It shows how violent the riots were and how much they destroyed. This photograph taught me how extreme the Black July riots were.

"Black July." Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1983.

<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-black-july-38-years-pogrom>.

This is an image of rioters during Black July. It depicts them burning a car, and celebrating this as a victory. This image depicts how antagonistic the Sinhalese were to the Tamils.

“Black July.” Digital image Wikimedia Commons.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Black_July_-_from_Commons.jpg.

This is an image of the violence that occurred in the Black July riots. This displays a Sinhalese mob which chased a Tamil person in order to beat him. This was one of many cases which prove how extreme Black July really was.

“Black July 83 - Boralla.” Digital Image. *Colombo Telegraph*. 1983.

<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/the-resurgent-spirit-of-black-july/>.

This is an image of the Black July riots. It displays fire, which was used by rioters to cause destruction and violence.

“The British Demarcation of Tamil Homeland.” Digital image. 2009.

<http://www.srilankaguardian.org/2009/08/british-demarcation-of-tamil-homeland.html>.

This is a map of Sri Lanka which displays which territories were Sinhalese, and which ones were Tamil. Because this map is based off information from 1833 to 1910, it reflects Sri Lankan geography from British colonization.

“Ceylon 1875 (British) Outdoor Flags.” Digital image. CRW Flags.

<https://www.crwflags.com/page0950ceylon1875british.html>.

This is an image of the flag of Ceylon from when it was under British rule. It displays a Union Jack, which shows that Sri Lanka was considered a colony of Britain. This showed me how much influence Britain had over Sri Lanka, down to the design of their flag.

“Ceylon: the JVP uprising of April 1971” Digital Image. *Colombo Telegraph*.

<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/dayapala-thiranagama-14-july-2020/>.

This is a photograph of the JVP uprising. It displays how many people were present, showing that this uprising was incredibly large among young adults of Sri Lanka.

“Chandrika Kumaratunga and Sirimavo Bandaranaike.” *Los Angeles Times*.
<https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-fg-women-world-leaders/#decade60>.

This is an image of Chandrika Kumaratunga and Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

“Chandrika Kumaratunga President Of Sri Lanka (1994-2005).” Digital Image. Council Women World Leaders.
<https://www.councilwomenworldleaders.org/chandrika-kumaratunga.html>.

This is a photograph of Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, Sirimavo Bandaranaike’s daughter. Kumaratunga was the president of Sri Lanka from 1994 to 2005.

“Flag of Sri Lanka.” Digital Image. Flags of the World.
<https://www.fotw.info/flags/lk.html#constr>.

This is an image of the Sri Lankan flag which was changed from the previous one that was assigned to them by the British under colonization.

“Former Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike with former Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.” Digital image. *Sri Lanka Daily News*.
<https://www.dailynews.lk/2020/06/27/features/221687/1962-flashback-when-non-aligned-team-tried-help-india-china-negotiate>.

This is an image of Bandaranaike with Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru. It shows that Bandaranaike was engaged in international affairs, especially with India, as it was the closest country to Sri Lanka.

Haviv, Ron. “A female soldier of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam walks through an L.T.T.E. cemetery in Kilinochchi, in September, 2007. Government soldiers later destroyed the cemetery.” Digital Image. *The New Yorker*. September, 2007.
<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/01/17/death-of-the-tiger>.

This is an image of a soldier looking at the mass graves of the Tamils killed in the civil war. In 2007, when this photograph was taken, many people had died, but the civil war was not over. This shows how many lives the civil war took, even with two years left to go.

“Indo Sri Lanka Agreement.” Digital image. *Tamil Nation*. 1987.

<https://tamilnation.org/conflictresolution/tamileelam/87peaceaccord.htm>.

This is a photograph of J.R. Jayawardene signing the Indo - Sri Lanka Agreement. This displays Sri Lanka’s diplomatic relations with India.

“J.R. Jayewardene.” Accessed February 20, 2022.

<https://www.lankaimage.com/2021/09/jr-jayewardenes-momentous-speech-that.html>.

This is a photograph of Sri Lanka’s former prime minister and president J.R. Jayewardene.

Leitch, Mary, and Margaret W. Leitch. “Uduvil Girls’ College.” in *Seven years in Ceylon: stories of mission life*. 1890.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14801432963/>.

