POLITICAL PARTIES in Sri Lanka since independence

-a bibliography

H.A. Peiris

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1

Introduction

Political parties are an essential component of a modern democratic system of government. Political theorists, however, have advanced different and often contradictory views on the nature of political parties. As long ago as the eighteenth century Edmund Burke defined a party as,

... a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed.[1]

Later political theorists have sometimes disagreed with this view. Many of them have viewed political parties simply as groups of people intent on gaining power. Anthony Downs, for instance, says that "parties formulate policies in order to win elections rather than win elections in order to formulate policies."[2]

Whatever the nature of political parties, it is generally agreed that parties in modern states wield great power and influence. In the first place the knowledge of most people even on important national questions is usually limited. Thus, parties often do not mould political opinions. Party programmes are seldom detailed. Therefore party leaders have considerable freedom to decide how a policy ought to be implemented. Party indentification and party loyalties survive for considerable periods of time.[3] These factors operate in Sri Lanka as strongly as in any Western democracy. While

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1. Edmund Burke, *The Philosophy of Edmund Burke*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961, p.134.
2. Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957, p.28.

this is recognised there is no single comprehensive study about the role of political parties in Sri Lanka. Calvin A. Woodward [118] provides a sound survey of the growth of political parties and gives some idea of the evolution of party organisation. James Jupp [64] and Howard Wriggins [122] provide insights on the nature of political organization and the role of political parties in Sri Lanka. James Manor [77] provides an interesting hypothesis on the nature of political party organisation in Sri Lanka and its effects on the working of democracy. Most of the writings either give a descriptive survey of political parties or concentrate on the performance of various political parties at general elections and their participation in various governments.

Neither is there a comprehensive survey of the growth, ideology and organisation of any one of the political parties in Sri Lanka. The best coverage is perhaps supplied for the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the evolution of which up to 1964 is analysed in some detail by George Lerski [410] and Y.R. Amarasinghe [374 and 375]. The other parties, including the two major parties - The United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party - have not yet been the subject of comprehensive and detailed studies. Indeed the compilation of this bibliography reveals that the study of individual political parties of Sri Lanka is in a rather undeveloped state. What follows is a brief history of the major political parties in Sri Lanka. It is intended to provide background information to the user of this bibliography and to illustrate the areas which have already received some attention.

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3. Mark Soblewski, "Election and Representatives," *Nomos X : Representation*, ed. J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman. New York: New York University Press, 1968, pp. 95-117.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was formed in early September 1951 by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was the Minister of Health and Local Government of the United National Party Government, from which he resigned in July 1951 with five other members of Parliament. [135] But the SLFP's origins go back to the *Sinhala Maha Sabha* which was established by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1937 on a communal and language basis. The Sinhala Maha Sabha subsequently joined the UNP in 1946. [115]

The SLFP is a reformist and non-revolutionary alternative to the conservative UNP. It gave prominence to the language, religion and material well-being of the Sinhalese rural masses, and the party maintains that it is the party of the common man. A statement released by Bandarnaike on 15th July, 1951 stated that his organization would be a middle party between the UNP on the right and the Marxist on the extreme left. Further, the constitution of the party in 1951 stressed that the membership of the party was open to all adult nationals of Sri Lanka who subscribed to its principles and adhered to its discipline. The party claimed that it was espousing the classic freedoms of speech, assembly, press and freedom from arbitrary arrest. [183]

Analysing his economic policy the leader formulated a socialist oriented way to solve the problems of the nation and promised to ensure economic freedom. He laid special emphasis on solving problems relating to the Sinhala peasants, provided more opportunities for estate sector jobs and also attempted to expand the village lands. He pledged to nationalize the large estates, basic industries, transport service and banks, and further promised to tax the rich and to solve the unemployment problem. In foreign policy he pledged to cancel the defence agreement with Britain and said he would develop friendly relations with all other nations. [104]

The SLFP promised to uplift the Sinhala culture, Buddhism and language, and therefore derives its major support from the large sections of small land holding peasants, Sinhalese speaking village school teachers, ayurvedic physicians, small traders, petty land owners and Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists. In addition a few Muslims and Christians have been active in the party, but its basic appeal has consistently been directed towards the Sinhala Buddhists. The strength of the party has rested in the villages of the interior away from the urban centres and the cosmopolitan seaboard.

The SLFP has been in office during the following periods:

1956-1959 : S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike
(MEP Government)
1960-1965 : Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike
(Coalition Government)
1970-1977 : Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike
(United Front Government)

When S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike led the party in the general election of 1952, the SLFP's strength and organization was weak. It put forward 98 candidates and secured 9 seats. [37] S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike became the leader of the Opposition (1952-1956). [37]

In his first election campaign he bitterly criticised the internal and external policies of the UNP and appealed to the Sinhala nationalists to vote for the SLFP in order to protect the Sinhala language, Buddhism, culture and traditional village values. [104] After 1952, the SLFP turned its attention to party organization and made efforts to expand its Youth League and Branch Associations which resulted in a great increase of its membership in 1956. But even after 1952, the party did not have adequate funds to give financial support to its organizers as well as to its candidates for elections. [118] During 1952-1956 there was a massive development of the SLFP strength. Some notable members of the UNP namely, Maithripala Senanayake, Rajapaksa, Mrs. Vimala Wijewardena and R.G. Senanayake crossed over to the SLFP. They brought support from the North Central Province, the Southern Province and the low country electorates around Kelaniya and Mirigama. M . eover, the greatest support came from the *Bhikku Associa-*

tions, nationalist groups and notable leftists. During this period, the party was involved in trade union activities. A youth organization called *Tri Sinhala Jatika Peramuna* was established in 1952. In January 1956 it organized a trade union called the Independent Industrial Mercantile Employees Trade Union.

By the time of the third general election of 1956, Bandaranaike had formed the Peoples United Front *(Mahajana Eksath Peramuna)* with the coalition of LSSP (V) of Philip Gunawardena, the *Samasta Lanka Sinhala Bhasha Peramuna* of W. Dahanayake and a group of independents led by I.M.R.A. Iriyagolla. After the formation of the MEP, Bandaranaike sought to obtain all anti -UNP votes without competition from other progressive forces. For that purpose, he made a no-contest pact with the CP and the LSSP in February 1956. [103]

For the general election of 1956, the MEP put forward 60 candidates and it was able to secure 51 seats. [37] As a result of the election, the MEP formed a government under the leadership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and the strength of the UNP was reduced to 8 members in Parliament. [176]

Although they formed a government in 1956, there were disputes between the more conservative members of the SLFP and the leftists. This resulted in the dismantling of the unity of the MEP. With Bandaranaike's support the conservative majority of the SLFP adopted a resolution at the party conference of 1956 avowing a non-Marxist policy orientation, and expelled the Marxists from the MEP. [122] This resolution and the subsequent assassination of Bandaranaike in 1959 was instrumental in reducing the power of the government, and the disintegration of the MEP as well as the SLFP.

After 1959, W. Dahanayake, one of the founder members of the MEP and Bandaranaike's successor as Prime Minister, left the government with some of the more conservative party members.

After 1959, the SLFP was under the leadership of C.P. de Silva. He led the party for the March 1960 election. For this election the party had to search for new candidates and funds for the election campaign. Nevertheless, it contested

seats in all provinces except in the Northern Province; it put forward 109 candidates and the party won forty-six seats. [30]

Although the UNP formed the government after the election, the government did not last very long. An election was held again in July of the same year and the SLFP led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike, came to power with 75 seats. [73] Although Sirimavo Bandaranaike did not contest a seat in the election she was appointed to the Senate and became Prime Minister.

In her policy declaration, she said that her government would follow a foreign policy of neutralism and nonalignment. As for her inland policy, she promised to take over the assisted schools, the newspapers published by the Times and the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, and also to nationalize the important areas of the economy. [187]

The period 1960-1965 was the turning point of the SLFP. During this period the party expanded its organization and adopted a revised constitution in 1963, which gave more responsibility to the executive committee of the party. The major point was its decision to form a coalition with the LSSP in 1963. [82] This created a controversy among the SLFP members, and resulted in the subsequent resignation of C.P. de Silva, the SLFP president, with fourteen members from the party. This led to the government's defeat in Parliament in December 1964. [163] This schism and the departure of the right wing members of the party resulted in a steady drift to the left. In addition, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's leadership and the coalition with the LSSP also influenced SLFP's policies and this led to a new series of radical programmes and social reforms.

The election of 1965 and the UNP's victory gave further impetus to this drift to the left. In this election, the SLFP was joined by the LSSP and the CP, and they launched a common programme against the UNP. [31] The SLSP, LSSP and CP coalition secured 55 seats in the 1965 election (SLFP 41, LSSP 10 and CP 4) and Sirimavo Bandaranaike became the Leader of the Opposition (1965-1970). [200] The defeat of the SLFP and two other left parties in the election resulted in the formation of the United Front under the leadership of Sirimavo Bandara-

naike. [177] For the election of 1970, it put forward a joint election manifesto embodying a common programme. [193] In this election the United Front obtained an overwhelming victory and formed a government. [108]

Hereafter, the SLFP pursued a more radical socialist ideology programme than what was intended by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, when he created the party. At the beginning he stated that the SLFP was to be a centrist party between the Marxist on the left and the UNP on the right. But the present ideological position of the SLFP is similar to that of the LSSP, because both parties wished to create a democratic socialism through parliamentary means and thus a society of equal opportunity of maintaining political freedoms.

After 1970, the UF adopted a new constitution and fulfilled some election promises, but on the other hand, the economy of the country deteriorated and there was inflation, unemployment, youth unrest and corruption. [54]

According to the new constitution, the life of the Parliament was to end in 1977. By the time of election the other parties of the U.F. were divorced from the SLFP and it was bitterly attacked by all other political parties in an election campaign which resulted in the debacle of the SLFP. [34]

The greatest crisis the party had to face arose when, on the recommendation of the Presidential Commission, Sirimavo Bandaranaike was deprived of her civic rights and expelled from Parliament. Whenthis occurred Sirimavo Bandaranaike wanted to appoint her daughter Chandrika Kumaranatunga as the member of Parliament for the Attanagalla electorate, but her son Anura Bandaranaike wanted to be nominated for the seat. [144] The Central Committee of the SLFP was also divided on this issue and 12 members out of 17 opposed Sirimavo Bandaranaike's decision. However, Sirimavo Bandaranaike nullified the decision of the Central Committee by having these 12 members expelled from the Central Committee at a meeting of the All-Island Committee held on 2nd August, 1981. This decision created a division within the SLFP and the party was split into the Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Maithripala Senanayake groups. [116] After a brief tussle, Sirimavo Bandara-

naike's group was recognized by the Election Commissioner on 9th September, 1982.

Meanwhile, the ruling UNP decided to hold the presidential election in 1982. Both groups of the SLFP supported Hector Kobbekaduwa as their candidate for the presidential election in 1982. Hector Kobbekaduwa, who also had the support of the CP, elements of the LSSP and some other small parties, was placed second in the presidential election and obtained 2,548,438 or 39.074% of the valid votes. [116]

Soon after, Anura Bandaranaike who had been in the Maithripala Senanayake group joined the Sirimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP. An internal conflict between those who supported him and Sirimavo Bandaranaike who supported his sister Chandrika and her husband, Vijaya Kumaranatunga, led to another split in the party in early 1984. When the Chandrika - Vijaya Kumaranatunga faction left the SLFP and formed the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP), Maithripala Senanayake and his followers rejoined the main SLFP.

The United National Party

The United National Party was formed in 1946 as a coalition of political groups, viz. elements of the Ceylon National Congress, the Sinhala Maha Sabha, the All Ceylon Muslim League, the Moors Association and some notable Tamil leaders. [249] Its president was D.S. Senanayake and the vice-presidents were S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sir John Kotelawala, G.E. de Silva, T.B. Jayah and A. Mahadeva. J.R. Jayawardene became the treasurer and Sir John Kotelawala was made chairman of the Propaganda Committee. [118]

The UNP constitution stated that membership was open to all who stood for the maintenance of the current economic system with some measure of progressive social reform. Rejecting the revolutionary path, the UNP claimed that it was the protector of democracy, religion, and civilization threatened by the Marxists. The UNP stressed that the main aim was the attainment of five freedoms: freedom of want, foreign control, unemployment, ignorance and disease. [267]

The UNP declared that it would strive to create a mixed economy with the support of the private sector. For this purpose it tried to set-up a proper environment for local and foreign entrepreneurs. Moreover, it sought to continue the food subsidy system, free medical services, expand the educational system to create more jobs and also to raise the standard of living. In external affairs the UNP claimed that it follows a middle path and would maintain links with the Commonwealth. [240]

After the declaration of policy, the new party obtained the support of estate and other land owners, press owners, graphite-mine owners, commercial entrepreneurs, transport services owners and white collar workers. The UNP has held office in the following periods since 1947:

1947-1951	- D.S. Senanayake.
1952-1956	- Dudley Senanayake and Sir John Kotelawala.

1960 May-July- Dudley Senanayake.
1965-1970 - Dudley Senanayake. (National Government)
1977-to-date - J.R. Jayawardene.

The UNP put forward 98 candidates for the first general election which was held in 1947. It faced major challenges and bitter criticism from the LSSP and the CP. In the election campaign, the UNP claimed that, it was the only party that stood for the maintenance of a democratic system of government. It argued that the Marxist parties would suppress individual liberties and religion, if they come to power. In the election the UNP was able to capture 42 seats. [28] Despite this, the UNP did not get a clear majority and had to get the help of independent members and appointed members to form a government. D.S. Senanayake became Prime Minister and he was later joined by the Tamil Congress.

During its first phase in Parliament (1947-1952), the UNP attempted to strengthen its organization. In January 1949 it organized a Youth League and a Womens' Union. At the end of 1952, the Youth League had formed 55 branches in 35 electoral districts. By 1951, the UNP had established 98 branches in 49 electoral districts, [118] and it increased to over two hundred by the time of the election in 1952. In the meantime, the Central Organization of the party had also developed. The party newspapers, *the United National Party Journal* in English and *the Siyarata* in Sinhala were published weekly for the purpose of propaganda.

At the death of D.S. Senanayake in 1952, his son Dudley Senanayake succeeded as Prime Minister [58] and continued the government till the next general election in the same year.

By the time of the election of 1952, political parties had increased in number and grown in organization. A majority of the candidates contested the election under party labels. In addition to the Marxist parties, the SLFP of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike challenged the UNP by contesting 48 electorates.

In the consequence of the no-contest alliance with the Tamil Congress, the UNP contested only 81 seats in Sinhala areas. They captured 54 seats and formed a government with the support of the Tamil Congress, the Labour Party and some

independents. Dudley Senanayake became Prime Minister and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike became the Leader of the Opposition. [103] Dudley Senanayake resigned in October 1953 and Sir John Kotelawala succeeded as leader of the UNP. [118]

During Sir John Kotelawala's period as Prime Minister, the party drifted towards the right. Owing to his policies some notable members of the party crossed over to the opposition and the UNP lost popular support. This led to the election debacle of the UNP in 1956. [104]

After 1956, the party adopted a more temperate attitude. It gave the public the impression that it regretted the errors it had committed during its first phase 1947-1956. From 1956 the party's main contention was that the country's economy was being ruined, that the cost of living had increased and that national unity had been disrupted by the SLFP. The UNP, for the first time, campaigned under the ideology of democratic socialism which it had adopted at its conference in 1958.

It was a pragmatic approach to the solution of social and economic problems. It rejected the view that the road to socialism was through state ownership. Their approach left room for private enterprise, state ownership and entrepreneurial initiative, and co-operative enterprises.

In the party manifesto for the March 1960 election, Dudley Senanayake stressed that he assumed the responsibility for re-establishing the stability and unity of the nation and added that he would include a number of measures if the UNP was returned to power. [257]

After 1955, the UNP changed its language policy. Like the SLFP, the UNP adopted the Sinhala-only policy and on account of this all the Tamil supporters of the UNP Coalition resigned in January 1956. [104] Although the UNP formed a government after the March 1960 election, its term was confined to a few months, because the UNP did not have a clear majority in Parliament. As a result, another election was held in July which resulted in a victory for the SLFP. [30]

In terms of party organization, the UNP made considerable progress during the period of 1960-1965. It organized the

trade unions, the Estate Workers Union and the National Employees Union in 1961, and also organized the Youth League and introduced study classes for party members. In the policy statement of 1963 the UNP stressed that the "policy and programme of a political party must necessarily change with the changes that take place in the country", and major stress was placed on economic development of the country.

During this period, the UNP was able to get the support of some traditional nationalist leaders and even from former leftist leaders. They participated in a rally which was organized by the UNP in November 1964 against the Press Bill of the SLFP government. They were I.M.R.A. Iriyagolla of *the Basha Peramuna*, K.M.P. Rajaratne of *the Jatika Vimukti Peramuna* and Philip Gunawardena of *the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna*. All these members had been founder members of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's Mahajana Eksath Peramuna of 1965. [118] In addition, the party attracted support from all communities except the Indian Tamils.

In 1965, the UNP entered the election campaign with the above leaders and C.P. de Silva, the leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party. In this election, the UNP alone secured 66 seats. [31] Immediately after the election, negotiations took place with the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress to form a government. As a result, a national government was formed under the premiership of Dudley Senanayake in 1965 [238] Dudley Senanayake who lasted the full five year term of office, went back to the people in May 1970, seeking a confirmation of his policies. But the UNP was defeated in the election and its strength was reduced to 17 seats. [108]

Immeidiately after the election, the leadership of the Opposition was given to J.R. Jayawardene. But the reform-oriented thinking of J.R. Jayawardene and the proposal of co-operation with the United Front Government not only caused a strained relationship between J.R. Jayawardene and Dudley Senanayake, but also caused a crisis in the party. Because of these measures taken by him, the Working Committee of the party acted to expel J.R. Jayawardene from the party. However, before the end of May 1972, both leaders were able to settle their differences to some extent. After the death of Dudley Senanayake in April 1973, the leadership of the UNP was

secured by J.R. Jayawardene. [216] In the meantime another crisis had occurred on the basis of leadership. It resulted in the departure of a small group of the party called the *Dudley Peramuna*.