This is an image of an early Christian girls’ college in Uduvil, Jaffna, Sri Lanka, built by the British.

“LTTE bike platoon north of Kilinochi, Sri Lanka, in 2004. ” Digital Image. The Strategy Bridge. 1984.

<https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/13/learning-from-the-liberation-tigers-of-tamil-eelam>.

This is a photograph from 2004 of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam members training. They were disbanded five years after this photograph, but in 2004, over forty years after the Tamil separationist movement began, they were still active.

“LTTE leaders training at Sirumalai camp in India in 1984.” Digital Image. The Strategy Bridge. 1984.

<https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/13/learning-from-the-liberation-tigers-of-tamil-eelam>.

This is a photograph of leaders of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam receiving military training. This shows how seriously the LTTE was taken by its members.

"LTTE turned children into child soldiers." Accessed February 20, 2022.

<https://www.shenaliwaduge.com/sri-lankas-victory-ltte-turned-children-into-child-soldiers-s-sri-lanka-brought-out-the-talents-in-child-soldiers/>.

This is an image of children who were trained as soldiers for the LTTE. It shows that the LTTE used violence in every way possible, even if it meant harming children of their own ethnicity.

"Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi." International Center for Education and Training. 1972.

<https://icetonline.com/which-countries-were-first-to-elect-women-leaders/>.

This is an image of Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi. It represents other women who were world leaders in Bandaranaike's time.

"Marriage to S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike." Digital image. SirimavoBandaranaike.org. Oct 3, 1940.

<https://sirimavobandaranaike.org/marriage-to-s-w-r-d-bandaranaike/>.

This is a photograph of Solomon W.D. Bandaranaike and Sirimavo Bandaranaike's wedding.

"Mrs. Bandaranaike Visits India." Digital Image. Alamy Images. Oct 10, 1964.

<https://www.alamy.com/oct-10-1964-mrs-bandaranaike-visits-india-photo-shows-mrs-bandaranaike-image69412872.html>.

This is a photograph of Sirimavo Bandaranaike during her visit to India. She is being greeted by Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was the prime minister of India in 1964, the time of the photograph.

"Percentage of Literacy in Sri Lanka 1881-1971." Committee for International Coordination of National Research in Demography, C.I.C.R.E.D. 1974.

<http://www.cicred.org/Eng/Publications/pdf/c-c46.pdf>.

This is a table of the literacy rates in Sri Lanka. These show information from during British colonization and after, and it groups this data by sex. I learned from this that Sri Lanka had a high value on education, and that female literacy rates increased extremely rapidly over this time period.

“The police station of Deniyaya in Sri Lanka” Wikimedia Commons. April 7, 1971.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1971_JVP_insurrection#/media/File:Deniyau.png.

This is a photograph of a police station in Deniyaya, Sri Lanka which was destroyed by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

"Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi received by Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike at the Sri Lankan airport." Express Archives. April, 1973.
<https://www.newindianexpress.com/galleries/nation/2016/oct/31/indira-gandhis-99th-birth-anniversary-rare-pictures-of-late-the-prime-minister-100078--5.html>.

This is an image of Bandaranaike with Indira Gandhi. Bandaranaike was involved in Sri Lanka's relations with India, and this image displays her diplomacy. Also it highlights the two female leaders, who were setting precedents for women in politics.

“Prime Minister Of Ceylon Sirimavo Bandaranaike With Indian President Sarvepali Radhakrishnan In New Delhi.” Digital Image. Imago Images.
<https://www.imago-images.com/st/0081522476>.

This is a photograph of Bandaranaike speaking with Sarvepali Radhakrishnan, the president of India. The photograph was taken in New Delhi.

"Prime Ministers Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Lal Bahadur Shastri Sign the Historic Pact." Digital Image. *Sunday Times*. 1964.
https://www.sundaytimes.lk/081026/FunDay/fundaytimes_2.html.

This is an image of Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Lal Bahadur Shastri signing a pact to grant some Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka citizenship, and “repatriate” others. This event shows the strong diplomacy between Sri Lanka and India. It also shows that both prime ministers want to “repatriate” Tamils, showing that they believe that they don't belong in Sri Lanka.

“A Sinhalese mob beats a Tamil passenger after pulling him out of his car.” Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1956.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-1956-sri-lanka-s-first-anti-tamil-pogrom>.

This is an image of a Tamil person being followed and attacked by a Sinhalese mob.

"Sinhala Only Bill an Act Passed in the Parliament of Ceylon." Digital image. Telo.org August 8, 1955. <http://telo.org/teloldnews/?p=232620>.

This is a cartoon in which the lion on Sri Lanka's flag is being let out of a bag to exclaim to a Tamils speaking mother and child that only Sinhalese must be spoken. This cartoon appears to want its reader to understand that the Sinhala only policy is affecting innocent people, including children. It helped me understand that there were many people who voiced their opinions against the Bandaranaike.

“Sinhala rioters celebrate as they pause in the destruction of homes and businesses in Tamil sectors of Colombo.” Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1983.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-black-july-38-years-pogrom>.

This is a photograph of Tamil Rioters in Sri Lanka standing in front of the destruction that they have caused. It shows the magnitude of these riots.

“Sinhala rioters halt a minibus searching for Tamils.” Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1983.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-black-july-38-years-pogrom>.

This is a photograph of Sinhala rioters searching for Tamil people to commit violence against. It shows that innocent people were sought out by rioters and harmed.

“Sirimavo Bandaranaike.” Digital image. *British Broadcasting Company*.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/stories-55002773>.

This is a photograph of Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike Crying at Husband's Funeral." Alchetron. 1959.
<https://alchetron.com/S-W-R-D-Bandaranaike>.

This is an image of Bandaranaike crying at her husband's funeral in 1959. Bandaranaike often cried which caused the public to pity her. This could have contributed to her popularity.

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike Died Shortly After Voting." Digital image. *British Broadcasting Company*. October 10, 2000. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/964914.stm.

This is a photograph of Sirimavo Bandaranaike taken shortly before her unexpected death. It displays her voting in Sri Lanka's general election.

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, with Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur, Trade Minister D B Ilangaratne and Indian Minister Swaran Singh." Digital image. Getty Images. 1965.
<https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/sirimavo-bandaranaike-prime-minister-of-ceylon-with-indian-news-photo/497481061>.

This is a photograph of Sirimavo in India with political figures including Lal Bahadur Shastri, the prime minister of India. Bandaranaike appears to be the only woman present in this photograph.

"Sri Lanka: Former Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike greeting President J. R. Jayewardene." Digital image. Alamy Images. 1980.
<https://c7.alamy.com/comp/2B00TG9/sri-lanka-former-premier-sirimavo-bandaranaike-greeting-president-j-r-jayewardene-1980-sirimavo-ratwatte-dias-bandaranaike-april-17-1916-october-10-2000-was-a-sri-lankan-politician-and-the-worlds-first-female-head-of-government-she-served-as-prime-minister-of-ceylon-and-sri-lanka-three-times-1960-65-1970-77-and-1994-2000-junius-richard-jayewardene-september-17-1906-november-1-1996-was-the-first-executive-president-of-sri-lanka-serving-from-1978-till-1989-before-taking-over-the-newly-created-executive-presidency-he-briefly-served-as-the-prime-minister-of-sri-lanka-2B00TG9.jpg>.

This is an image of Bandaranaike greeting J.R. Jayewardene. Although she and Jayewardene were political opponents, they were still diplomatic and charismatic with each other.

“Tamil protestors in Colombo, 1956, being attacked by a Sinhala mob led by Sri Lankan lawmakers. (Courtesy Victor Ivan)” Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1956. <https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-1956-sri-lanka-s-first-anti-tamil-program>.

This is an image of Tamil protestors being attacked by a Sinhalese mob. This image displays the large amount of people who participated in the mobs and protests.

“Tamil protestors in Colombo, 1956, shortly before they were attacked by Sinhala mobs. (Courtesy Victor Ivan)” Digital image. *Tamil Guardian*. July, 1956. <https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-1956-sri-lanka-s-first-anti-tamil-program>.

This is an image of the many Tamil protestors and rioters who disagreed with the Sinhala only policy and other anti-tamil policies of the government.

“Tamil ‘Satyagraha’.” Digital Image. Dbsjeyaraj.com. 1961. <https://dbsjeyaraj.com/dbsj/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/1961F4.jpg>.

This is an image of the Sri Lankan military holding a Tamil person at gunpoint.

“Women and the Struggle for Tamil Eelam.” *Tamil Nation*. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://tamilnation.org/women/tamileelam.htm>.