Hereafter, the UNP was reorganized by its new leader. The party adopted a new constitution and new policies. [255] J.R. Jayawardene recognized the strength of the youth and set up the Student League in 1974. By June 1977 one million persons had joined the party through the one rupee membership and 1400 active branches of the party spread throughout the country. The new leadership of the party organized a *Sathyagraha* campaign and mass meetings during this period to oppose the policies and activities of the UF Government. In these meetings, J.R. Jayawardena stressed that, the UNP was no longer a party of the gentry, government agents or land owners, and stated that, he would end family bandyism and corruption when the next UNP government was established. In this campaign the UNP's most effective slogan was the creation of a *Dharmista Society* (Free and Just Society). [271]

After sweeping into power with 135 seats in June 1977, J.R. Jayawardene's UNP introduced a liberalised economic policy and an executive presidential system. [89] According to the new constitution J.R. Jayawardene's term in office did not expire till 1984. But he went back to the people on 22nd October, 1982 seeking confirmation for work already done and he sought a mandate to amend the constitution and extend the life of the presidency for another six years. [35] In the presidential election, J.R. Jayawardene won easily on the first count gaining 3,450,811 votes or 52.91% of the poll. Immediately after the massive victory, the ruling UNP proposed to hold a referendum to extend the life of the Parliament too. Even in the referendum held in December 1982, the UNP received 3,141,233 votes or 54.66% of the votes cast and received a mandate to rule the country till 1988. [116]

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka

The history of the Communist Movement goes back to the inception of the Left Movement in Sri Lanka in the 1930s. A number of Marxist intellectuals combined to form the Lanka Sama Samaja party in 1935. [389] In 1940, the Trotskyists Majority captured power in the Central Committee and expelled a number of leading members of the party for defending the 3rd International and the Soviet Union. Those expelled included Dr. S.A. Wickramasinghe, M.G. Mendis, Rev. U. Saranankara, A. Vythialingam, W. Ariyaratne, T. Duraisingham, D.P. Yosodis and K. Ramanathan. These Communists established the Colombo Workers Club in early 1940 as a first Communist Organization. In 1941 they formed the United Socialist Party which was later transformed into the Communist Party of Sri Lanka in July 1943. [331] Dr. S.A. Wickramasinghe became president and Pieter Keuneman served as the secretary of the party. [311]

In its policy statement, the party declared that it sought: (1) a foreign policy of independence from the West and support for peace and anti-colonialism; (2) economic development and industrialization with the aid of the Communist Block; (3) nationalization of foreign enterprises without compensation; (4) wage increases, labour legislation and workers' benefits; (5) assistance to the rural poor and tenant cultivators; (6) reform in the public service, armed forces and police; and (7) the use of national languages as the Official Languages instead of English.

The party claimed to be based on Marxism and Leninism and stated that it sought to defend the working class and all other progressive groups. Its main aspiration was to establish a democratic socialist society by peaceful means, but the party did not reject revolution and extra-parliamentary measures. [103]

After independence, the CP adopted a policy whereby it opposed the ruling UNP and tried to create a unity among the left forces to defeat it. [316] But the CP was unable to

forge such unity or get the other left forces under its banner. The electoral strength of the Communists has remained at about 100,000 votes since the first general election. [313]

For the election of 1952 the CP and the LSSP(R) made a United Left Front and put forward 19 candidates and secured 4 seats. But shortly after the elections the LSSP(R) broke away from the ULF. By 1956, the CP made a no-contest pact with the MEP, and the CP secured 3 seats in the general election of 1956. [103]

	Contested	Won
1960 March	53	3
1960 May	7	4

Besides its poor showing at the polls, the CP had considerable political influence. Its strength was based upon the trade unions in Sinhala urban areas and P. Kandiah was instrumental in organizing the unions in the Northern Province. [311]

A major conflict occurred within the CP in 1963, when it expelled N.S. Sanmugathasan, general secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF), from the party. [118] This major schism occurred because Sanmugathasan supported China in the Sino-Soviet conflict (he opposed the decision of the moderate group of the CP to create a coalition with the SLFP and the LSSP) and because of his condemnation of the CP's orientationto the parliament system and his 'betrayal of the revolution'. [288]

As a result of this split, a new party, CP (Peking) came into being under the leadership of N.S. Sanmugathasan, and the moderate group remained in the CP and it came to be known as CP (Moscow). In 1965 the CP (Moscow) contested 8 seats and secured only 4 seats. The CP (Peking) put forward 4 candidates but all of them lost their deposits. [31]

The expulsion of Sanmugathasan from the CP resulted not only in the division of the party, but also led to division in its trade unions. When Sanmugathasan formed the CP (Peking)

he also brought the CTUF over to his party, as an ancillary organization. Owing to that the CP (Moscow) organized the new trade union, Ceylon Federation of Trade Union (CFTU) and tried to regain power in the trade union sector. In addition to the CFTU it organized the Youth League, a women's League and a student League. At the 7th National Congress of the Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth in January 1976, it proclaimed that the registered membership of the federation had exceeded 30,000.

The CP (Moscow) has given a great deal of attention to propagandist activities. By 1964 it published English, Sinhala and Tamil weekly newspapers. In addition to that, it also started publishing a Sinhala language newspaper *Aththa* (Truth) in December 1964.

For the general election of 1970, the CP, LSSP and SLFP put forward a joint election manifesto embodying a common programme. [193] In this election, the United Front obtained an island-wide victory and the CP by itself secured 6 seats. But, before the end of the period of the parliament, the United Front collapsed. The CP and the LSSP left the SLFP and formed the United Left Front for the 1977 general election. [332] But it was unable to obtain a single seat. In the presidential election held in 1982, the CP gave its support to the SLFP candidate Kobbekaduwa against the UNP and in the referendum which was held in 1982 to extend the life of the parliament, the CP campaigned against the ruling UNP's proposal. [116]

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

(The People's Liberation Front)

During the 1960s a small ultra-Marxist group emerged within the Ceylon Communist Party (Peking) and split from the party in May 1965. This group included young university radicals under the leadership of Rohana Wijeweera who had attended the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow. [357] Until the end of 1967 this group [358] carried out an ideological struggle with other minor revolutionary groups in order to lay the foundation for the future revolutionary party, the objective being to capture political power through revolutionary means. This group initially sought to obtain the support of youth leagues, student associations and trade unions of existing Marxist parties. By 1967, the group rapidly gained support from the University Student Associations of Peradeniya, Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara.

The origin of the JVP can be traced to the Kelattewa discussion which was held in 1967. The trade union of the Land Development Department, Socialist Student Union of the University of Peradeniya, Dharmasekara-Jayakody Group of Vidyalankara University, Kotte group of D.I. Gunasekara and Rohana Wijeweera Group participated at the discussion. [348] As a result of this discussion, these five groups combined and formed the JVP with Rohana Wijeweera as its secretary. After the formation of the party Mahinda Wijesekera a member of the CP (Moscow) and a student leader at Vidyodaya University, moved over to the JVP.

During this period, the party concentrated in the rural sector to expand the party activities. For this purpose it organized intensive political education classes and discussion camps for rural youths in various parts of the island. By 1968 the JVPs theory was complete. It was formulated in a series of five lectures.

The topics of these lectures were as follows: Economic crisis; Independence; Indian Expansionism; Left Movement of Sri Lanka; and What path Sri Lanka's revolution should take. [368]

The JVP first emerged publicly during the election campaign of 1970. In this election, the JVP resolved to support the United Front of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. After the victory of the United Front, the JVP organized public rallies and mass meetings in various parts of the island. At these meetings, the government was criticised for its inactiveness and unfulfilment of promises. [341]

As a result, within a few months after the election victory the JVP began to clash with the government. The JVPs mass meetings and propaganda activities were greatly responsible for the expansion of the party throughout 1970-71. In this period, the party successfully penetrated the rank of young members of the Universities, teaching staff of the public schools and the public service, where cells were established among occupational groups, and its membership rose to 10,000 or higher during this period.

On the 2nd of April, 1971, the JVP decided to launch a revolution with a view to seizing political power. But the 1971 insurgency failed and many young insurgents died and others were imprisoned. [64] Subsequently, its leaders faced trial before the Criminal Justice Commission, which the United Front Government set up in 1972. As a result of the judgement of the Commission, the JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera and other prominent members of the party were detained in prison. [345] However, in 1977, all JVP suspects were released by the UNP government which came to power in that year.

Six years after the insurrection, the JVP came out again and engaged in politics as a recognized political party. The JVP has enthusiastically engaged in electoral politics [348] and it put forward candidates for the Anamaduwa and Galle by-elections, but they failed to win. Even though it was able to secure some seats in the DDC elections, the JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera contested the presidential election of 1982 and obtained only 273,428 votes or 4.19% of the total registered votes. [116]

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party

A group of intellectuals who had studied in Great Britain and in the United States returned to Sri Lanka in the early 1930s and formed the Lanka Sama Samaja Party on the 18th of December, 1935. However, before the establishment of the LSSP they had participated in trade union activities. The first trade union was organized by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva in 1932 and it was called the Wellawatte Mill Workers Union. In addition Dr. S.A. Wickramasinghe, Dr. N.M. Perera, M.G. Mendis, Philip Gunawardena and Leslie Gunawardena combined to direct the *Suriya Mal Movement* in protest against the British in 1933 [389].

According to its constitution, the LSSPs main objectives were: (1) socialization of the means of production and distribution; (2) abolition of social and economic inequality; (3) the elimination of oppression arising from differences of class, caste, race, creed or sex; (4) to achieve independence and create a specialist society. [403] The membership of the party was open to all who paid a subscription of 25 cents a month. But subsequently, its membership was limited to those who engaged in party activities, and because of that, the membership of the party has been limited and highly selective. Unlike the UNP or the SLFP the LSSP has remained a party of workers with little support from the general public. Owing to that, the LSSP has restricted its activities to organize trade unions in the Western Province. This enterprise was shown with the formation of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, the United Fort Workers Union, and the All Ceylon United Motor Workers Union. In addition to that, the LSSP was amalgamated into the Ceylon Federation of Labour and the Lanka Estate Workers Union. [389]

Immediately after the formation of the party, it faced the second general election held in 1936 and obtained the Avissawella (Philip Gunawardene) and Ruwanwella (N.M. Perera) seats. During this period party activities were expanded to

the plantation sector. In the first half of the 1940s, it organized the Ceylon Indian Congress and the All Ceylon Estate Workers Union. In 1936 the LSSP founded *the Samasamajists* a Sinhala paper and in 1938 *the Samatharuaru* a Tamil paper for the purpose of propaganda.[388]

At the inception of the party, there were two ideological tendencies among the members, while some followed Stalinism the others followed Trotskyism. This friction resulted in the expulsion of the Stalinist minority from the LSSP in 1939. [386] After the outbreak of World War II, the LSSP continued its agitation against British rule. On account of this, the party was banned and some of its leading members arrested, though some were able to escape to India and continue their activities from India. There was to be another split in the LSSP after the War,the reason being a struggle for the leadership of the party. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva broke away and formed the Bolshevik-Leninist Party in 1945. Both parties, however, followed Trotskyism.

In the general election of 1947, both parties contested a total number of 38 seats. The LSSP secured 10 seats and the BLP secured 5 seats. Since the LSSP had the largest number of seats next to the UNP, it gained the post of Leader of the Opposition (1950-1951).

In 1950, the BLP rejoined the LSSP, but it led to another split in the party. Philip Gunawardena who opposed the unification broke away from the party and formed the VLLSP (*Viplavakari Lanka Sama Samaja Party*) which subsequently formed a United Left Front with the Ceylon Communist Party for the general election of 1952. In 1952, the LSSP contested 40 seats and secured 9 seats and obtained a little over three hundred thousand votes. [37]

In 1950, the party proclaimed that its fundamental aim was to overthrow the capitalist state and capture political power with the aid of the working class. However, over the next decade the party moved from a revolutionary radical socialism to a reformist socialism.

By 1956, the LSSP made a no-contest pact with the MEP for the election of 1956. The LSSP itself put forward 21 candi-

dates and won only 14 seats. [103] But they once more secured the post of Leader of the Opposition (1956-1959).

From 1960, the moderate group of the party gradually attained greater strength, and this group led by Dr. N.M. Perera, signed a no-contest pact with the SLFP for the July 1960 election. [419] In the March 1960 election, the party had nominated 101 candidates and secured only 10 seats. But for the July election of the same year, it put forward 25 under the no-contest pact and obtained 12 seats. [30]

In 1964, Dr. N.M. Perera engineered a coalition with the SLFP, but the left-wing group led by Edmond Samarakkody condemned this action. This led to various repercussions. First, there was the formation of the new Trotskyists party, the LSSP (Revolutionary) by the leader of the splinter group Edmond Samarakkodi. This party was recognized as a Ceylon Branch of the Fourth International. Secondly, there came the expulsion of the LSSP from the Fourth International. [374]

For the election of 1965, the LSSP put up 25 candidates and it was able to secure 10 seats. But the LSSP (R) was unable to secure even their deposits. [31]

In 1968, the LSSP entered a United Front with the SLFP and the CP which put forwrd a common programme for the election of 1970. [193] In this election, the United Front obtained an island wide victory and the LSSP by itself secured 19 seats. Inspite of the fact that, when the UF formed a government after the election of 1970, there was a controversy between the SLFP (Right Wing) and its left partners. The ultimate result of the conflict was the expulsion of the LSSP from the UF Government in 1975.

For the purpose of the election of 1977, the LSSP, the CP and some other left parties formed the United Left Front [399] but, unfortunately, it was unable to obtain a single seat in the Parliament for the first time in the history at the Left Movement. [412]

Meanwhile, Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Wickramabahu Karunaratne and a small group of the LSSP had functioned as revolutionaries within the party and tried to give a revolutionary per-

spective to the party and its reformist leadership. Because of that, this group was expelled from the party by its old leadership in 1977. In a press statement this group *Nava Sama Samajist* explained that their attempt to fight against bureaucratic methods and opportunism, was the reason for this expulsion. Hereafter, the small group acted as a more radical Trotskyist group and an attempt was made to give the leadership to students and workers. Later, this group formed the NLSSP (*Navalanka Sama Samaja Party*) under the leadership of Vasudeva Nanayakkara, and its secretary at present, Wickramabahu Karunaratne. [413]

Both parties contested the presidential election of 1982. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva of the LSSP was able to obtain 58,531 votes or 00.897% of valid votes and placed fifth. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, candidate of the NLSSP obtained 17,005 votes or 00.261% of valid votes and was placed sixth. [116]

The All Ceylon Tamil Congress

The birth of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress in 1944 under the leadership of G.G. Ponnambalam [437] as a first political party of Tamil community was a milestone in Tamil politics. Within a short period of its inception, it was able to get the support of the Tamil majority in the Northern, Eastern and Western Provinces.

A major aim of the party was the achievement of balanced representation or a "Fifty Fifty" representation in the Parliament, by which the minorities were to get a number of seats equal to those obtained by the Sinhalese. [478] In addition to that, the party has sought to advance the political, economic, social and cultural interests of the Tamil community. The leader of the TC, G.G. Ponnambalam pressed the Soulbury Commission in 1947 to adopt the principle of balanced representation in the House of Representatives. But the other leader of the party, S.J.V. Chelvanayakam argued that only if Ceylon were organized as a Federal State would the minority Tamils gain sufficient regional autonomy to protect their own interests. [451]

Whatever the major proposals of the leaders may have been, both leaders contested on the TC ticket in the general election of 1947 and obtained 51% of votes in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, [28] and captured 6 seats.

After the election of 1947, G.G. Ponnambalam entered the UNP Cabinet as Minister of Industries. But Chelvanayakam and his followers in the TC remained in the Opposition till the formation of the Federal Party in 1949. [111] The major argument of the leader of the TC was that co-operation with the UNP Government was the best method of safeguarding the employment and other interests of the party supporters. [66] However, The Tamil Congress policy of co-operation with the UNP and formation of the FP badly affected the popularity and prestige of the TC among the Tamil community. Because of that, the party represented mainly the Colombo public servants

of Jaffna origin and it functioned as a pressure group of the UNP.

The TC supported the UNP Government from 1948-1953. When Sir John Kotelawala became Prime Minister, G.G. Ponnambalam was dropped from the Cabinet and the TC went over to the Opposition, but some of the members broke away and joined the UNP. [118]

Until the election of 1956, the TC was the most successful political party in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka. In the elections of 1956, March 1960, and July 1960, its electoral strength was reduced and it had only a single member in Parliament. During this period, the leader of the party was defeated twice, even though the party was able to capture three seats in the election of 1965. [29, 30, 31]

After the election of 1965, the National Government was formed under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake with the support of six other parties including the TC and the FP. In September 1965, the FP broke away from the government, but the TC was in the National Government till the 1970 election. [112] At the May 1970 election, the TC put forward 12 candidates and it won only 3 seats. [32] In 1972 the TC got together with the Federal Party and the Ceylon Workers' Congress to form the Tamil United Front, [478] and in May 1975, the new Party renamed itself the TULF. The new party intended to demonstrate the cohesion and determination of the Tamil speaking community in pursuing these demands and also to show their ethnic identity.