This is a photograph of female soldiers for the LTTE. The LTTE did not limit itself to only putting men on the front lines, it also forced women and children to become soldiers.

Interviews

Anonymous informants interviewed by Marisa Triola. February 5, 2022.

I interviewed two anonymous Tamils who lived in Sri Lanka during Bandaranaike’s power who explained to me in great detail the events which took place, and how these affected their lives. I learned that Tamils, with no connection to the separatist movement, were involved and forced to help organizations like the LTTE, creating a collective fear, which caused many, like the anonymous interviewees, to fear the LTTE. This interview also helped me understand the opinions of the general public, which is often missing in

many of my sources which were created by politicians and the press, which can reflect different biases than the general public.

Bandaranaike, Sunethra. *British Broadcasting Company*. November 20, 2020.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/stories-55002773>.

This video is an interview with Bandaranaike's daughter. While Sunethra Bandaranaike is very well versed in the actions and events surrounding her own mother, I found it important to take into account that she is probably biased in favor of her mother. This video helped me understand how people who knew and supported Bandaranaike perceived her.

Newspapers

Athas, Iqbal. "Former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Stripped of Her Civil Rights." *United Press International*. Oct 17, 1980.
<https://www.upi.com/Archives/1980/10/17/Former-Prime-Minister-Sirimavo-Bandaranaike-stripped-of-her-civil/9001340603200/>.

This is an article about Bandaranaike's temporary loss of civil rights in 1980. It was created by *United Press International*, which is an American news outlet focused on international events. The article details that although Bandaranaike was the first female prime minister, she was accused of being corrupt, and stripped of civil rights, and it predicts that her son will rise to power in her absence.

"Ceylon Premier Selects Cabinet." *The New York Times*, July 24, 1960.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1960/07/24/archives/ceylon-premier-selects-cabinet-mrs-bandaranaike-omits-trotskyites.html>.

This *New York Times* article refers to Bandaranaike's selection of her cabinet at the start of her first term as Prime Minister. It helped me to understand the political tactics that Bandaranaike used in both rising to power, and holding it. It also helped me understand why the Trotskyite and Communist parties of Sri Lanka later did not support her despite helping her rise to power.

"Ceylon's Woman Leader; Sirimavo Bandaranaike." *The New York Times*. July 22, 1960.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1960/07/22/archives/ceylons-woman-leader-sirimavo-bandaranaike.html>.

This article describes how Bandaranaike was elected prime minister after her husband's assassination. This article is from *The New York Times* under the category of women in the news. It also helped me understand how international female politicians were viewed, in the United States; although many people were optimistic about Bandaranaike's victory, others did not believe in her capabilities.

Dhalburd, John-Thor. "Sri Lankan Premier Presidential Victory a Landslide." *The Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1994.
<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/25421538/the-los-angeles-times>.

This source describes how Chandrika Kumaratunga, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's daughter, won the 1994 presidential election in Sri Lanka. It is from *The Los Angeles Times*, and written by John-Thor Dhalburg, a staff writer at this newspaper. It helped me understand how Kumaratunga, as a diplomat, portrayed her image to the rest of the world, and emphasized that she wanted to peacefully end the civil war.

"Former Sri Lankan PM Plans a Comeback as Rights Ban is Lifted." *The Age*. January 3, 1986,
<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/25110587/the-age/>.

This newspaper article describes that Bandaranaike, with her political rights restored, was preparing to return to her leadership. It is from *The Age*, which is a newspaper in Melbourne, Australia. The article helped me understand why Bandaranaike was stripped of her civil rights, which was because she abused her power, through extending a state of emergency for more time than there was reason for.

"Present Election Issue Worries Bandaranaike's Government." *Playground Daily News*. October 7, 1976. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/25106264/playground-daily-news/>.

This newspaper article describes how Bandaranaike's government had hit a roadblock. It is from *Playground Daily News*, which was a newspaper from Fort Walton Beach, Florida. The article describes how although Bandaranaike was successful at first, at this time she had lost the majority vote in parliament, and she was accused of abuse of power, showing that she did not entirely succeed with diplomacy and painting her image.

"Ranasinghe Decides To Fight, Not Negotiate With Tamil Rebels." *The Daily Spectrum*. July 12, 1990. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/25164608/the-daily-spectrum/>.

This newspaper article describes how Ranasinghe Premadasa, the prime minister of Sri Lanka in 1990, handled the Tamil separationist movement. It is from *The Daily Spectrum*, which is a newspaper from St. George, Utah. This source helped me understand that Premadasa, like Bandaranaike, believed that violence was the only way to counter the violence of the tamil separationists.

Sethi, Sunil. "Riots break out in Tamil stronghold of Jaffna in Sri Lanka." *India Today*. September 20, 1977. Accessed January 4, 2021. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/neighbours/story/19770930-riots-break-out-in-tamil-stronghold-of-jaffna-in-sri-lanka-818720-2015-03-18>.

This article from Indian news magazine *India Today* explains how Sri Lanka was handling the conflicts with. This source helped me understand how people in India view the Tamil separationists, as many Tamils have ancestry in India. The people in India seem to view the Tamils as identifying more with the Indians than the Sinhalese.

"Sri Lanka Investigating Regime Ousted in 1977." *The New York Times*. August 2, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/08/02/archives/sri-lanka-investigating-regime-ousted-in-1977.html>.

This article from the *New York Times* details the reasons as to why Bandaranaike was accused of abuse of power. It mentions her ties to the communist parties of Sri Lanka, which because *The New York Times* is an American newspaper, would paint a bad picture of Bandaranaike. This source helped me understand the large array of perspectives which viewed Bandaranaike in the United States; in *The New York Times* alone, Bandaranaike was portrayed as both good and bad.

"Trouble in Ceylon." *The New York Times*. February 10, 1962. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/02/10/93829288.html?pageNumber=17>.

This article details how and why the 1962 coup in Sri Lanka happened. It is from *The New York Times*, and it explains that the coup was caused because of dissatisfaction with

conditions in urban areas, and the government antagonizing certain minority groups, like Roman Catholics and Tamils.

Videos

“Sinhala Only Act (1956) Justified by S.W.A.R.D.” Youtube. 1:23.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlTy--rxGfY>.

This is a video of Solomon W.R.D Bandaranaike explaining the Sinhala only policy. He explains that he made this decision because, even though not everyone is Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, the majority are, and the language should represent them. This shows that S.W.R.D Bandaranaike focused on representing the Sinhalese people, a group which he was a part of.

“Sirimavo Bandaranaike is interviewed about being the first female Prime Minister.” Getty Images, 0:45.
https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/video/sirimavo-bandaranaike-is-interviewed-about-being-the-news-footage/1B012402_0005.

This video of Bandaranaike shows that Bandaranaike portrayed herself and female politicians in an optimistic way. She showed confidence in herself, and held herself with a smile. This helped me understand how Bandaranaike conducted her diplomacy so well. Similarly to how Sunethra Bandaranaike described her in an interview, Bandaranaike was friendly and never angry.

Situnayake, Sunil. “Sirimavo Bandaranaike Documentary.” Youtube, 16:30. December 2, 2019.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6sLm21VSOuE>.

This documentary includes a lot of primary sources. It is a collection of primary sources which are both about Bandaranaike and her actions, and how she was received. It helped me understand the viewpoints of people who actually knew Bandaranaike, including her own family and children.

Secondary

Balachandran, P. K. "Significance of the abortive 1962 military coup." *Colombo Daily News*. 2006.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180829072454/http://archives.dailynews.lk/2006/06/01/fea05.asp>.

This article describes the military coup d'etat of January 27, 1962. This source is from the *Colombo Daily News*, a popular newspaper in Sri Lanka. It describes the breakdown of different ethnicities between people living in Sri Lanka and helped me understand how the prominences of ethnicities and religions in Sri Lanka caused certain conflicts, like this coup d'etat.

"Country Briefing Paper: Women in Sri Lanka." Asian Development Bank. May, 1999.

<https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/32570/women-sri-lanka.pdf>

This paper provides an incredibly detailed explanation of the conditions and treatment of women in Sri Lanka. It is by the Asian Development Bank which focuses on providing social and economic development in Asia. This source provided data which helped me understand factors like the literacy and education rates for men and women.

Devapriya, Uditha. "A History of Education in Sri Lanka." Medium. November 24, 2019.

<https://udithadevapriya.medium.com/a-history-of-education-in-sri-lanka-bf2d6de2882c>.