In the meantime, Kumar Ponnambalam, son of the late leader of the TC, G.G. Ponnambalam sought to contest in the general election of 1977 on the TULF ticket. But the TULF nominations for the election were confined to the most senior members of the party and the request of Kumar Ponnambalam was rejected. Because of this, he broke away from the TULF and re-established the TC. The TC under the leadership of Kumar Ponnambalam was recognised by the Election Commissioner. Kumar Ponnambalam contested the presidential election in 1982. During the campaign of the presidential election, he announced that he was contesting on behalf of the Tamil Nation, and he put forward the question of the separate Tamil Eelam State to the Tamil community and sought a mandate. In the presidential election he came fourth, and obtained 173,934 votes or 2.6% of the valid votes. [116]

The Ceylon Workers Congress (Political Wing)

The Ceylon Workers Congress was formed by S. Thondaman as an Indian Estate Workers Trade Union in 1950. It was an outgrowth of the Ceylon Indian Congress which was formed in 1939. [470] Unlike the other trade unions in Sri Lanka the CWC does not embrace any political faith, but it is committed to the parliamentary system. The main aims of this organization are: to uplift the condition of Tamil labourers who are engaged in the plantation sector; to expand their voting rights and also to get citizenship for more Indian Tamils by negotiating with the government. [440]

The CWC has been the dominant trade union organization of the Indian Tamil estate workers for more than three and a half decades. It controls the Indian Tamil votes in about fifteen to twenty-five seats in the plantation areas. According to its report of 1964-1965, its membership was a minimum of 343,195. [443]

At the beginning, the CWC maintained no party connection, but gradually it got involved in party politics. Because it supported the SLFP in the 1960 election, S. Thondaman and other members were appointed to the House of Representatives after the SLFP victory. [66]

In the March 1965 election, the CWC shifted to the UNP to protest against the terms of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of October 1964. After the victory of the UNP in 1965, S. Thondaman was named as appointed Member of the House of Representatives and another member of the organization was appointed to the Senate. [70]

After the defeat of the UNP in the general election of 1970, the CWC gradually allied itself with the major Tamil political parties and subscribed to form the TUF (Tamil United Front) in 1972. [478] In May 1975, the TUF stressed that its goal was the setting up of a separate free secular soverign socialist state of Tamil Eelam and renamed itself the Tamil

United Liberation Front (TULF). But the CWC opposed this demand for a separate Tamil State and withdrew from the TULF. [477]

With the introduction of the new constitution in September 1978, S. Thondaman, leader of the CWC entered the Cabinet of the ruling UNP. Since 1978, the CWC has been actively involved in implementing the UNP policies. Even in the presidential election and the referendum, Thondaman and the district representatives of the CWC were actively engaged in President J.R. Jayawardene's election campaign. [446]

The Federal Party

The Federal Party (*Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadohi*) was formed in December 1949 by a splinter group of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress of G.G. Ponnambalam. The founder members were, S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, C. Vanniyasingham and E.M.V. Naganathan. The Federal Party like the Tamil Congress, was formed as a communal organization to protect and promote the Tamil community. [470] Its leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam stated at the inaugural meeting of the party, "We have met together with the common aim of creating an organization to work for the attainment of freedom for the Tamil speaking people in Ceylon". The FP sought to unite the Tamil speaking people in the north, east and plantation areas, and also the Tamil speaking Muslims.

The main aim of the party was the formation of an autonomous Tamil state on a language basis within the framework of a Federal Union of Ceylon. [454] For this purpose, it sought to establish regional councils in various administrative districts including a single regional council for the Northern Province and two or more for the Eastern Province. Unlike the Tamil Congress, the FP adopted a radical programme and it launched a campaign of non co-operation and civil disobedience to pressurise the government. [66] Because of this policy adopted by the party, it received a great deal of support from the youth as well as the Tamil masses and Tamil public servants.

The Youth Front of the party has been adopted as a significant organ of the party since its inception. It organized activities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. In addition to the Youth Front, the party organized branch associations in most villages and urban areas. In 1962 the party extended its organizational activities to the platation areas and formed the Ceylon Workers Union. Dr. Naganathan was its first President. The Tamil weekly *Suthanthiran* started by S.J.V. Chelvanayakam had been the authentic voice of the Federal Party. [476]

For the general election of 1952, the FP put forward 7 candidates and secured only 2 seats. However, during the period 1952-1970, its political strength grew rapidly, because of its language issue, *Sathyagraha* campaign and other extra parliamentary activities. The disenchantment with the TC also contributed towards this growth in popularity. [466]

	Contested	Won
1952	7	2
1956	14	10
1960 March	19	15
1960 July	21	16
1965	20	14
1970	19	13

In 1956, 1957 and 1958, the party led the Tamil people to take extra-parliamentary activities against the language policy of the government. [470] But on the other hand, the party allied itself with the UNP and the SLFP on several occasions to obtain a better deal for the Tamil people. In 1956, 1960 and 1965, the FP contracted agreements with national political parties to protect the use of the Tamil language in the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka and also to get regional autonomy. [66] The agreement with the UNP in 1965 [465] proved more fruitful, but Sinhalese nationalists and the Buddhist sanga opposed the regional council system. This led to the withdrawal of the FP from the National Government led by Dudley Senanayake in 1968. [118]

In 1972, the FP, the TC, the CWC and other Tamil organizations as well as individuals combined to form the Tamil United Front, as an umbrella organization to puruse and to promote the rights of the Tamil speaking people. This organization was renamed the Tamil United Liberation Front in May 1976. [477]

The Tamil United Liberation Front

The TULF came into being in May 1976. But its history goes back to the inception of the Tamil United Front which was formed in 1972 as a coalition of the FP, TC, CWC and some notable Tamil leaders. [478] The party intended to demonstrate the cohesion and determination of the Tamil speaking people in pursuing their demands and also to show their ethnic identity. During this period, the Youth Organization of the party became a more powerful, active and influential organ of the party, and it consolidated its position within the party and outside. It sought complete political separation.

In May 1975, the TUF opted for a separate Tamil state and renamed itself as the Tamil United Liberation Front. In the first national convention of the TULF on 14th May, 1976, the party stressed that the Republican Constitution of 1972 had made the Tamils a slave nation ruled by the new colonial master, the Sinhalese. It stated that the Sinhalese used the power they had wrongly obtained to deprive the Tamil Nation's territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education. Moreover, the party stressed that the goal was the setting up of a separate free secular sovereign socialist state of Tamil Eelam. This state was to be constituted of "all the geographically contiguous areas that have been the traditional homeland of the Tamil speaking people in the country." [485]

The CWC was not in favour of the separate state and therefore, it withdrew from the TULF. [476] In the meantime, the TULF manifesto for the election of 1977 stressed that, an independent state be created either by peaceful means or by direct action. For this purpose, the party sought a mandate from the Tamils. [485] In this election it secured 17 seats in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and it was the major opposition party in Parliament. Its leader A. Amirthalingam became the Leader of the Opposition. [51]

The TULF organized a propaganda campaign at national and international levels to justify its demands for a separate

state. In 1982, when the ruling UNP introduced an amendment to the present constitution to extend the life of Parliament which was elected in 1977, for another six years, the TULF opposed the proposal. At the party conference which was held in Mannar on 23 July, 1983, the TULF decided that the sixteen members of Parliament of the party should resign from their seats after their six year period in Parliament ended.

Meanwhile, the government introduced the Seventh Amendment to the 1978 Constitution. Acording to the Act all government servants and Members of Parliament were obliged to take an oath for swearing separatist aspirations. But the TULF members of Parliament refused to take the oath and refused to go to the Parliament in accordance with a decision taken on the 7th August, 1983.

In the meantime, the most radical section of the Youth Organization of the TULF broke away and formed the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) in May 1982. Its major aim is to establish a separate Tamil state by armed struggle. In addition, the other group of Tamil radicals broke away from the TULF and formed clandestine organization called "Liberation Tigers" which established its base in Tamil Nadu, South India. This militant organization also broke into two secret factions in June 1982. One faction led by Uma Maheswaran and the other led by Prabakaran. However, both factions wished to come to power by armed struggle. These factions, including the TULF are involved in anti-government activities in the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka.

2

The Aim and Limitations of the Study and Sources for Further Research

The aim of this bibliography is to provide a comprehensive guide to the literature on political parties in contemporary Sri Lanka, from 1948-1984. This is an annotated, classified listing of writings in the English language. The entries are arranged under author, editor and person or body responsible for the publication. However, where it has not been possible to trace the person or body responsible for the publication the entries have been arranged under the title.

Books, articles in research journals and fortnightly periodicals, unpublished theses, dissertations, party manifestos, seminar and conference papers have been included, but election literature, Parliamentary Debates and newspaper articles have been omitted.

ELECTION LITERATURE

This includes party pamphlets, handbills, and leaflets as well as publications by party organizers and election candidates in many electorates. The National Archives, 7 Reid Avenue, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka and the University of Peradeniya Library, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, contain substantial amounts of election literature from the 1947 general election onwards.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES (HANSARD)

Another source of information on party politics, opinion and activities is provided by the Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) of the House of Representatives which have been published by the Government Printer, Colombo, Sri Lanka. The title of this publication changed three times as follows:

(1) *The Debates in the State Council of Ceylon, 1931*

(2) *The Parliamentary Debates (Hansard): House of Representatives. Official Report 1947*

(3) *The National State Assembly Debates: Official Report 1972*

(4) *The Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) : Official Report 1978*

Newspapers

Besides the above sources of information, articles in newspapers are a useful source of knowledge of the current position and new trends of the political parties. At present there are four leading newspaper groups in Sri Lanka. Of these the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon (Lake House) and the Times of Ceylon are controlled by the government.

(a) The Lake House Group

1. *The Ceylon Daily News* (1911) (English Daily)

2. *The Ceylon Observer* (1889) (English Daily)

3. *The Dinamina* (1909) (Sinhala Daily)

4. *The Janatha* (1953) (Sinhala Daily)

5. *The Silumina* (1930) (Sinhala Weekly)

6. *The Sunday Observer* (1923) (English Weekly)

7. *The Tinakaran* (1948) (Tamil Weekly)

8. *The Tinakaran* (1940) (Tamil Daily)

(b) The Times Group

1. *The Daily Mirror* (1961) (English Daily)

2. *The Lanka Deepa* (1947) (Sinhala Daily)

3. *The Lanka Deepa* (1951) (Sinhala Weekly)
4. *The Sunday Times* (1923) (English Weekly)

5. *The Times of Ceylon* (English Daily)

(c) The Sun Group (Davasa)

1. *The Davasa* (1961) (Sinhala Daily)

2. *The Dinapathi* (1966) (Tamil Daily)

3. *The Dinapathi* (1966) (Tamil Weekly)

4. *The Riviresa* (1961) (Sinhala Weekly)

5. *The Sun* (1964) (English Daily)

6. *The Weekend* (1965) (English Weekly)

(d) The Upali Group

1. *The Divaina* (1981) (Sinhala Daily)

2. *The Divaina* (1981) (Sinhala Weekly)

3. *The Island* (1981) (English Daily)

4. *The Island* (1981) (English Weekly)

(e) Independent Newspapers

1. *The Elanadu* (1959) (Tamil Daily)

2. *The Saturday Review* (English Weekly)

3. *The Virakesari* (1930) (Tamil Daily)

4. *The Virakesari Vara Valiyanadu* (1931) (Tamil Weekly)

(f) Party Newspapers

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party

The Dinakara (1977) (Sinhala Daily) Till the formation of SLMP in 1984.

The Free lanka (English Weekly)

The Jatiya (1984) (Sinhala Daily)

The Nation (1960) (English Weekly)

The Sinhala (Sinhala Weekly)

The Sri Lanka (Sinhala Weekly)

The United National Party

The Siyarata (1947) (Sinhala Weekly)

The UNP Journal (English Weekly)

The Vinivida (Sinhala Weekly)

The Ceylon Communist Party (Peking)

The Kamkaruwa (Sinhala weekly)

The Red Flag (English Weekly)

The Tolilali (1965) (Tamil Weekly)

The Vasantham (Tamil Monthly)

The Worker (English Weekly)

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow)

The Aththa (1964) (Sinhala Daily)

The Desabhimani (Tamil Weekly)

The Forward (1974) (English Weekly)

The Maubima (Sinhala Weekly)

The Nava Lokaya (Sinhala Weekly)

The Nava Sakthi (Sinhala Weekly)

The Tharuna Handa (Sinhala Weekly)

The Vama (1981) (Sinhala Weekly)

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

The Deshapremi (Sinhala)

The Gini Siluwa (1979) (Sinhala)

The Janatha Vimukthi (1970) (Sinhala)

The Niyamuwa (1977) (Sinhala Daily)

The Ratulanka (Sinhala Weekly)

The Seenuwa (Sinhala Weekly)

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party

The Kamkaruwa (1935) (Sinhala)

The Janadina (1965) (Sinhala Daily)

The Samadharman (Tamil Weekly)

The Sama Samajaya (Sinhala Weekly)

The Sama Samajist (English Weekly)

The Nava Sama Samaja Party

The Kamkaru Viththi (1981) (Sinhala Weekly)

The Vama Samasamajaya (Sinhala)

The Vame Satana (1972) (Sinhala)

The Revolutionary Communist League

The Ethirppu (Tamil)

The Kamkaru Mavatha (1972) (Sinhala Bi-Weekly)

The Virodaya (Sinhala Weekly)

The Tholilalar Pathai (1972) (Tamil Weekly)

Ceylon Workers Congress

The Congress News (1967) (English Weekly)

Federal Party

The Suthanthiran (Tamil Weekly) Till the formation of TULF 1976.

The Tamil United Liberation Front

The Suthanthiran (Tamil Weekly)

The Sri Lanka Mahajana Party

The Dinakara (Sinhala Daily)

Party Offices

In addition to the sources of information cited above, the following party offices in Sri Lanka hold both published and unpublished materials relating to various political parties in Sri Lanka:

The All Ceylon Tamil Congress,
No. 7 Gregory's Road,
Colombo 7.

The Ceylon Workers Congress,
72 Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha,
Colombo 7.

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka,
91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 7.

The Democratic Workers Congress,
98-A, Moideen Masjid Road,
Colombo 8.

The Federal Party,
K.K.S. Road
Tellippalai.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party,
457, Union Palace,
Colombo 2.

The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna,
195 Kew Road,
Colombo 2.

The Nava Sama Samaja Party,
17 Barrack Lane,
Colombo 2.

Peoples' Liberation Front,
14 K. Cyril C. Perera Mawatha,
Colombo 13.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party,
301 T.B. Jaya Mawatha,
Colombo 10.

The Sri Lanka Mahajana Party,
82 Vajiragnana Mawatha,
Colombo 10.

The Tamil United Liberation Front,
K.K.S. Road,
Tellipallai.
The United National Party,
Sri Kotha
532, Galle Road,
Colombo 3.

Source List of Abbreviations

BPP.....Bosath Bandaranaike Party.

CFL.....Ceylon Federation of Labour.

CFTU.....Ceylon Federation of Trade Union.

CP (Peking).....Ceylon Communist Party.

CP (Moscow).....Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

CTUF.....Ceylon Trade Union Federation.

CWC.....Ceylon Workers Congress.

DMK.....Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham Party.

DSP.....Dharmasamaja Party.

DWC.....Democratic Workers Congress.

FP.....Federal Party.

ISF.....Islamic Socilist Front.

JVP.....Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna.

JVP.....Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna.

LPP.....Lanka Prajatantrawadi Party.

LSSP.....Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

LSSP (R).....Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary).

MEP.....Mahajana Eksath Peramuna.

NLSSP.....Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

SLFP.....Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

SLFSP.....Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party.

SLMP.....Sri Lanka Mahajana Party.

SMP.....Sinhala Mahajana Peramuna.

TC.....Tamil Congress.

TELO.....Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization.

TUF.....Tamil United Front.

TULF.....Tamil United Liberation Front.

U.F.....United Front.

ULF.....United Left Front.

UNP.....United National Party.

V LSSP.....Viplavakari (Revolutionary) Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

List of Periodicals Consulted

* Asian Survey. (Berkeley. California).

* Asian Thought and Society: An International Review. (State University of New York).

* Aussenpolitik. German Foreign Affairs Review. (Hamburg).

* Australian Journal of Politics and History. (University of Queensland).

* Calcutta Review. (Calcutta).

* Call. (Delhi).

* Ceylon Economist. (Colombo).

* Ceylon Historical Journal. (Dehiwela).

* Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies. (Peradeniya).

* Ceylon Today. (Later Sri Lanka Today). (Colombo).

* Christian Worker. Bulletin of the Christian Workers Fellowship. (Colombo)

* Commentary. (New York).

* Current Affairs Bulletin. (University of Sydney).

* Current History: A World Affairs Journal. (Philadelphia).

* Eastern World: Asia Monthly. (London).

* Economic and Political Weekly. (Bombay).

* The Economic Review. (Colombo)

* The Economist. (London).

* Far Eastern Economic Review. (Hong Kong).

* Foreign Affairs Report. (Delhi).

* Fourth International: A Journal of International Marxism. (London).

* Government and Opposition. (London).

* Himmat. (Bombay).

* India Quarterly : A Journal of International Affairs. (New Delhi).

* International Socialist Review. (New York).

* Jana: The News Magazine of Resurgent Asia and Africa. (Colombo).

* The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics. (London).

* Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies. (Leiceter University).

* Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies. (Delhi).

* Lanka Guardian. (Colombo).

* Logos: A Journal of Christian Thinking. (Colombo).

* The Marxist Review: A Tri Annual Journal of Politics and Economics. (Calcutta).

* Militant International Review. (London).

* Modern Ceylon Studies: A Journal of the Social Sciences. (Peradeniya).

* Nation. (Colombo).

* New Age. (Colombo).

* New Commonwealth. (London).

* New Lanka. (Colombo).

* New Left Review. (London).

* New Times. (Moscow).

* Pacific Affairs. (Vancouver, British Columbia).

* Pacific Community: An Asian Quarterly Review. (Tokyo).

* Pakistan Horizon Quarterly. (Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachchi).

* Peking Review. (China).

* Political Science. (New York).

* Political Science Quarterly. Academy of Political Science. (New York).

* Problems of Communism. (Washington).

* Problems of Peace and Socialism. (Delhi).

* Quest: A Forum for Reflection in Ceylon. (Colombo).

* Red Flag. (Colombo).

* Round Table: A Quarterly Review of British Commonwealth Affairs. (London).

* Search Light. (Colombo).

* Social Science Review: Journal of the Social Scientists' Association of Sri Lanka. (Colombo).

* Socialist Nation. (Colombo).

* Sociological Focus. (University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.).

* South Asian Studies: Bi-Annual Journal of South Asian Studies Centre. (Jaipur).

* Spartacist. Fourth Internationalist : An Organ of Revolutionary. (New York).

* Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences. (Colombo).

* Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies. (Jaffna).

* Studies in Comparative Communism. (University of Southern California).

* Tamil Taimes. (London).

* The Tribune: A Journal of Ceylon and World Affairs. (Colombo).

* United Asia. (Bombay).

* Venture. (London).

* Verfassung und Recht in Uebersee: Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America. (Hamburg).

* World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism. (London).