This essay by Uditha Devapriya who works for *Colombo Telegraph* describes the history of Sri Lankan education from before colonialism to the present day. This essay thoroughly explains how different imperialists, like the Dutch, Portuguese, and British affected the education system. Although it mainly focuses on a time period before the one I am researching, this essay gave me a sense of context of the education system in Sri Lanka, and helped me understand how this affected the different groups of people in Sri Lanka after its independence.

DeVotta, Neil. "The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Lost Quest for Separatism in Sri Lanka." *Asian Survey*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2009.49.6.1021>.

This source goes into great detail about the Tamil separationist movement in Sri Lanka, focusing on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Dr. DeVotta, the author, is a professor of politics and international affairs at Wake Forest University. This source provided me

with many important facts and details surrounding the Tamil separationists in Sri Lanka, and how they were handled by the governments of different Sri Lankan leaders.

DeVotta, Neil. "Majoritarian Politics in Sri Lanka: The Roots of Pluralism Breakdown." Global Center for Pluralism. April, 2017.

https://web.archive.org/web/20181101201720/https://www.pluralism.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Sri_Lanka_Complete_Case.pdf.

The report discusses how Sri Lanka's diversity has affected it as a country. It is by Neil Devotta who is a professor of politics and international affairs at Wake Forest University. This report describes the history of Sri Lanka, which was always diverse and helped me understand Sri Lanka's ethnic history.

Ethirajan, Anbarasan. "Sri Lanka mass graves: 230 skeletons found at country's largest site."

British Broadcasting Company. November 22, 2018.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-46295889>.

This article details the discovery of the remains of many humans in a predominantly Tamil region. It is from the *British Broadcasting Company*, and recounts the words of archaeologists who excavated this area. They have discovered that these bodies were from the civil war and were from Tamil soldiers who were killed, showing me how inhumane and relentless the LTTE was in their war tactics, putting their success in the war over the many lost lives which they caused.

"The Gracious Lady Creates History" Sri Lanka Ministry of Foreign Relations. July 19, 2014.

<https://mfa.gov.lk/the-gracious-lady-creates-history/>.

This is an article from the Sri Lanka Ministry of Foreign Relations which seeks to praise Bandaranaike for the good things that she did in her life. It includes many details to compliment Bandaranaike, down to how she dresses, showing that the Sri Lankan government took great pride in Bandaranaike, and even now praises her. This article helped me understand that though Bandaranaike was disliked by the Tamil community, there were many people who really looked up to her, seeing her in an extremely positive light.

"Our Heritage." *Sunday Times*. October 26, 2008.

https://www.sundaytimes.lk/081026/FunDay/fundaytimes_2.html.

This article is about the 1964 pact between Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Lal Bahadur Shastri. It is from *Sunday Times*, a Sri Lankan newspaper. The article discusses the the history of Tamils in Sri Lanka, and helped me understand how this history was affected by the repatriation pact.

“Remembering 1956 – Sri Lanka’s first Anti-Tamil pogrom.” *Tamil Guardian*. June 11, 2021.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-1956-sri-lanka-s-first-anti-tamil-pogrom>.

This article details early Tamil protests, and how they were received by the government and the Sinhalese. It is from *Tamil Guardian*, a Tamil newspaper and it explains the origins of Sri Lanka’s anti-Tamil riots which happened in 1956, before Bandaranaike became prime minister. This helped me understand that Bandaranaike only worsened an issue that had already existed.

“Remembering the 1958 pogrom.” *Tamil Guardian*. May 22, 2020.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-1958-pogrom>.

This article details anti-Tamil riots which occurred at the start of Solomon W.R.D. Bandaranaike’s rule. It is from the *Tamil Guardian*, which is a Tamil newspaper. It shows that anti-Tamil riots, though they were worst during the 1980s, had been in existence for many years and were incredibly violent.

“Remembering Black July - 38 years since the pogrom.” *Tamil Guardian*. July 23, 2021.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-black-july-38-years-pogrom>.

This article describes the events of Black July in Sri Lanka. It is from *Tamil Guardian*, a newspaper about events and issues relating to Tamils, and it explains the issues with many photographs and quotations about both the Tamil separationists and the Sinhala mobs. It helped me understand the extent of Black July, including what events lead up to it, and how it played out.

Rettie, John. "Sirima Bandaranaike." October 10, 2000.
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2000/oct/11/guardianobituaries>.