* World Politics: Quarterly Journal of International Relations. (Princeton University).

* World Today. (London).

* Young Socialist. (Colombo).

3

Reference Works

Bibliographies, Catalogues, Guides, etc.

1. AMARASINGHE, N.

A catalogue of postgraduate theses available in the University and Research Libraries of Sri Lanka; comp. & ed. N. Amarasinghe, with the assistance of P. Wickramasinghe. Colombo: Ceylon National Library Services Board, 1978. [8], 197 p. (Ceylon National Library Services Board Publications, No.2).

2. _____

A catalogue of postgraduate theses available in the University and Research Libraries of Sri Lanka; comp. & ed. by N. Amarasinghe. Colombo: Sri Lanka National Library Services Board, 1982. 105 p. (Sri Lanka National Library Services Board Publications, No. 3).

3. BIBLOGRAPHY OF ASIAN STUDIES. 1969.

Edited by Estella S. Boyant and others. United States of America; Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 1969. (In progress).

This is a comprehensive list of publications in western languages on East, South and South-East Asia in the field of history, humanities and social science. Some titles in the field of Science, Technology and Medicine are also included. Entries arranged by geographical area, secondly by a classified list of subject headings. An author index is also provided.

4. BLOOMFIELD, B.C.
Theses on Asia, accepted by Universities in the United kingdom and Ireland, 1877-1964. 127 p.

Theses on Sri Lanka pp. 35-40.

5. CEYLON NATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, No. 1.

November 1962 Nuwara Eliya (Ceylon) National Bibliography Section, Department of Government Archivist. Ceylon, 1963. 3p.

6. _____

Vol. 1, No.1 (1963). (Nugegoda) Ceylon, National Bibliography Branch, Department of National Archives, 1963. (In Progress).

Contains current Ceylon publications in Sinhala, Tamil and English; and is based upon the materials deposited with the Registrar of Books and Newspapers under the Printers and Publishers Ordinance. Each part of this bibliography consists an alphabetical index of authors, titles, editors, translators, series and subjects of all publications followed by classified section. At present, it is published by the Sri Lanka Library Services Board, Colombo.

7. DE SILVA, C.R. *and* DE SILVA, Daya

Peradeniya Research : A bibliography of research publications by the Academic Staff of the Faculty of Arts and Oriental Studies, University of Peradeniya, 1952-1974. Peradeniya: Ceylon Studies Seminar, 1974. xx, 99 p.

Includes books, periodical articles, unpublished seminar papers and unpublished theses submitted for higher degrees. The entries are arranged alphabetically with thirty-six main subjects. Political Science, pp. 10-16.

8. DE SILVA, Daya. Articles on Sri Lanka, 1970-1973. *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol. 4 (1 & 2), 1973. pp. 101-111. 235 articles relating to the field of Social Sciences arranged alphabetically under author's name.

9. _____ Articles on Sri Lanka, 1974. *Modern Ceylon Studies,* Vol 1, 6 (1). Jan. 1975, pp. 88-91.

The style of presentation and arrangement of the articles are same as in the previous one. Includes 67 articles related to the field of Social Sciences.

10. _____ Writings of fifty years of universal franchise in Sri Lanka, 1931-1981. *Paper presented to the Seminar on Universal Adult Franchise;* Jointly organised by the Marga Institute and the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute, Colombo, 17-18 July 1981. 34 p.

This is a selected bibliography of 156 entries. Entries are arranged alphabetically under six divisions and annotations are given to some entries.

11. _____ *and* DE SILVA, C.R.

Sri Lanka (Ceylon) since independence (1948-1976) : A bibliographical survey of the literature in Sri Lanka in the field of Social Sciences. Hamburg; Asian Documentation Centre, 1978. xix, 172 p.

This is a selected bibliography on Society, Economy, Religion, and Politics of Sri Lanka. Includes 1611 entries. Entries are arranged alphabetically under 15 subjects headings. Politics, pp. 45-69.

12. DE SILVA, Daya *and* JAYASURIYA, N.

Peradeniya research : A bibliography of research publications by the Academic Staff of the Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, 1975-1980. Peradeniya: Ceylon Studies Seminar, 1980.

Supplement for the 1974 publication by C.R. de Silva and Daya de Silva. Arrangement of entries are in the same style as the previous one. pp. 8-11.

13.GOONETILEKE, H.A.I.

The April 1971 insurrection in Ceylon. A Select Bibliography. Louvain: Centre de Recherches Socio Relegieuses, Universite de Louvain, 1973. [3], 89 p.

This annotated bibliography cover books, periodical articles, pamphlets, official documents and newspaper articles relating to the radical youth movement and 1971 uprising.

14._____

The April 1971 insurrection in Ceylon : A bibliographical commentary. 2nd ed. rev. & enl. Louvain: Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses, Universite de Louvain, 1975. [4], 98 p., 50 plates.

Revised and enlarged version of the first edition published in 1973. Contains 400 entries and 50 plates.

15._____

A bibliography of Ceylon : a systematic guide to the literature on the land, people, history and culture, published in western languages from the sixteenth century to the present day. Vol. 5: Supplementing Volumes 1-4 and containing additional materials upto December, 1978. Zug: (Switzerland) : Inter-Documentation Co., 1983. (Bibliotheca Asiatica - 14).

Vol. I and II of this bibliography published in 1970 and Vol. III published in 1976. Specially from Vol. 3-5, more details and annotations are given than the first two volumes. Materials relating to the politics of Sri Lanka are included under the Part V (III). M. Post-Independence Period (from 1948 A.D. to the present day) and appendix : the April 1971 pp. 365-374, Vol. III, 1976, pp. 145-195 and Vol. IV, 1983 : pp. 205-265.

16._____

General elections and electoral behavior in Sri Lanka : A basic guide to selected literature. Colombo: Marga Institute, 1980. 17p. (Marga bibliographies - 1).

A partially annotated bibliography containing 124 entries. It is based on the reports, books, periodical articles and unpublished thesis from 1911 to the present day. Author index and title index not provided, but entries are arranged as a alphabetical author list.

17._____

The Sri Lanka insurrection of 1971 : a select bibliographical commentary. *Religion and the Legitimation Power in South Asia.* Ed. by Bardwell L. Smith. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978. pp.134-183.

Updated edition of the 1973 and 1975 publication. Arrangement of the entries are same as above. Not classified under sub-division.

18.GOPAL, Krishna

Thesis on Indian Sub-Continent (1872-1971) : An annotated bibliography of dissertations in Social Sciences and Humanities accepted with the Universities of Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland and United States of America. Ed. by Dhanpat Rai. Delhi: Hindustan Publication Corporation, 1977. 462 p.

Entries are arranged under subject headings and alphabetically under author index. Thesis related to Sri Lanka appears in pp. 386-410.

19.*INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS*

Vol. 1, No. 1 (1951), Paris. Published bi-monthly by the International Political Science Association under the auspices of the International Social Science Council, in cooperation with the International Committee for Social Science Documentation Centre and with the financial support of UNESCO, 1951. (In progress).

This comprehensive abstract contains periodical articles in European languages relating to the field of political science. Articles in English are abstracted in English and those in other languages are abstracted in French. There

are six main sections and cumulated subject index and cumulated author index are arranged subject-wise and country-wise. Most convenient reference for researchers.

20. KEARNEY, Rober N. A documentary guide to research on contemporary politics in Sri Lanka. *South Asian Library Resources in North America. Paper from the Boston Conference* 1974. Ed. by L.P. Maureen, Paterson and Martin Yanuck, (1975). pp. 211-221.

Revised version of the bibliography in his "Politics in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) 1973 : pp. 233-234.

21. SHULMAN, F.J. *comp.*

Doctoral dissertations on Asia : an annotated bibliography of currentI International research. Ann Arbor: Michigan, Xerox University Microfilms and the Association for Asian Studies, 1975. Vol. 1 (1) Winter 1975. 58 p.

This is a semi-annual compilation designed to provide information for recently accepted and in-progress dissertations dealing with Asia on various fields. All dissertations are arranged country-wise by alphabetical order and author index is also provided.

22. _____

Doctoral dissertations on South Asia 1906-1970 : An annotated bibliography covering North America, Europe and Australia. Ann Arbor : Centre for South and South-East Asian Studies. The University of Michigan, 1971. xvii, 228 p.

Pages 11-19 lists items on Ceylon in alphabetical order, thesis on politics are also included.

23. _____

Doctoral dissertation on Sri Lanka (Ceylon) submitted to institutions of higher learning in the United States, Canada, Western Europe and Australia 1966-1974. Maryland: University of Maryland, McKoldin Library, 1976. 17 p.

Includes 226 thesis related to Sri Lanka. This paper specially prepared for the Sri Lanka Round Table discussion, 28th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Toronto, March 19, 1976. This is a list of theses arranged alphabetically under authors name only. Not arranged under the main subjects.

24. SRI LANKA. University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya. *Theses presented for higher degrees of the University of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Peradeniya, Supplement (1971-1976). Deposited in the Library of the University of Sri Lanka at Peradeniya : A Classified List with Author and Title Index with two appendices of theses of Ceylonese candidates presented to foreign Universities, and theses by foreign candidates presented to foreign Universities.* Peradeniya: University of Sri Lanka Library, 1977. iv. 14 p.
This is a supplement for the "Theses presented for Higher Degrees of the University of Ceylon (1942-1971) published in 1971. Entries arranged under main subjects. Author index and title index are provided.

25. SRI LANKA. University of Peradeniya. *Theses presented for higher degrees of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka; Supplement (1976-1981) : A classified list with author and title index. With two appendices of theses by Sri Lankan candidates presented to foreign Universities; and thesis by foreign candidates presented to foreign Universities.* Comp. by M.A. Gunapala. Peradeniya: University of Paradeniya, 1983. 23 p. (University of Peradeniya Library Publication No. 4).
Supplement for the 1971 edition. The style of presentation and the subjects arrangements of this work remain the same as in the previous edition. Political Science pp. 9 & 13.

26. TRIKHA, Sudha

South Asia : a selected bibliography. Jaipur, South Asian Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, 1977, 174 p.
Includes books, periodical articles, reports and pamphlets available in the South Asian Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan Library on South Asian region. Material is arranged subject-wise and country-wise. Materials related to Sri Lanka appears on pp. 87-89.

General

27.AHAMAD, Naveed

Recent development in Sri Lanka. *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 32 (3), 1979, 30-45.

The main aim of this article is to investigate the historical importance of the Election of July 1977 and its impact on the politics of Sri Lanka. It further examines the major changes introduced in the Constitution, judicial structure and local government by the UNP (1977). The changes since have been criticised as undemocratic.

28.CEYLON DAILY NEWS

Parliament of Ceylon 1947 - Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., [194] 156 p.
This volume includes a short account of the first general elections and a short biography of each of the winning candidates.

29._____

Parliament of Ceylon 1956. Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., - 1956. 106 p.

A brief sketch of the defeat of the UNP and the victory of the MEP led by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaika. The result of the general elections and a short biography of each of the winning candidates are also included.

30._____

Parliaments of Ceylon March and July 1960. Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., 1962. 258 p.

An account of the March 1960 election and the fall of the UNP Government at the elections. General Elections of July

1960 and the SLFP victory. The full result of the general elections and a biography of the each of the winning candidates. The election manifesto of the SLFP, UNP, FP, LSSP, MEP, LPP, of Dahanayake, TC, CP, SMP of Irriyagolla, JVP of Rajaratna, SLJP of Somaweera Chandrasiri and the Bosath Bandaranaike Party of S.D. Bandaranaike. In addition, the SLFP -LSSP no contest pact is also included in this volume.

31._____

Parliament of Ceylon 1965. - Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., 1965, 206 p.

A brief account of the formation of the U.L.F. in 1963 by the C.P., L.S.S.P and the V.L.S.S.P. the Press Council Bill and the fall of Sirimavo Bandaranaika's Government in 1964. Major issues of the political parties of the 1965 general elections and the formation of the National Government by Dudley Senanayake with other six parties are included. The full results of the General Elections and a biographical sketch of each of the winning candidates. The election manifestos of the UNP, SLFP, FP, SLFSP, TC, MEP AND LSSP (R) are also included.

32._____

Parliament of Ceylon 1970. - Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., 1971, 206 p.

This volume includes a brief description of the activities of the opposition parties in the Parliament since 1965-1970, the common programme which was adopted in 1968 by the SLFP, LSSP and the CP, and the issues of the parties at the elections. A brief history of the SLFP, LSSP, CP, UNP, FP and the TC, the full results of the general elections and a biographical sketch of each of the winning candidates. The election manifestos of the UF (SLFP, LSSP, CP), UNP, FP, TC and the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya are also included.

33._____

Parliament of Sri Lanka 1977. - Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., 1977, 350 p.

A brief introduction on the last Government of Mrs.Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the UNP activities as a major opposition party and issues of the political parties at the General Election. The full list of the election results with a short biography of each of the winning candidates, brief history of the UNP, SLFP, TULF, TC, FP, CWC, ULF, LSSP and the CP, till 1977 and election manifestos of the UNP, SLFP, TULF and the ULF are also included.

34.DE SILVA, C.R.

Ideology and social forces in the General Election of 1977 in Sri Lanka.

Asian Thought and Society. Vol. III (8) 1978, 163-177.

The author is Professor in History, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, traces the origin of the political debacle of the UF parties, Election campaign of the UNP and SLFP in the General Elections of 1977.

35._____

Sri lanka: A vote for continuity. *Asian Thought and Society*. Vol. 8 (22-23) March - July 1983, 146-149.
This article is based upon the Presidential Election and the Refrendum held in 1982. In his analysis the author points out that the lack of a viable candidate for the Opposition, the SLFP feud from 1980, LSSP and JVP competition with Kobbekaduwa, and the weakness of Kobbekaduwa are causes for the UNP victory. The reasons for the proposal to hold a referendum, UNP victory and the rise of J.R. Jayawardene as a powerful political figure are also dealt with.

36._____ G.B.

A complete revolution in Sri Lanka's political clock. Kandy: Offset Printers, [1982], 32 p.

Deals with the factors that resulted in the fall of the SLFP and the LSSP in the General Elections. Voting

patterns of the general election from 1970 and also reference to the legality and justification of the Referendum is dealt with.

37.DE SILVA, G.P.S.H.

A statistical survey of elections to the Legislatures of Sri Lanka 1911-1977. Colombo: Marga Institute, 1979. 439p.

In this survey, the names of all contestants have been given according to electorates and have been placed against the parties which nominated them. From the given tables one would be able to see the behaviour of a particular electorate, the performance of a particular candidate or party, or how a candidate had changed his party alliances in a particular electorate, and from the index one could see the migration of a candidate from one electorate to another. This publication also contains a list of officials who conducted the elections, a list of the names of political parties and the tables showing the successive cabinets and their changes. The author of this volume is the Deputy Director, National Archives, Sri Lanka.

38.DE SILVA, K.M. A new balance of forces : Sri Lanka in the 1960s. *A History of Sri Lanka*, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1981. pp. 525-532.

While analysing the politics and political forces in Sri Lanka the author discusses the main political parties and their relationship to minor parties. The author is Professor in History at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

39._____ Political and constitutional change in Sri Lanka: the UNP consolidate its position. *Round Table*, No. 273, 1979: 49-57.

While analysing the political and constitutional changes in Sri Lanka, the article discusses the reasons for UNP victory, positions of TULF and other minor parties in the 1977 General Election.

40._____ Sri Lanka's first decade of independence. Phase II : In the transfer of power. *Verfassung und Recht in Uebersee*. Vol. 8 (3-4), 1975, 331-344.

Presents an analysis of the post-independence political development under the UNP and the SLFP alliance with Marxist Left parties. Shows that the rise of nationalism under the SLFP regime and programmes of the SLFP marked the new phase of transfer of power to local politicians.

41.DE SILVA, Manik. Let us keep it clean. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* May 21, 1982 : 36-37.

A note on the anti-corruption resolution made by the Government.

42.DE SILVA, Mervyn. Facing up to shifting alignment. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* 1977: 11-13.

An account of the political scene prior to the General Election of 1977. The programmes and campaign of the ruling party and other Opposition parties are given by a leading journalist in Sri Lanka.

43.DUBY, Swaroop Rani. Sri Lanka : A Survey of events, 1970-1972. *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 8 (1), 1973, 100-118.

Alecturer in political science at the South Asian Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, gives a short account of the General Elections in 1970 and position of the political parties, pp. 100-101.

44._____ Trends and issues in contemporary politics. *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 12 (1&2), January - June & July - Dec. 1977, 86-99.

An account of the political situation of Sri Lanka since 1976 and election campaign of the political parties in the election of 1977.

45.ELECTIONS, economic and the electorate. *Economic Review*, Vol. 3 (2), May 1977, 3-15.

Concerning the socio-economic development of the country, it examine the formation of the political parties from 1930 onwards. A brief analytical note on major issues of the various Governments and Opposition parties in elections

since 1947 is also provided. Its statistical tables give the number of votes and percentage polled by major political parties. The percentage of votes secured by the parties in different provinces, and the changing geographical dispersion of party influences also indicated in this tables.

46. FERNANDO, Philip

Mandate 1970 : A journalist view of Ceylon's general elections of 1970. [Moratuwa: D.P. Dodangoda & Co., 1970]. 88 p.

The first part of the book discusses the election issues, strategy, campaign and propaganda activities of the UF against the UNP. It next examines the progress of Bandaranaike's policies and the new leadership of the SLFP. The third part discusses the victory of the UF and finally it gives the statistics of the polls from 1947-1970.

47. FERNANDO, Tissa. Political and economic development in Sri Lanka. *Current History*, Vol. 81 (475), May 1982, 211-214. The author is an Associate Professor in Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Discusses the political development, parties and elections activities since 1948.

48. GAJANAYAKE, Ananda. Clean sweep in Sri Lanka. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 12 (31), July 30, 1977, 1212-1213.

Examines the reasons for the victory of the UNP and the defeat of the Leftist parties in 1977 election.

49. GAMLIN, Timothy R. *Ceylon's political parties in three general elections, 1960 and 1965.* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Duke University, Durham), 1968. 310 leaves.

50. GENA, G.B. Political Survey of Ceylon 1966. *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 2 (2), July 1967, 171-190.
Mainly concentrates on the political development since the elections in 1965; the post-elections polarization of the island's numerous political parties and groups in the two camps. The author is a Research Officer at the South Asian Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan.

51.GENERAL Elections 1977 analysis, issues and propaganda.

Economic Review. Vol. 3(4), July 1977, 3-14.
This article consists of four parts. The first part discusses the major issues of the political parties, their strategy and objectives in the elections. Secondly it examines the change in provincial voting patterns between the last two general elections - 1970 and 1977. The table of this part gives the number of votes cast and percentage polled by the major political parties. Thirdly it discusses the voter preferences for major political parties. The last part examines the geographical demographical as well as the electoral mandate of the Tamil population for the TULF's major demand of a separate Tamil Eelam State.

52.GHOSE, Samaresh Prasad. Parties and pressure-groups in Sri Lanka *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I (1), July - Sept., 1975, 66-79.

53.JANGAM, R.T. The party system in Ceylon. *United Asia*, Vol. 15 (2), Feb. 1963, 108-111.

54.JAYASURIYA, D.L. The Sri Lanka general elections of 1977. *Dyason House Papers : Australia, Asia and the World*, Vol. 4 (1), August 1977, 6-10.
The author is Professor, Department of Social Work, University of Western Australia, points out the nepotism, corruption, misuse of political power by the SLFP and the economic and youth problem under the SLFP regims were led to the UNP victory. He argued that the election results are a landmark and a turning point in the social and political development of Sri Lanka.

55.JENNINGS, Ivor Sir. Additional notes on the general election of 1952. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. 2 (3-4), 1953, 193-208.
The main aim of this survey is to provide a few additions and corrections to the article by I.D.S. Weerawardene on the general elections of 1952. In the first part of this article, he argues that the Indian citizenship question is less important for the UNP victory. Secondly, it examines the effects of fundamental election issues of the political parties. And thirdly, it argues that the arrangement of the elections on four days, the political climate in May 1952 and the dis-unity of the Opposition parties were favourable to the UNP victory in 1952.

56._____ The Ceylon General Election of 1947. *University of Ceylon Review.* Vol. 6 (3), July 1948, 133-195.

This article gives the details of the formation of the UNP and the position of anti-UNP parties in the election of 1947. The weakness of the party organization, defects of their election manifestos are discussed. Moreover party strength and total polls gain by each party are also examined. The appendix 1-4 provides the additional statistics on election results and party distribution in each province.

57._____

Nationalism and political development in Ceylon. New York: International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations 1950. 52 p. (Secretariat Paper No. 10).

Traces the political parties and groups that contested the 1947 General Elections. D.S. Senanayake's Government and strength of other parties on pages 43-48.

58._____ Politics in Ceylon since 1952. *Pacific Affairs.* Vol. 27 (4), Dec. 1954, 338-352.

A brief account of the UNP's new leadership, the formation of the SLFP in 1951 and activities of other political parties.

59.JIGGINS, Janice.
Caste and family in the politics in Sinhalese 1947-1976. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979, xiii. 189 p.

60.JUPP, James. Democratic Socialism in Sri Lanka. *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. 50 (4), Winter, 1977-1978, 623-643.
Socialist Movement in Sri Lanka is normally considered as consisting of three parliamentary parties. The SLFP, LSSP, CP and a number of extra-parliamentary groups, and examines their ideology, alliances and common programmes, pp. 625-631. Moreover, main attention is given to discuss the election campaign of the UNP, SLFP and other parties in 1977 elections pp. 636-639. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association in 1977. The author is Professor at York University.

61. _____ *Five Sinhalese nationalist politicians. The making of politicians : Studies from Africa and Asia*; ed. by W.H. Morris-Jones. London: The Ahtlone Press, University of London, 1976, pp. 183-194.

Traces the significant part played by the five nationalist politicians - W. Dahanayake, Philip Gunawardena, I.M.R.A. Iriyagolla and R.G. Senanayake.

62. _____ Political leadership in Sri Lanka : The Parliamentary parties. *Leadership in South Asia*; ed. by N.B. Pandy. Delhi: Vicas Publishing House, 1977. pp. 483-499.

Describing the education, social and family background of the politicians the author points out that the political leadership in Sri Lanka is confined to a small group or one or two families.

63. _____

Some aspects of Parliamentary democracy in Ceylon with particular reference to the period 1956-1970. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London), 1975, 310 leaves.

64. _____

Sri Lanka : Third World democracy. London; Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1978. xxi, 423 p. (Studies in Commonwealth politics and history: No. 6).

This valuable book on contemporary politics of Sri Lanka by a well known Professor at York University surveys the operation of Parliamentary democracy based on adult suffrage since 1931 till 1977 general elections. Development of the democratic institutions such as parties, trade unions, pressure groups and the forms of popular participation without abandoning the parliament forms of traditions also dealth with following chapters. The politics of independent Ceylon, Politics and Society, Sinhalese party politics. Party organization, minority parties, opinion and pressure, electoral politics, transplanted institutions. Reforming the political system. The revolutionary challenge and from Ceylon to Sri Lanka.

65. KEARNEY, Robert N.

Ceylon : A Study in Political Change. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles), 1963.

66. _____ *Communalism and language in the politics of Ceylon.* Durham; North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967. 165 p.

67. _____ The development of political party system in Sri Lanka. *Paper presented to the Seminar on Universal Adult Franchise.* Organized by the Ceylon Studies Seminar in association with the Marga Institute and the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute, Colombo, 17-18 July, 1981. 21 p.

This paper traces the broad trends in the development of the party system and specify the major contours of the contemporary system relying almost entirely on electoral data. The author is Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, U.S.A.

68. _____
New Direction in the Politics of Ceylon. *Asian Survey,* Vol. 7 (2), Feb. 1967, 111-116.

Pages 111-112 are devoted to a discussion of the polarization of the island's numerous political groups into two hostile camps.

69. _____ The political party system in Sri Lanka. *Political Science Quarterly,* Spring, 1983 : 17-33, 7 tables.

This article traces the major contours of the contemporary party system, relying primarily on electoral data, and provides extensive assessment of the implications for the party system of a shift from a plurality electoral system to one based on proportional representation.

70. _____

The Politics of Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Ithaca; and London: Cornell University Press, 1973. XVII, 249 p.

This study deals with the character functioning and development of the political system in Sri Lanka during the period, 1948-1972. An attempt has been made to discuss the popular mass participation in politics. The 1971 insurrection is also discussed.

71. _____ Politics and Modernization. *Modern Sri Lanka : A Society in Transition*; ed. by Tissa Fernando and Robert N. Karney, New York: Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 1979. pp. 57-81.

Discusses the development of the party system, unity and coalition among the parties under UNP and SLFP since 1977, pp. 61-69.

72. KEUNEMAN, Pieter. The future of political parties. *New Age*, Vol. 1(1) March, 1946, 1-6.

Critically reviews the politics of the National Congress and the impact of the Newspapers on political parties, the importance of Mass organization and collective action of the parties in future. The author is present President of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

73. KURUKULASURIYA, G. Ceylon in the Asian Region. *Pacific Community*. No. 2, Spring 1969 : 104-113.

Based on the general elections results of 1960 and 1965 the author discusses the strength of the political parties, disunity of the UNP with the Federal Party and the formation of the Dravidian Munetra Kazhagam (DMK), pp. 107-112.

74. LUDOWYK, E.F.C.

The Modern History of Ceylon. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966. pp. 203-271.

A description of political development in Sri Lanka since 1948 to 1965. This gives a coverage of the political parties and their programmes and policies.

75. _____

The Story of Ceylon. London : Faber and Faber, 1962.

Pages 281, 282, 286, 288 and 292 discuss the progress and activities of the political parties till the end of 1950s.

76. MALIK, Harji. Sri Lanka : the elections and after. *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 4 (3), 1977, 245-256.

The major aims of this article are to examine the reasons for the UNP victory in 1977 and discusses its activities. As a background of the main theme it discusses the growth of two party system, the formation of the JVP and the Tamil Question.

77. MANOR, James. The failure of political integration in Sri Lanka. (Ceylon). *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 17 (1), 1979, 21-46.

The main aim of this essay is to examine the regular alternation in power of major political parties (the UNP and SLFP) and the affects of a problem of ethnic suspicion to the failure of political integration in which was a partial but major cause of each. It further argued that the failure to bridge the gap between the apex and the base of the political system, between the political elite and the rural masses, had made it impossible for any ruling party to develop the kind of power base which is required to secure re-election. The popular feelings in the pre-election period begins to swing behind the opposition, and the ruling party lacks the substantive links with people at intermediate and local levels to contain and withstand that disaffection, are causes of the failure of political integration. Finally it shows that, as the failure of political integration has caused the alternation in power of the major parties, that feature of Sri Lanka political constitutes a symptom of the system's weaknesses and is not a sign of its strength.

78. MATHEWS, Bruce. Recent development in Sri Lanka politics. *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 51(1) Spring, 1978 : 84-100.
Describes the political situation in Sri Lanka in the 1977

General Elections and points out the reasons for victory of the UNP and for the defeat of SLFP and Marxist Left parties. The author is an Associate Professor of Eastern Religions at Acadia University, Nova Scotia, Canada.

79. MATHUR, P.C. Political parties in South Asia. *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 3 (1), January, 1968, 83-118.

A report of a discussion and a comment on G.B. Gena's paper on "Ideological Orientation of political parties in Ceylon", submitted to the Seminar on Political Parties in South Asia on Oct. 9-11-1967. Comments are included in pp. 91-95.

80. MORRIS, W.W.

Patterns of electoral politics in Ceylon 1947-1970. (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of illinois, Urbana), 1971. 274 leaves.

81. MUKERJI, Krishna P. Parties and politics in Ceylon. *Foreign Affairs Report.* Vol. 2 (10 & 11), October - November 1953, 121-142.

82. MUKERJI, Sadham.

Ceylon island that changed. Delhi : People's Publishing House, 1971, xiii, 135 p.

A general discussion of the growth of a party system since the formation of the National Congress in 1919, and the various United Fronts formed by the Left and the other democratic forces after independence.

83. NAVARATNE, G.K. Ceylon - little country with too many parties. *Eastern World.* Vol. 22 (1 & 2), January - February 1968, 9-12.

84. PEIRIS, Denzil.

1956 and after : background to parties and politics in Ceylon today. Colombo: Associated Newspaper of Ceylon, 1958. [8]. 31 p.

85. PERERA, Wilfred. Coalition - illusion and reality. *Young Socialist*, Vol. 3 (3), June 1965, 91-105.

Discusses the class character of the SLFP, Unity of the progressive forces, United Left Front, antimarxist campaign and victory of the UNP. Critically comments on the SLFP-LSSP coalition.

86. PHADNIS, Urmila. Electoral processes and party politics. *Sri Lanka*. Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 1973. pp. 63-70.

Discusses the evolution of party system from a multiple party system to a two major party system. Minor parties and groups have come to terms with one of the two big parties. The author is a Professor at the School of International Studies. Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, India.

87. _____ Parties and politics in Ceylon. *Political Science*, Vol. 3 (1) May 1964, 26-42.

88. _____ Party system and religious issues : the interaction. *Religion and politics in Sri Lanka*. Delhi: Manohar Book Services, 1976, pp. 109-157.

While discussing the development of the party system till the 1970s an attempt has been made to analyse the UNP, SLFP, LSSP, CP and the Federal Party's religious issues and performance.

89. _____ The political order in Sri Lanka under the UNP regime:Emerging trends in the 1980s. *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXIV (3), March 1984, 279-295.

The author points out that the elections of 1977 and the aftermath which caused three major trends in Sri Lanka polity. They were, a severe set-back to the two major political party system which had evolved since the 1956 elections. A change over from the Westminster model of Parliamentary system to a Gaulist type presidential system connoting an increasing centralization power in the national executive and the manipulation of the constitutional

apparatus for the continuation of the political *status quo*.

90. _____ Politics of coalition government in Ceylon, *Tribune*, June 30, 1971 : 26-28; July 14, 1971 : 12-13 and August 29, 1971 : 19-21.

As analytical description of the evolution and performance of the various coalition governments in Sri Lanka from 1947 to 1970. Author examines the coalition government of 1947, People's United Front (MEP) Government of 1956, SLFP-LSSP Coalition Government of 1960 and National Government of 1965. This paper presented at the Seminar on Politics of Coalition Government.

91. RUSSELL, Jane. Sri Lanka election turning-point. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. XVI (1), 1978, 79-97.

Deals with the origin and collapse of the United Front. Re-fashioning of the UNP after 1974. Election campaign of the parties. General elections in 1977 and reasons for the defeat of the SLFP in 1977 are also discussed.

92. SAMARASINGHE, S.W.R. de A.

Sri Lanka 1982 : A Year of elections. *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXIII (2) February 1983, 158-164.

The presidential election and the party situation are also discussed briefly.

93. SAMARAWEERA, Vijaya. Sri Lanka's 1977 General Elections : the resurgence of the UNP. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 17 (12), December, 1977, 1195-1206.

An analysis based on the election results of the 1977 General Elections. The reasons for the UNP victory as well as the defeat of the SLFP and the Marxists parties are dealt with. The author is an Associate Professor at Western Carolina University, U.S.A.

94. SANMUGATHASAN, N.

A Marxist looks at the history of Ceylon. Published in Europe: 1972, i, 118 p.

95. SARAN, P.

Government and politics of Sri Lanka. Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co. Ltd., 1982, pp. 98-146.

Chapter 8 of this book discusses the party politics and party system of Sri Lanka till 1981. Chapter 9 is on political parties and interest groups. It discusses the growth of political parties from the beginning to 1981.

96. SRI LANKA's General Elections of 1977. Statement of the Working Committee adopted on 20th August, 1977. *Christian Workers*, August 1977 : 1-4.

The UNP victory and the defeat of the SLFP and other parties.

97. SRI LANKA 1981. *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Oct. 16 1981. pp. 52-80.

A general survey of politics, economy and society of Sri Lanka. It draws attention to the growth of democratic tradition, constitutional changes since 1972, foreign relations of Sri Lanka under the UNP government since 1977, pp. 54-57. The TULF and the demand of Tamil Eelam and the position of the political parties in 1970s are examined - (pp. 59-62).

98. THREE general elections of the last decade; trends in voter-performance; for the major political parties. *Economic Review*, Vol. 3 (2) May 1977, 16-18.
An attempt is made to analyse the results of the general elections of July 1960, 1965 and 1970 with a view to assessing the performances of the principal political parties.

99. Too many parties in Ceylon. *New Commonwealth*, Feb. 1960 121-122.

A comment on the strength and weaknesses of the political parties in Ceylon.

100. VANHANEN, T. On the conditions of the multi-party system in Commonwealth countries. *Journal of the Commonwealth Political Studies*, Vol. 8 (1), March 1970, 40-53.

101. VOLSKY, D. Defeat for reaction in Ceylon. *New Times*, 31 July, 1960 : 12-13.

A comment of the July 1960 General Elections and UNP defeated.

102. WEERASOORIYA, N.E. Parties and politics. *Ceylon and Her People*, Vol. 4, Colombo: Lake House, 1971, pp. 143-176.

An attempt to discuss the development of political parties and their activities from the beginning of the century to 1956.

103. WEERAWARDANA, I.D.S.

Ceylon General election 1956. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1960 [5], 262 p.

This is a comprehensive study of the general elections of 1956. At the beginning of this study, are the current national problems, especially the Sinhala language problem and political partyies attitudes toward it. The unity and disunity among the political parties on language question and political ideology are later discussed. The next chapter examines the growth of the political party at the beginning and their manifestos which were issued for the election of 1956. The rest of the book studies the social, economic and education backgrounds of the candidates and major issues of the political parties on current economies, political, religion, social and language problems, the role of the pressure groups, and the press in the election campaign. The last chapter deals with the analysis of the election results. This study is largely based on an analysis of election literature, the national and party press, and an empirical survey.

104. WEERAWARDENA, I.D.S. The general elections in Ceylon 1952. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. 2 (1-2), 1952, 109-178.

The first part of the article discusses the major factors of the election manifestos of the major parties, the UNP, SLFP, NLSSP and the United Front (CP-LSSP). Secondly it emphasises the special issues which forward by the political parties at the election in addition to their manifestos, on corruption, swabhasha, Federalism, democracy, religion, stability, Indian origin people and independence. In the third part it attempts to discuss the influences of the pressure groups on the election campaign. The fourth and fifth examine the nature of the election campaign and the candidates nominated by the parties. The last part provides a statistical analysis of the election results. It gives the reasons for the UNP election victory, as well as the party performance in the elections. Appendix I provides the distribution of votes among the electorates in 1947 and in 1952 elections. Appendix II gives the elections results of 1947 and 1952 elections on electoral basis with a brief analytical note.

105. WEINER, Myron. The politics of South Asia, *The Politics of developing areas*, ed. by Gabrial A. Almond and James Coleman. Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. 153-246.

Political parties in Sri Lanka and their activities are also discussed throughout.

106. What way now for Ceylon. *New Commonwealth*, April 30, 1956: 236.

A brief account of the 1956 General Election and the strength of the political parties.

107. WIJETUNGA, W.M.K. Sri Lanka since independence. *Sri Lanka in transition*, Colombo: Wesley Press, 1974, pp. 70-97.

Attempts to review the political development in Sri Lanka during five periods - 1948-1956, 1956-1960, 1960-1965, 1965-1970, and the insurgency in 1971. Special concentration on the UNP and SLFP regimes and party politics.

108.WILSON, A.J.

Electoral politics in an emergent state : the Ceylon General election of May 1970. London: Cambridge University Press, 1975, xv, 240 p.

This book presents a record of events leading to the election, the course of the election campaign, an assessment of the election results; and a critical account of the consequences to Ceylon that followed therefrom. There is a glossary of Sinhala and Tamil terms and an index. An epilogue presents the post-elections trends, party situation after the elections and other political and economic developments. The author is Professor and Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of New Brunswick and was formerly Professor and Head, Department of Economics and Political Science, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

109._____ Oppositional politics in Ceylon (1947-1968). *Government and Opposition*, No. 1, (winter) 1969: 54-59.