This obituary gives a detailed recollection of the many events that Sirimavo Bandaranaike took part in. It is from *The Guardian*, which is a British newspaper. It

helped me associate the many events and dates that many of my other sources mentioned, and put these together chronologically.

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike." *The Telegraph*. October 11, 2000.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180618131736/https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1369772/Sirimavo-Bandaranaike.html>.

This obituary recounts much of what Sirimavo Bandaranaike did in her lifetime. It is from *The Telegraph* which is a newspaper from London, England. The article helped me see a general picture of Bandaranaike's successes and failures.

"Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike." Accessed December 28, 2021.

<https://sirimavobandaranaike.org/madam-sirimavos-biography/>.

This brief biography of Sirimavo Bandaranaike gives a general overview of Bandaranaike's life and political career. It is from SirimavoBandaranaike.org, which is a Sri Lankan website dedicated to Bandaranaike. It helped me understand Bandaranaike's career from a positive standpoint, which the author(s) of this source seem to have.

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Former Sri Lankan Premier, Dies at 84." *The New York Times*, October 10, 2000.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/10/world/sirimavo-bandaranaike-former-sri-lankan-premier-dies-at-84.html>.

This *New York Times* article assumes a sad tone as it announced Sirimavo Bandaranaike's death. It described that many people were upset about her death, and felt that Sri Lanka had lost someone important. I learned a lot from this article about how people perceived Bandaranaike.

"Table 2.10: Population by ethnic group and census years."

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140808035544/http://www.statistics.gov.lk/Abstract%20013/CHAP2/2.10.pdf>.

This is a data table of the population of Sri Lanka between 1881 and 2012. It was created by the Sri Lankan government, and it helped me understand the ratio of Tamil to Sinhalese people living in Sri Lanka at certain points in time. The data table is also

written in Tamil, Sinhalese and English, which shows that the government, as of the time this source was made, supported all three languages .

Waduge, Shenali. "Sri Lanka's Victory: LTTE turned children into child soldiers. Sri Lanka brought out the talents in child soldiers." May 18, 2020.
<https://www.shenaliwaduge.com/sri-lankas-victory-ltte-turned-children-into-child-soldiers-s-sri-lanka-brought-out-the-talents-in-child-soldiers/>.

This article explains how Tamil children were forced into becoming soldiers to fight in the Sri Lankan civil war. It was written by Shenali Waduge, who researches Sri Lankan and Asian history. This article helped me understand the brutality and relentlessness of the LTTE, as they forced children to fight in a war.

"World's first female prime minister dies." *Independent*.
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/world-s-first-female-prime-minister-dies-634971.html>.

This article announces Bandaranaike's death in October 2000. It is from *Independent*, which is a British Newspaper. The article seems to view Bandaranaike in a positive light, explaining that she set important precedents as a woman and describing the end of her life on a sad note, including a melancholic quote from when she announced her retirement.

Ziegler, Paige. "Learning From The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." The Strategy Bridge. April 13, 2017.
<https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/4/13/learning-from-the-liberation-tigers-of-tamil-eelam>.

This article thoroughly describes how the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam formed. It is from The Strategy Bridge, which studies military tactics and international affairs. The article provides an in depth analysis of how the LTTE came to power, and helped me further understand the specifics of the LTTE's formation.

Tertiary

"Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga." Encyclopedia Britannica. June 25, 2021.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Chandrika-Bandaranaike-Kumaratunga>.

This encyclopedia entry about Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga Provides overall details about Kumaratunga's life. It is from the Encyclopedia Britannica. This source provided me with factual information, like dates of events in Kumaratunga's life.

"J.R. Jayewardene." Encyclopedia Britannica. October 28, 2021.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/J-R-Jayewardene>.

This encyclopedia entry about J.R. Jayewardene helped me internalize the key dates pertaining to the Jayewardene. This source is from the Encyclopedia Britannica. With its factual information, it helped me understand what specifically Jayewardene did in his life, and gave me a direction of what to research.

"Sirimavo Bandaranaike." Encyclopedia Britannica. October 6, 2021.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sirimavo-Bandaranaike>.

This encyclopedia entry about Sirimavo Bandaranaike gives a general overview of Bandaranaike's life. It is from the Encyclopedia Britannica. As an encyclopedia article, this source helped me get a general idea of the events that Bandaranaike caused and took part in.