110._____ Politics and Political development since 1948. Sri Lanka a Survey; ed. by K.M. de Silva. London: C. Hurst & Co., 1977. pp.281-311.

Discussion deals with the following sub-titles: Party competition, pp. 284-289, the nature of politics and political developments 1947-1956 - the dominance of the UNP, pp. 202-295 and,1956 and after the dominance of the Bandaranaika, pp. 300-304.

111. _____ *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1973.*

London : Mac Millan Press, 1974, Xiv, 347 p.

112._____ Recent political development in Ceylon: Rising expectation still to be satisfied. *Round Table*, No. 241, January : 137-145.
An analysis of the reasons for defeat of Senanayake's Coalition Government and for the victory of the United Front lead by Sirimavo Bandaranayake. The tasks before the new government are also discussed.

113._____ Religious liberty and Ceylon political parties. *Some aspects of religious liberty with special reference to Ceylon.* Colombo : The Study Centre, 1959. pp. 21-25.

This is an examination of the attitudes adopted by political parties in Sri Lanka, whether they be liberal, democratic, socialist or communist to the concept of religious freedom.

114._____ The two party system wins through: Bold actions by the Coalition. *Round Table*, No. 229, January 1968: 83-88.

This article describes the UNP Coalition with other six parties in 1965; an assessment of their activities in office till 1968 and the development of two party system.

115.WISWA WARNAPALA, W.A.

Political associations and political parties of Sri Lanka. *Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 2 (1), 1980, 32-44.

Examines the growth of political association and parties with their relevance to the process of political modernization. More than eight pages are devoted to discuss the pre-independent pressure groups and associations. The rest are devoted to a discussion of the development of parties from 1959. The author is an Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

116._____ *and* HEWAGAMA, Dias L.

Recent politics in Sri Lanka : The Presidential election and the Referendum of 1982 : A study of electoral practice and behaviour in Asian democracy. New Delhi, Navrang, 1983. 240 p, 11 table, appendix.

A survey of the Presidential election and the referendum held in Sri Lanka in 1982, by two academics attached to the University of Peradeniya. Based on statistics of both polls they discuss the election campaign and the strategies adopted by the parties. An assessment of the influ-

ence of the mass media, especially television on the presidential election and referendum are given. Election Law and the conduct of the presidential election and referendum as well as the results of the polls and its significance in the island's political history are dealt with. The Appendix include political cartoons published in a daily Sinhala newspaper of the Communist Party (Attha) during this period.

117. WOODWARD, Calvin A. The emergence of comparative party systems: Comparative observations on the custodial party period in the United States, Sri Lanka and Canada. *Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee*, (Hamburg), Vol. 9 (3), 1976: 301-313.

A comparative study of the development of the party system in three countries. In the case of Sri Lanka special attention is given to the development of custodial party system to the two party system.

118. _____

The growth of the party system in Ceylon. Providence; (USA): Brown University Press, 1969. xiv, 338 p.

This study analyses the co-operation of the parties at the electoral level, construction of coalitions, transformation and development of party organization, fundamental, structural and ideological changes of the parties since independent to 1965. Chapter I investigates the pre-independence politics, Chapters 2-5 are concerned with the development of party system from 1947-1965. Chapter 6-7 discusses the major changes that have taken place in the parties and the party system. In the conclusion an attempt is being made to analyse the reasons for the changes in the parties. This book is a revised version of his Ph.D. thesis submitted to Brown University in 1967.

119. _____ The party system in comparative perspective : an assessment. *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 4 (1 & 2), 1974, 144-153.

This study investigates the progress and development of political party system in Sri Lanka, since independence

and shows the contrast between the immediate after independence one party system and the contemporary party system.

120._____ Sri Lanka electoral experience from personal to party politics. *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 47 (4), Winter, 1974-1975, 455-471.

This article examines the development of the parties from personal to nation-wide, and personal leadership to nation-wide leadership and also nation-wide programmes of the parties.

121._____ Toynbeen growth model and party ecology: the Sri Lankan experience. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 23 (2), Aug. 1977, 239-251.

This article analysis the growth and breakdown of the major and minor political parties since 1947, and compares with Arnold Toynbee's idea of the growth of civilization "Challenge and response".

122.WRIGGINS, Howard W.

Ceylon: Dilemmas of a new nation. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960. XIII, 505 p.

This study provide insights on the nature of political organization and the role of political parties in Sri Lanka since independence. The first part of this survey examines the historical, social and economic setting and the institutions and actors in politics. In order to understand the search for a viable political society. Chapter II - examines the historical and social setting. Chapter III - the economic setting. Chapter IV - Constitutional evolution, Chapter V, The actors of politics and growth of the party system. Part II examines the fundamental problems that have dominated public affairs since independence. I. The role of religious institutions, II. The problem of national unity, III. Towards economic development and IV. The general elections of 1956. Part III of this books discuss the foreign policy of Sri Lanka.

The author is Director of the Southern Asian Institute at Columbia University, U.S.A.

123._____ Sri Lanka in 1980 : the year of constraints. *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXI (2), February 1981, 203-211.

A brief note on political parties, pp. 209-210.

124._____ Sri Lanka in 1981. Change austerity, development councils and commun disorders. *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXII (2) February 1982, 171-179.

The current position of the political parties is also dealt with in page 179.

125.ZEYLANICUS.

Ceylon between Orient and Occident. London: Elek Books Limited, 1970, pp. 223-241.

Domestic affairs and party activities are discussed under three phases. The stable period of United National Party from 1948-1956, Bandaranaika era 1956-1965 and Ntional Government led by United National Party 1965-1970.

Major Parties

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party

126.ABEYASEKARA, H.E.R. Srima is the boss. *Far Eastern Econ. Review* - February 29, 1968 : 361.

SLFP was reached an agreement with the LSSP and the CP to work together in setting up a Peoples' Government under the leadership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

127.AMARASINGHAM, S.P. Left Wing Coalition swept into power. *Mainstream,* Vol. 8 (45), July 1970, 26-28.

Comments on SLFP, LSSP And CP Coalition common programme for elections and victory in 1970 General Elections.

128.AN ANALYSIS of 3 years of government by the U.L.F. in Sri Lanka. *Socialist Digest*, No. 8, June 1973 : 61-73.

Formation of the United Front government by the joint programme of SLFP, LSSP, and CP in 1970, and their activities till 1973.

129.ASSESSING SWRD.

Lanka Guardian, Vol. 1 (15), December 1, 1978: 14-16. 'Chintaka' reply to Fr. Tissa Balasooriya's article on S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in *L.G.*, 1 (12), Oct. 1978. See No. 131.

130.BALAKRISHNAN, N. Sri Lanka in 1975 : Political crisis and split in the Coalition. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 16 (2) Feb. 1976, 130-139.

The three party alliance of the United Front Government ceased to exist after five years in the office. The causes for the political crisis stated are the nationalization of estates, inflation and economic situation in the country.

131. BALASOORIYA, Tissa. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. *Lanka Guardian*, Vol. 1 (12), Oct. 15, 1978, 9-10.

A talk broadcast over the S.L.B.C. on September 26, 1978 on the 19th death anniversary of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. See No. 129.

132. BANDARANAIKE, Sirimavo R.D.

Replies to E.L. Senanayake. Colombo: Janavegaya Puwath Path Sangamaya, 1977, 8 p.

133. _____

Statement made by Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, MP for Attanagalla and President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, before the Special Presidential Commission on 7th May, 1980. Colombo: [Sri Lanka Mahajana Newspapers, 1980].16p.

134. BANDARANAIKE, S.W.R.D.

Bandaranaike the Socialist. Colombo: Socialist Study Circle Publications, 1965, 16 p.

135. _____

Speeches and Writings. Colombo: Government Press, 1963.

Speech made by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike at the inauguration of Sri Lanka Freedom Party on 2nd September, 1951 is printed on pp. 141-150. Presidential address to the first annual session of the SLFP on 28th December, 1952 on pp. 153-160. Presidential Address to the annual session of the SLFP in 1958, on pp. 165-171 and Presidential Address to the annual session of the SLFP on 16th May, 1959, pp. 177-182.

136. _____ The Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

Sri Lanka Freedom Party First Anniversary Number 1952. ed. by A.P. Jayasuriya. Colombo: Oriental Press, 1952, pp. 8-10.

137._____ The UNP and the Sinhala Maha Sahba.

Speeches and Writings. Colombo: Government Press, 1963, pp. 133-137.

This is the text of the reply written by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1949, to the General Secretary of the UNP. The General Secretary's letter is also printed here.

BIRD, K. *and* SILVA, Mervyn

Sri Lanka : repeat performance. *News Week*, Vol. 3 (18) See No. 205.

138.CEYLON under socialist rule : Bandaranaike's regime. *Round Table*, No. 49, March 1959 : 141-149.

139.CHU, Daniel. Sri Lanka : the purge. *News Week*, Vol. 86 (12), Sept. 1975, 8.

A brief account of the collapse of SLFP, LSSP Coalition.

140.DE SILVA, A.A.

The thoughts of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Nugegoda: Lotus Press, [1969] 55 p.

141.DE SILVA, K.M. Ceylon : a review of the first year of the United Front Government in the Office. *Verfassung und Recht in Uebersee (Hamburg)*. Vol. 4 (4), 1971, 415-427.

142._____ Mrs: Bandaranaike's Government in trouble. *Round Table*, No. 251, July 1973 : 381-389.

Examines the economic and political situation in Sri Lanka which gave rise to the UNP popularity among the people.

143.DE SILVA, Manik. All in the family. *Far Eastern Econ. Review*, September 4, 1981 : 25-26.

Discusses the division of the SLFP into two groups on the issue of appointing a MP for Attanagalla Constituency.

144._____ The SLFP's house divided. *Far Eastern Econ. Review*, Oct.9, 1981 : 12.
Discusses the controversy between Mrs. Bandaranaike and her son Anura Bandaranaike for the leadership of the party.

DE SOUZA, Doric. Parliamentary democracy in Ceylon. *Young Socialist*, No. 1.

See No. 213.

145.DEUTSCHER, Tamara. Letter from Ceylon. *New Left Review*, No. 64, November - December 1970 : 39-41 and 46-48.

Discusses the United Left Front victory in 1970, LSSP influence on Ceylon politics and the new left movement.

146.DIAS, Sarath
Galle by-election an appeal from Sarath Dias candidate of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Colombo: Praja Press, [n.d.] 6 p.

147.DUBEY, Swaroop Rani. Sri Lanka rise and fall of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. *Turmoil and political change in South Asia*, ed. by Chakravata. Delhi: 1978, pp. 73-144.

148.FERNANDO, J.L.

Bandaranaike Legacies. Colombo: Times of Ceylon Ltd., 1965. 36 p.

Discusses the reasons for leaving the UNP in 1951, Bandaranaike's policies both on the eve of his assumption of office and during his regime as Prime Minister.

149.FERNANDO, M. S.L.F.P. Capitalist or Socialist. *Ceylon Economist*, January 1961 : 165-177.

FERNANDO, Philip

Mandate 1970: A Journalist view of Ceylon's general elections of 1970.

See No. 46.

150. GEORGE, T.J.S. Sirimavo slays 'em. *Far Eastern Econ. Review*, June 4, 1970 : 5-6.

Comments on the massive victory of the United Front in 1970 elections.

151. GRIFFERO, S.R.

A critical study of the United Front Government of Sri Lanka.

(Unpublished Degree Dissertation, University of Essex), 1975. [24], 28, [5] leaves.

Aims of this study are to analyse the objects of the United Front, socio-economic policies, in which way this Front is fulfilling the declared task of initiating the building of a socialist society. Chapter I, social class and political parties. Chapter II, The victory of the United Front. Chapter III, The insurgency of March-April 1971. Chapter IV, The five year plan. Chapter V, Breakdown of the United Front.

152. GUPTA, Babu Lal. Political parties in Ceylon: their plans and programmes. *Political and Civic status of Indians in Ceylon*. Agra: Educational Publishers, 1963, pp. 214-217.
A brief survey of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's departure from the UNP and the formation of the SLFP. Attitudes of the SLFP on the Indian Tamil question is also dealt with.

153. HARRIS, John. Problems facing Mrs. Bandaranaike : Sri Lanka and the 1977 election. *Round Table*, No. 266, April 1977 : 168-175.
An analysis the political situation in Sri Lanka in 1977. The author makes an attempt to discuss the internal problems in the ruling United Front, and the growth in popularity of the United National Party.

154. ISLAMIC SOCIALIST FRONT.
Parliamentary elections 1970. Colombo: M.M. Bahaudeen, 1970. 15. p.

Islamic Socialist Front formed by Al-Haj Dr. Badi ud-Din Mahmoud, urges the Muslim voters to support the United Front.

155. JAYASINGHE, Sirisoma

Ceylon's first people's Premier. *United Asia*, Vol. 15 (10), October 1963, 610-611.

156. JAYASURIYA, A.P.

Sri Lanka Freedom Party : First Anniversary Number 1952. Colombo: Oriental Press, 1952, 18 p.

157. _____

Sri Lanka Freedom Party. *Maithripala Senanayake felicitation volume.* Dehiwela: Tisara Press, 1972, pp. 76-81.

While discussing the SLFP policies at the beginning, the author points out that the main forces of the SLFP were derived from Mr. Bandaranaike's concepts and thinking.

158. JAYAWARDANA, B.H.S. Fronting on disunity. *Far Eastern Economic Review.* 18 March, 1977 : 30-31.

A note on the United Left Front preparing for the elections.

159. _____ Sirimavo looks back in anger. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Sept. 12, 1975 : 14-17.
Disunity of coalition Government (SLFP, LSSP, and CP) and pre-election developments are dealt with.

160. _____ Uphill task for Sirimavo. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 24, 1977:20.

JIGGINS, Janice. The SLFP family under Mrs. Bandaranaike. *Caste and family in the politics of Sinhalese.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 115-119.

An attempt to discuss the Bandaranaike family, the linkage with SLFP and strength of the family members in the party

as well as the position of the family members in the political and public sector. See No. 59.

161. KARALARASINGHAM, V. Analysis of the SLFP - LSSP Coalition.

World Outlook, Vol. 2 (26), June 26, 1964, 29-33.

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Politics of Coalition. 1964.

See No. 395.

162. KARUNARATNE, Victor. Ceylon's ruling party. *Eastern World*, Vol. 17 (1), Jan. 1963 : 13-14.

A comment on the United Front government formed by the SLFP and left parties in July 1960.

163. KEARNEY, Robert N. Ceylon : the continuing crisis. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 3 (2), Feb 1963, 127-137.

The author points out the growing dissension in the SLFP; resignation of C.P. de Silva, Minister of Irrigation, Highways and Electricity and Cabinet changes of the SLFP Government.

_____. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the disrupted United Front path to Socialism in Sri Lanka. *Asian Thought and Society*. Vol. 1 (1).
See No. 398.

164. _____. The new political crisis of Ceylon. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 2 (4), June 1962, 19-27.

A short account of the CP and LSSP co-operation with the SLFP in a no-contest pact, and attempts of the MEP for achieving Left unity, pp. 22-25.

_____. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party. *The politics of Ceylon [Sri Lanka]*, Ithaca; and London: Cornell University Press, 1973, pp. 113-116.

Formation and the development of the party, coalition and competition with other parties and changing of the policies of the SLFP are discussed briefly. See No. 70.

165. LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY.

Government has misused and abused power : statement of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party on the removal of civic right of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Colombo: Star Press, 1981. 6p.

166. LEFT turn again for Ceylon.

New Commonwealth, September 1960 : 573-575

A comment on the no-contest pact and SLFP victory in the 1960 General Elections.

167. MAHAMUD, Badiuddin. Bandaranaike the Man. *Sri Lanka Today*, September - October, 1973: 7-9.

Traces the political activities of Mr. Bandaranaike and the formation of the SLFP.

168. MUKERJI, Krishna P.

Madam Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1960. 111, 75 p.

MUKHERJEE, Sadham.

Ceylon island that changed. Delhi: People's Publishing House. 1971.

Pages 93-107 give the United Left Front Agreement of 1963 and the common programme of the SLFP, CP and LSSP (March 1968) to set up a People's Government. The SLFP, LSSP and CP, United Front election manifesto (May 1970) is printed on pp. 107-121. See No. 82.

169. PAKEMAN, S.A. The revolution of 1956 and its results. *Ceylon*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1964. pp.179-192 and 193-210.

This chapter is concentrated on the political activities of Mr. Bandaranaike and background to the MEP victory in 1956, as well as the results of the political changes in 1956 which affected the politics in Sri Lanka till the 1960's. Pages 193-210 devoted to discuss the growth of the SLFP, its policy and programmes under Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and a general picture on political development of the country.

170.A PEOPLE's Government : Social and Political trends in Ceylon. *World Today*, Vol. 12 (7), July 1956, 281-291.

An account of the MEP's sweeping victory and UNP rout in 1956 General Elections.

171.PERERA, N.M. The SLFP and the Socialist United Front. *Socialist Nation*. Vol. 1 (4) Sept. 1976 1-2.

N.M. Perera, LSSP leader points out that his major attempts is to gain socialism through parliamentary process.

172.PERERA, Wilfred. The strategy of betrayal : from permanent revolution to permanent coalition. *Young Socialist*, Vol. 3 (2), 1963, 61-68.

Attacks the LSSP Coalition with SLFP and discusses the betrayal of the revolution by the LSSP.

173.PHADNIS, Urmila. Patterns of Coalition Government in Sri Lanka. *Coalition Government in India : Problems and prospects* : ed. by K.P. Karunakaran. Dehradum, 1975.

This chapter discusses the various coalition governments formed under the leadership of the SLFP and the UNP since 1948.

174._____ Trends in Ceylon politics. *India Quarterly*, April-June 1971, 122-139.

An analysis of the strategies and tactics adopted by the six month old coalition government. The limitation and contradictions inherent in the functioning of the coalition government as well as the major problems they had to

face; economic development and national integration are dealt with in this article.

175._____ The UF Government in Ceylon : challenges and responses. *World Today*, Vol. 27 (6), June 1971, 267-276.

Discusses the formation of the U.F. Government as an alliance of the SLFP, LSSP and the CP. The dominant questions ahead of the new government and the Prime Minister's responses to solve the problems are given.

176.RANGNEKAR, D.K. The nationalist revolution in Ceylon. *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 33 (4), December 1960, 361-374.

The 1956 general elections is discussed here as a nationalist revolution and a turning point in politics of Sri Lanka - the first break in the political monopoly of the English-speaking educated class; S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's policies to stabilise the government, democracy, and make Ceylon into a modern welfare state. The government of Mrs. Bandaranaike has also been discussed here. Author argues that the SLFP under Mrs. Bandaranaike looks like an organized, Left wing party with faith in parliamentary democracy.

177.RODRIGO, C. Popular Frontism in Sri Lanka. *Militant International Review*, No. 9, June, 1974, 24-40.
An account of the development of popular frontism in Sri Lanka especially SLFP, LSSP and CP United Front in 1968, their common programme election campaigns and 1970 victory as well as uprising of the JVP and insurrection in 1971.

SANMUGATHASAN, N. The Bandaranaike era. *A Marxist looks at the history of Ceylon*. Published in Europe : 1972. pp. 69-90.

While discussing the main political changes and development in this period, the development of the SLFP and its coalition with Leftist parties till the 1970's is also dealt with. See No. 94.

178.SENANAYAKE, Maithripala. Bandaranaike an outstanding Asian statesman. *Sri Lanka Today*, September - October 1973 : 1-6.

Article written on the 14th death anniversary of Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

179. SHE will not be moved. *Economist*. June 21, 1975 : 36. Comments on the internal problems of the UNP and the SLFP.

180. A SHRINKING team. *Economist*. February 26, 1977 : 69.

A comment on the decision of the Communist Party to part company with SLFP on 19th February, 1977 and JVP activities in 1977's.

181. SRI LANKA FREEDOM PARTY.

The elections manifesto 1977 : from political freedom to economic liberation : towards a socialist society. Colombo; Sri Lanka Freedom Party, 1977. 15 p.

182. _____

First manifesto of the SLFP 1951. Kelaniya; Vidyalankara Press, 1951. 10 p.

183. _____

Manifesto and constitution, Wellampitiya: Navajeevana Press, 1951, 8 p.

184. _____ and LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY. Fourteen point programme. *Ceylon Today*, June 1964 : 2-3.

185. SRI LANKA on eve of dramatic changes. *The Marxist Review*. Vol. 10 (10-11), April-May 1977, 362-363.

A comment on the crisis faced by Mrs. Bandaranaike's government and the formation of the Sri Lanka People's Democratic Party (SLPDP).

186. SRI LANKA PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

Governor-General's speech. *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*. Vol. 24, 20th April 1956, pp. 24-27, Vol. 28, 13th June 1957, pp. 3-15, Vol. 31, 24 June, 1958, pp. 284-289 and Vol. 35, 30th June, 1959, pp. 6-9.

Policies and programmes adopted by the MEP of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike are included in this speeches. Especially social, cultural, economic and political development and major changes occured in this period are included in detail.

187._____

Governor-General's speech. *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)* Vol. 39, 12th August, 1960, pp. 51-57, Vol. 43, 13th July, 1961, pp. 23-30, Vol. 47, 11th July 1963, pp. 20-25 and Vol. 56, 2nd July, 1964, pp. 22-28.

This speech reflects the policies and programmes adopted by the SLFP Government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1960-1965). The Government stressed that it will pursue the principles of the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. For the purposes of that it emphasised to make Sinhala as the Official language, to take over schools, change over the medium of instruction in the Universities and in schools, introduce a housing programme and to set up the factories with Russian aids.

188._____

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), Vol. 90, 14th June 1970, pp. 96-111, Vol. 94, 4th April 1971, 6-7.

The U.F. Government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike declared that it would establish a Socialist democracy according to the principles of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Special attention was given to introduce a new constitution, problems related to the plantation sector, higher education, workers and youth problems. In its foreign policy the government declared an independent foreign policy based on non-alignment. Their proposal for nationalizing the estates and factories were also included in these speeches.

189.SRI LANKA Today. [Special Bandaranaike Commemoration Supplement]. Vol. XXII (1 & 2), Sept. - Oct. 1973, 32 p.

Ten articles on S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's political life.

190.SUBASINGHE, D.W. Political alliances in the Anti-impterialist struggle. *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, Vol. 5 (7), July 1977 : 110-121.

An account of the Communist Party alliance with SLFP, and LSSP, common programme and Communist Party decision to leave the U.F.

191.SUBRAMANIAM, M.C. Bandaranaike the patriot. *Bandaranaike Tenth Annual Commemoration Volume, 26 September 1969.*

Colombo, 1969, pp. 75-77.

192.THREE against one. *Economist*, April 16, 1977 : 72.

A note of the Leftist challenge to the SLFP.

193.UNITED FRONT.

Joint election manifesto of the SLFP, LSSP and CP, United Front 1970. Colombo: Government Printer, 1970, 14 p.

194.THE UNITED FRONT MANIFESTO : issued by the three parties: SLFP, LSSP and CP prior to General Elections of 27th May 1970. *Quest*, Vol. 5 (1 & 2), 1970, 9-28.

Criticises the policies adopted by the UNP from 1965-1970.

195.U.L.F. Government in Sri Lanka : an analysis by some Marxist intellectuals of Sri Lanka.

Call, Vol. 24 (12), Aug., 1973, 11-15.

196.VICKERY, R.E. The Ceylonese press and the fall of the Sirimavo Bandaranaike government. *The South Atlantic Quarterly, (Durham)*, Vol. 66(3), Summer 1967, 424-439.

While analysing the causes for the fall of the SLFP government in 1964, the author argues that the take-over of the press was the most important factor for the unpopularity of the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike.

197.WANASINGHE, Sydney. From Marxism to Communalism. *Young Socialist*, Vol. 3 (3), June 1965, 113-125.

A critical analysis of the decisions made by LSSP and CP to join the communalist capitalist SLFP and the betrayal of the working classes.

198. WEERASOORIYA, N.E. Ceylon in transition. *Ceylon and her people*, Vol. 4. Colombo: Lanka House, 1971, pp. 209-335.
While discussing Ceylon in transition after 1956, the MEP Coalition Government and the MEP - Leftist non contest agreement is also discussed.

WEERAWARDENA, I.D.S. Sri Lanka Freedom Party. *Ceylon General Election 1956*. Colombo, M.D. Gunasena & Co. 1960, pp 55-59.
The formation of the SLFP its leadership, ideology, major proposals and the nature of the election manifesto of 1956 are examined.

See No. 103.

199. WILSON, A.J. Ceylon : A New Government take office. *Asian Survey*, Vol. II (2), Feb. 1971, 177-184.

The article examines the general elections of 1970 and the United Front victory; covers party activities and programmes during the elections and afterwards.

_____ 1956 and after : the dominance of the Bandaranaikes. *Sri Lanka: A Survey* ed. by K.M. de Silva. London: C. Hurst & Co (Publishers) Ltd., 1977. pp. 300-304.

Investigates the causes for the victory of the MEP under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike in 1956. Language policy and other programmes of the SLFP till 1965 are also discussed. See No. 110.

_____ Party competition. *Sri Lanka : A Survey*, 1977. See No. 110.

200. _____ Political changes in Ceylon. *Pacific Community*, Vol. 2 (2) January 1971, 369-376.
An examination of Mrs. Bandaranaike's victory at the poll in May 1970; its effects on Sri Lanka's social economic and political structure in the course of the next few

years, and difficulties to implement her election promises within the existing frame work.

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Mr. Senanayake's political problems : a brilliant agricultural record. *Round Table*. No. 234.

See No. 278.

201._____ The SLFP. *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1973*. London: Macmillan Press, 1974, pp. 139-151.
A study in depth of the origin and development of the SLFP is described under three parts. Pt. 1, 1951-1956 MEP Government under Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandarnaike; Pt. 2, 1960-1964 SLFP Government under Mrs. Bandaranaike, Pt. 3, 1964 afterwards as a Opposition Party.

WISWA WARNAPALA, W.A. *and* HEWAGAMA, Dias.

Recent politics in Sri Lanka : the presidential election and referendem of 1982 : a study of electoral practice and behaviour in an Asian democracy. Delhi: Navrang, 1983. pp.1-10.

Attention is given to the examination of the disintegration of the SLFP after the removal of civic rights of its leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike in October, 1980. Expulsion of Maithripala Senanayake (Deputy leader) and others from the party conflict of the SLFP (M) group and SLFP (B) group and their policies on Kobbekaduwa, Presidential candidate of SLFP (M) are also dealt with in this Chapter. See No. 116.

202.WRIGGINS, Howard. Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka. *The rulers imperative : Strategies for political survival in Asia and Africa*. New York: London: Columbia University Press, 1969. pp. 208-215.
_____ The Sri Lanka Freedom Party. *Ceylon dilemmas of a new nation*. Princeton; N.J: Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. 119-124.
An account of Bandaranaike's politics since the 1930's; formation of the SLFP in 1951, its leadership, organization, programmes and MEP victory in 1956. See No. 122.

The United National Party

AHAMAD, Naveed. Recent development in Sri Lanka. *Pakistan Horizon*. Vol. 32 (3).

See No. 27.

203.ATHULATHMUDALI, Lalith. UNP-Mid-term report : on stream. *Lanka Guardian*. Vol. 3 (7), Aug. 1, 1980, 6-7.

A review of the activities of the three years of UNP government by a Cabinet Minister.

204._____. UNP resurgence and political change. *Lanka Guardian*, Vol. 2 (17) Jan. 1, 1980, 13-14.

An assessment of the leadership and unity to the resurgence of the UNP in 1977.

BANDARANAIKE, S.W.R.D. The United National Party. *Speeches and writings*. Colombo: Government Press, 1963, pp. 128-129.

Briefly discusses the reasons for the formation of the party and its policy and programme.

See No. 135.

205.BIRD, K. *and* DE SILVA, Mervyn.

Lanka : repeat performance. *News Week*, Vol. 3 (18), July, 1977, 9-10.
An analysis of the political situation in Sri Lanka prior to the General Election of 1977. Assesses the UNP and SLFP strength in the General Elections.

206.*CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL : The D.S. Senanayake Memorial Number*. Vol. V (1-4), July - October 1965 and January and April 1966. 142 p.

This special issue on the 15th death anniversary of D.S. Senanayake includes Chapters on D.S. Senanayake and the independence by Ivor Jennings, pp. 16-22. The Soulbury Commission 1944-46, by Frederick Rees, pp. 23-48, D.S. Senanayake - A study of his foreign policy by J.R. Jayawardene, pp. 49-61, D.S. Sananayake the man by Viscount Soulbury, pp. 62-67, D.S. Senanayake as Minister of Agriculture by R.L. Brohier, pp. 68-80, D.S. Senanayake and the University of Ceylon by Sir Nicholas Attygalle. pp. 81-82, some notable public speeches of D.S. Senanayake, pp. 83-114 and chronological list of the principal events in D.S. Senanayake's life and political career, pp. 115-120.

207. THE COUNCIL FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACY.

Why UNPers should vote for the Pot at the Referendum. Colombo: The Council for Liberal Democracy 1982.

208. DE SILVA, G.B.

Has the common man confidence in the U.N.P. Kandy: Sithumina Printing Works, 1959. 15 p.

DE SILVA, K.M. Political and constitutional change in Sri Lanka: the UNP consolidate its position. *Round Table*, No. 273. See No. 39.

209. _____ Sri Lanka since independence : the dominance of the UNP 1947-1956. *A history of Sri Lanka.* Delhi: Oxford, University Press, 1981. pp 489-503.

The politics of Sri Lanka, United National Party dominance, connection with other Parties as well as the formation and development of Sri Lanka Freedom Party and Leftist forces are also discussed.

210. DE SILVA, Manik. Tidying up the house. *Far Eastern Economic Review.* May 19, 1983 : 26-28.

An account of the rise to power of J.R. Jayawardene in the House and the party. Question dealing with Devinuwara and Panadura constituencies on changes of the M.P's are dis-

cussed here and the role of the UNP and Opposition parties in the Presidential election.

211. DE SILVA, Mervyn. Junius divides and conquers. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 7, 1978 : 21.

An account of the Colombo West by-election and UNP victory.

212. _____ UNP-SLFP change and continuity, *Lanka Guardian*, Vol. 1 (7), Aug. 1, 1978 : 4-6 and 21.

213. DE SOUZA, Doric. Parliamentary democracy in Ceylon. *Young Socialist*, No. 1, July-September 1961 : 18-25 and No. 3, October - December 1961 : 125-139.

Pt. II, UNP regime (1947-1956), pp. 129-131. Pt. III, The defeat of the UNP and after (1956-1961), pp. 131-139. These two parts are devoted to a discussion of the party politics and democracy at work.

214. DHANAPALA, D.B. Three Prime Ministers *New Lanka* Vol. 5 (2), Jan. 1954, 17-35.

Biographical notes on D.S. Senanayake, pp. 17-24. Dudley Senanayake, pp. 25-29; John Lionel Kotalawala, pp. 29-35. The article reflects their political activities as well.

215. DISSANAYAKE, T.D.S.A.

Dudley Senanayake of Sri Lanka. Colombo: Swastika Press, 1975, 153 p.
This book covers the political activities of Dudley Senanayake from 1936 to his death in 1973. United National Party activities and election campaigns under Dudley Senanayake from 1936-1970 are particularly discussed in the following pages - pp. 38-44, 45, 57-60, 76-83, and 125-136.

216. _____
J.R. Jayawardene of Sri Lanka : the inside story of how the Prime Minister led the UNP to victory in 1977. 2nd edition. Colombo: Swastika Press, 1977. 175 p.

The book discusses the UNP new leader J.R. Jayawardene's (Prime Minister and later President) new leadership, reformation of the party and his part in leading the party to massive victory in 1977 General elections. Last chapter of this book is entirely devoted to the election campaign and the victory of the UNP in 1977.

217. *THE FIRST 365 DAYS : A report on progress and development*. Colombo: Swastika Press, [1978]. 7 p.

218. FROM D.S. to Sir John, UNP policy from 1947 to 1956.

Republic day third anniversary : the Nation, A special publication. Colombo: Times of Ceylon, 1975, pp. 33-35.

An analysis of the policies, programmes and activities of the UNP Government from 1947 to 1956.

219. A HOLLOW victory for Jayawardene. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Aug. 8, 1975 : 24.

J.R. Jayawardene resigned from his constituency Colombo-West to protest against the extension of life of the National State Assembly.

220. HONOURING a pledge : Jayawardene resigns. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 30, 1975 : 28-29.

Leader of the Opposition J.R. Jayawardene resigned from the National State Assembly to protest against the Government decision to continue in office for another two years.

221. HUDSON, M. *and* JENSEN, H. Sri Lanka : a royal inaugural. *News Week*, 13 Feb., 1978: 8-9.

A brief account of J.R. Jayawardene as the first elected President of Sri Lanka.

222. HULUGALLA, H.A.J. The political parties. *The life and times of Don Stephen Senanayake [Sri Lanka's first Prime Minister]*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1975. pp. 156-159.

The author, a leading journalist in Sri Lanka discusses the image of the UNP as a coalition of National Congress, Muslim Leauge, Sinhala Maha Sabha and Tamil Congress in 1946. Position of the Left parties and defects of the UNP are also briefly discussed.

223. AN INTERVIEW with Dudley Senanayake.

Jana. Vol. 4 (5), Sept. 1957. pp. 31-33.
A personal opinion on why the UNP was defeated in 1956 and comments on the Bandaranaike's new leadership.

224. JAYAWARDENA, B.H.S. Man most likely to. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 20, 1977 : 20-21.

An interview with J.R. Jayawardene on his programmes prior to the General Elections.

225. _____. Massive vote for Jayawardene's promises. *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Aug. 5, 1977 : 20.

Traces the UNP election campaign and election results.

226. _____. Remembering Dudley. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 23, 1973 : 18.

Comments on Dedigama by-election and UNP victory under the leadership of J.R. Jayawardene.

227. *THE J.R. JAYAWARDENE Government. First three years July 1977 - June 1980 : a diary of events*. Colombo: Ministry of Plan Implementation, [1981]. 171 p.

JIGGINS, Janice. Parties and programmes, *Caste and family in the politics of the Sinhalese 1947-1976*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979. pp 8-16.

Traces the development of the UNP and SLFP till the 1970's and attempts to analyse the caste relationship of the party representatives.

See No. 59.

_____. The UNP family, *Caste and family in the politics of Sinhalese*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 111-115.

A detailed description of the pioneer families who formed the UNP and their linkages to the party leadership. Two charts given indicate the Senanayake, Kotalawala and Wijewardene families inter-family relationship and their contribution to politics.
See No. 59.

KEARNEY, Robert N. The United National Party. *The politics of Ceylon [Sri Lanka]*. Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1973. pp. 111-113.

A brief discussion of the patterns of the development of the UNP, Coalition and competition with other parties and its ideology. See No. 70.

228.MAY, Califord *and* CAME, Barry.

A clean sweep. *News Week*, Aug. 1, 1977 : 8.
Comment on the UNP victory in 1977 General Elections.

229.MENDIS, H.P. Is this victory? *Search Light*, Vol. 47 (16), Oct. 1968, 5-6.

A brief account of nine by-elections held after 1965. The UNP voting strength and R.G. Senanayake's new party 'Sinhala Mahajana Peramuna' are also dealt with.

230.MUTTETUWEGAMA, Sarath. No happy ending. *Lanka Guardian*, Aug. 1, 1980 : 14-15.

A critical essay on three years on UNP regime.

231.OBERST, Robert. The politics of change : ideology and structure in Sri Lanka. *Asia Thought and Society : An International Review*, Vol. IX (25), March 1984, 57-64.

The author is Associate Professor of Political Science at Nebraska Wesleyan University, surveys the growth of the competitive party system and UNP consolidated its power in

1977. An attempt has been made to analyse the major changes which occurred under the UNP regime in the fields of parliamentary system and the electoral system. The UNP economic policy and its approach to the communal problem as well and the unrest of Opposition parties on UNP's policies are also discussed.

232.PAKEMAN, S.A. The rule of the United National Party. *Ceylon*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1964. pp. 165-178.
This chapter deals with the rule of the UNP from 1947 to 1956 under three Prime Ministers, D.S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake and Sir John kotalawala.

233.PERERA, C.E. Mackenzie

The United National Party general elections 1952 : Why the UNP? Colombo: Ceylon Daily News Press, 1952. 29 p.

234.PREMADASA R. UNP and the voter. *Tribune*. Vol. 23 (14). May 12, 1979, 12-14.

SAMARAWEERA, Vijaya. Sri Lanka's 1977 general elections : the resurgence of the UNP. *Asian Survey*. Vol. 17 (12). See No. 93.

235.SCHWEINFURTH, Ulrich. Jayawardene : a new era for Sri Lanka. *Aussenpolitik - German Foreign Affairs Review*, (English Edition). Vol 30 (4), 1979, 427-440.

A brief discussion on Jayawardene's political activities. Leadership and UNP victory in 1977, pp, 427-429.

236.SENANAYAKE, Maitripala. UNP same style. *Lanka Guardian*, Aug. 1, 1980 : 10-11 & 13.

While criticising the three years' regime of UNP, the author points out that there were no new policy or style in the UNP.

237.SENARATNE, Stanley. The UNP regime of 1965 to 1970 : preparation for a fascist take-over. *Nation: special publication for Republic day anniversary*. Colombo:

Time of Ceylon, 1975. pp. 36-38.

A critical account of the seven party Coalition Government led by UNP.

238.SINGER, Marshall R. National Government in Ceylon : A year of reconciliation. *Asian Survey*, Vol. VI (2) February 1966, 90-94.

Discussing the nature of the National Government formed by the UNP with Tamils and six other political parties. The author argued that, if the election of 1956 can be said to have signalled the official beginning of the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict in Ceylon, the election of 1965 can be said to have marked the official termination of those hostilities. The author is an Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, U.S.A.

239.SRI LANKA. National State Assembly Debates.

Statement of Government policy. *National State Assembly Debates*. Vol. 23 (1), 4th August 1977. pp. 91-111.

The UNP Government gave special attention to creating new society based on human and moral values. Its declaration of its future plans for the upliftment of the standard of living, moral, liberty and economic condition of the country and the people are also included.

240.SRI LANKA PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

Governor-General's speech. *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*. Vol. 1, 25th November, 1947, pp. 29-36: Vol. 3, 1948, pp. 6-9; Vol. 6, 12th July 1949, pp. 5-10; Vol. 8, 20th June 1950, pp. 7-13 and Vol. 10, 20th June 1951, pp. 5-13.

Policies and programmes adopted by the UNP Government of D.S. Senanayake from 1947 to 1951 are included in these speeches. Main attention is given to maintain friendly relation with other countries of the Commonwealth, to create a free national economy with the development of industries and paddy cultivation, to uplift the living

condition of the people, to expand the education facilities and to solve the unemployment problem.

241._____

Governor-General's speech. *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, Vol. 12, 10th June 1952, pp. 19-28, Vol. 14, 7th June 1953, pp. 7-14; Vol. 17, 12th April 1954, pp. 5-6 and Vol. 21, 7th June 1955, pp. 5-14.
These speeches reflects the development which took place in the various fields of the country during the period 1952-1955. The UNP Government led by Dudley Senanayake and Sir John Kotalawala (1952-1956) were emphasised to provide more jobs, introduce a rural development programme and uplift the indigenous medical system during this period.

242._____
Governor-General's speech. *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, Vol. 38, 6th April 1960, pp. 38-42.
The UNP Government of Dudley Senanayake declared that it will pursue a strict neutrality and non-alignment policy with all other countries. It promised to bring communal harmony, increase the economic productivity and bring down the cost of living. Moreover, it guarantees the freedom to practice their religion.

243._____
Governor-General's speech. *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, Vol. 60, 9th April 1965, pp. 97-106, Vol. 67, 8th April, 1966, pp. 32-42, Vol. 72, 8th July 1967, pp. 28-38, Vol. 79, 7th July, 1968, pp. 35-47 and Vol. 85, 10th July 1969, pp. 27-39.
Dudley Senanayake's UNP government (1965-1970) gave its main attention to restore Buddhism by introducing Poya days as holidays. It took steps to protect human rights, uplift the arts and culture, develop the irrigation and paddy cultivation. Also its language and foreign policy are reflected through those speeches.

244.SRI LANKA Prime Minister (J.R. Jayawardene), defender of Sri Lanka's freedom. *Himmat*, July 29, 1977 : 11.

245.TALAGUNE, A.B.

From JR. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1977. 12p.
An appeal to the voter for the coming election of 1977.

United National Party

246._____

Eksath Jatika Paksaya dolasvana varshika sammelanaya : 15th and 16th July 1961. [12th Annual Conference]. Colombo: United National Party, 1961. 48 p.

247._____

General elections 1956 : Manifesto of the United National Party. [Colombo: Times of Ceylon Ltd., 1956]. 8 p.

248._____

1982 Presidential Election : Polling agents handbook; United National Party. Colombo: Swastika Press, [1982], 28, 3 p.
An account of the duties of the polling agents and instructions.

249._____

Proceedings of a meeting of the United National Party, held at Palm Court, Edinburgh Crescent, Colombo on September 6, 1946. Colombo: United National Party, [1946], 21 p.

250._____

Twenty-eighth annual convention, Saturday 26th February, 1983. Colombo: Swastika Press, [1983], 6 p.

The list of the working committe members and the office bearers, as well as the major events occurred in the party since the twenty-seventh annual conference is also included briefly.

251._____

United National Party Annual Conference : agenda and commemorative number. Colombo: United National Party, 1955.

252._____

United National Party Annual Report 1948-1949. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1949. 10 p.

253._____

United National Party : Annual Session 1974. 20th Annual Conference, 21.12.1974. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1974. 26 p.

Thirty-seven basic principles and the future programme of the party are given.

254._____

United National Party Constitution. Colombo: United National Party, 1962.

255._____

United National Party Constitution. Colombo: [United National Party]. 1973. 16 p.

256._____ election manifesto : forward in the 70's continuing 5 years of stability : race and religious peace. *Quest.* Vol. 5 (1 & 2). 1970, 29-40.

Discusses the major developments in various fields under the UNP regime from 1947 onwards. UNP announced as its main aspiration the establishment of a Democratic Socialist State in Sri Lanka.

257._____

United National Party : For stable government : manifesto. Colombo : Times of Ceylon, 1960.

258._____

United National Party fourth anniversary celebrations, Kandy 29th and 30th September 1951. [Colombo: United National Party, 1951], 42 p.

259._____

The United National Party in Colombo. Colombo: Metro Press, 1962.

260._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir : First Anniversary, February 4th 1949. Edited by Jayasundara, U.A. Colombo: Ceylon Printers, 1949. 80 p.

261._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir. Edited by Jayasundara, U.A. Colombo: Ceylon Printers, 1950. 94 p.

262._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir 4th February 1951. Edited by Jayasundara, U.A. Colombo: Ceylon Printers, 1951. 198 p.

263._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir : Fourth year of Independence 4th February 1952. Colombo: Ceylon Printers, 1952. 128 p.

264._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir. February 4th 1953. Edited by Perera, Titus W. Colombo: Colombo Apothecaries Co., 1953, 254 p.

265._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir. February 4th 1954. Edited by Cooray Frances. Colombo: C.W.E. Printing Deptt. 1954. 182 p.

266._____

United National Party Independence day souvenir. 7th Anniversary, 4th February, 1955. Colombo: C.W.E. Printing Deptt. 1955, 262 p.

267._____

United National Party Manifesto and Constitution. Colombo: United National Party, 1947.

268._____

United National Party : Our Cabinet Plan for you. Colombo: United National Party, 1948. 33 p.

269._____

United National Party : Our Cabinet Plan in progress. Colombo, M.D. Gunasena & Co. [n.d.], 12 p.

270._____

United National Party : President Jayawardene's address at the 25th Anniversary of the UNP : December 14, 1979. Colombo: United National Party, 1979.

271._____

United National Party : A programme of action to create a just and free society. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1977, 12 p.

Party manifesto for the General Elections in 1977. Reprinted in Tribune, August 6, 1977 : 10-13.

272._____

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WEERAWARDENA, I.D.S. United National Party. *Ceylon general election 1956*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1960, pp. 46-54.

A discussion on the UNP economic social, cultural, political and foreign policy since its inception to 1956. The major proposals of the election manifesto of 1956 also dealt with. See No. 103.

WILSON, A.J. The nature of politics and political developments, 1947-1956 : the dominance of the UNP. *Sri Lanka : A Survey*. Edited by K.M. de Silva. London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1977. pp. 292-295.

While discussing the politics and political developments, the author gives the reasons for the UNP dominance. See No. 110.

277. _____ Party competition. *Sri Lanka : A Survey*.

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Traces the growth of the party system and party competition between the UNP and the SLFP till the 1970's.

278. _____ Senanayake's political problems. A brilliant agricultural record. *Round Table*, No. 234, April 1969 : 208-212.
Discusses the agricultural policy of UNP ; UNP Coalition with other parties and SLFP party politics during the period, 1965-1969.

279._____ Senanayake's remarkable record : stability and rapid economic growth. *Round Table,* No. 238, April 1970 : 207-211.

A discussion on the formation of the National Government with six other parties, under the leadership of Senanayake, Leader of the UNP in 1965. Government policy towards the Tamils, Muslims, and agriculture is also discussed.

280._____ The UNP. *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1973.* London: Macmillan Press, 1974. pp. 130-139.

An in-depth study of the origin and development of UNP discussed under three parts - Part one presents the development since 1947-1956. Pt. two 1956-1970. Pt. three 1970 and after.

WRIGGINS, Howard. The United National Party. *Ceylon dilemmas of a new nation.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. 106-119.

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283._____. End caste opposition and untouchability : Statement by the Ceylon Communist Party. *Red Flag*, No. 2, 1969 : 23-27.

284._____ *Reject the fraud of bourgeois parliamentary democracy: Follow the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought*. Colombo: Ceylon Communist Party, 1977. 14 p.

A statement made by N. Sanmugathasan at the eve of the General Elections in 1977.

285.CEYLON COMMUNIST PARTY's 7th Congress : A victory for unity against splitism, Landmark for Left Movement. *New Age*, Vol. 12 (19), Jan, 1972, 21-23.

286._____

Statement of the Central Committee Members of the Ceylon Communist Party. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1964. 32 p.

287._____ Win the masses to the revolutionary path: Statement of the political bureau of the Ceylon Communist Party on the party's 27th anniversary. *Red Flag*, No. 4, 1970: 1-8.

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289.REVOLUTIONARY leadership of the Ceylon Communist Party established. *Peking Review,* June 31, 1964.

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The author is the Professor of Political Science at the University of Bridgeport (Connecticut). An examination of the pattern of conflict within Ceylonese Communist ranks, CPC Moscow and CPC Peking on Sino-Soviet split.

WILSON, A.J. The revolutionary left. *Politics in Sri Lanka* 1947-1973. London: Macmillan Press, 1974. pp. 161-163.

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ABHAYAWARDENA, Hector. Categories of Left thinking in Ceylon. *Commentary* No. 4.

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AMARASINGHAM, S.P. Left Wing Coalition swept into power. *Mainstream*, Vol. 8 (45).

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291. BLACKSTON, Charles. The Marxists and Ultra Marxists of Sri Lanka : since Independence. *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 4 (1 & 2), 1974, 126-133.
Discusses the nature and ideology of the Marxist parties and parliamentary policies. The Ultra-Marxist groups against the traditional Marxist and J.V.P. uprising in 1971 is also dealt with.

292. CEYLON.

History of International World Socialism. Edited by Braunthal Julies. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1980. pp. 270-278.

293. _____ On International Communist Affairs, Yearbook 1969, California: Hoover Institute, Stanford University Press, 1970. pp. 110-119.
Gives the current position of the party leadership and organizational structure, party internal affairs, domestic and foreign policy, relations with other parties and current publications of the Communist and Trotskyist Parties.

294. COMMUNIST PARTY OF CEYLON.

Draft political report for the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. August 20-24, 1975. [Colombo: Pragathi Printers, 1975]. 32 p.

Discusses the international situation since the 8th Congress, Communist Party role in the United Front government and tasks before the CP.

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Draft Programme of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Ninth Congress 1975. Colombo: Communist Party of Ceylon, [n.d.] 64 p.

The Communist Party places before the people its programe for the achievement of the National Democratic Revolution and a Socialist Society.

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297._____

Lanka's way forward : political resolution of the 5th Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party. Colombo: Ceylon Communist Party, 1955.

298._____ *To defeat U.N.P. and right wing : for a new front and a radical programme.* (Statement of the Central Committee). Colombo: Pragathi Printers, [n.d] 17 p.

299._____

What the Communist propose : political thesis adopted by the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, 20th - 30th March 1980. Colombo: Pragathi Printers, 1980. 31 p.

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301.COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA [CEYLON]

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303._____

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DE SILVA, Manik. The progressives at impasse. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* 1979.

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304.DE SILVA, Mervyn. The Left tries to get it right. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* March 31, 1978 : 32-33.
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GRIFFERO, S.R. *A critical study of the United Front Government of Sri Lanka* 1975.

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306. How strong are Ceylon's Communists. *New Commonwealth,* May 16. 1955 : 495.

An assessment of the power of the CP by Sir John Kotalawala.

307. JAYAWARDENA, B.H.S.

Politics may take to the streets. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* Aug. 26, 1977 : 30-33.

After their defeat on the General Elections on 1977, the ULF leaders believe that the extra parliamentary path may be the main form of activity in the coming period in Sri Lanka.

308. _____. The rallying cry from the Left. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* June 25, 1976 : 14.

A brief account of the pre-election activities of the CP.

309. _____. Socialist unite to fight election. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* April 15, 1977 : 30.
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JIGGINS, Janice. The Left-Wing parties and the caste.

Caste and family in the politics of the Sinhalese. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979. pp. 82-86.

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311. KEARNEY, Robert N. The Ceylon Communist Party : Competition for Marxist supremacy. *Communist Revolution in Asia*, edited by Robert A. Scalapino. Englewood Cliffs; N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965. pp. 373-398.

Discusses the origins and growth of Marxism in Sri Lanka. Dr. Wickramasinghe's and Peter Keuneman's leaderships and their organization of the party. CP coalition with SLFP as well as the competition with other Marxist parties are also dealt with.

312. _____ The Communist Parties of Ceylon : rivalry and alliance. *The Communist Revolution in Asia*. 2nd ed. by R.A. Scalapino. Englewood Cliffs; N.J. : Prentice-Hall, 1969. pp. 391-416.

While discussing the development of the Left Movement till the end of the 1960s, major attention is given to the examination of the emergence of the Communist Parties; the CP (Moscow) and the CP (China). The competition between two parties for the Marxist supremecy; the participation in the Coalition with the SLFP and LSSP in 1965; as well as the strength of both Communists in the electoral and trade union sectors are also dealt with.

313. _____ The Marxist Parties of Ceylon. *Radical Politics in South Asia*, ed. by Paul R. Brass and Marcus Franda. Cambridge: Massmit Press, 1973 pp. 401-439.
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315._____ Ceylon patriotic call of the Communist Party. *World Marxist Review*, Vol. 6 (2), Feb., 1963, 63-65.

316._____

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317._____

October National Liberation and Ceylon. [Colombo]: Ceylon Communist Party Education Bureau, 1967. [2], 35 p.

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318._____

Sri Lanka's real alternatives, speeches of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. Colombo: Pragathi Printers, 1978, 51 p.

319._____

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321._____

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322._____

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323._____

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Colombo: Communist Party, 1964.

324._____

Unity of the fighting masses. The result of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, Vol. 6 (8), Aug. 1978, 32-43 and Reprint *World Marxist Review*, Vol. 21 (8), Aug. 1978, 24-32.

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LERSKI, George. Ceylon. *Year Book of International Communist Affairs* 1972.

See No. 359.

325.MENDIS, M.G. The October Revolution and the Communist Movement in Ceylon. *World Marxist Review*, Vol. 10 (11), Nov. 1967, 40-42.

An account of the impact of the Russian Revolution on the Communist Movement and growth of the Communist Movement in Sri Lanka.

MUKHERJEE, Sadham.

Ceylon island that changed. Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1971.

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See No. 82.

326.PERERA, Basil.
Pieter Keuneman : A profil. Colombo: Ceylon Communist Party, 1967, 138 p.

PERERA, Wilfred. The strategy of betrayal : from permanent revolution to permanent coalition. *Young Socialist* Vol. 3 (2). See No. 419.

PHADNIS, Urmila. United Left Front of Ceylon. *Eastern World*, Vol. 17 (11).
See No. 420.

327. REID, Barbara. Sri lanka. *Year Book of International Communist Affairs*, 1976. Edited by Richard F. Staar. Stanford; California: Hoover Institute Press, 1976. pp. 382-384, and 1977, pp. 380-382.

RODRIGO, C. Popular Frontism in Sri Lanka. *Militant International Review*, No. 9. See No. 177.

328. SAMARAWEERA, Vijaya. Sri Lanka Marxists in electoral politics. *Universal Franchise : the Sri Lankan Experience*, ed. by K.M. de Silva. Colombo: Ministry of State, 1981. pp. 127-146.
A comparative study of the performances of the Marxist parties in eight General Elections since 1947. The study is mainly based on the results of the General Elections. This is a revised and enlarged edition of the article published in *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 18 (3), 1980, 308-324 by the same author.

329. SAMARAWICKRAMA, N. Ceylon Communist Party which steps into 22nd year. *Global Digest*, Oct. 2, 1965 : 169-172.

330. SANMUGATHASAN, N.
A short history of the Left Movement in Ceylon. Published in Europe, 1972. 83 p. [28].
The author is the General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party and the Ceylon Trade Union Federation. This is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the history of the Left Movement at the beginning in the 1930s. Chapter I : The early days; Chapter II : controversy between Marxism Leninism; Chapter III : Bandaranaike and after; Chapter IV : Formation of the Marxist-Leninist Party; Capter V : Emergence of Petty-bourgeois trends; chapter VI : Conclusions.

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See No. 180.

SUBASINGHE, D.W. Political alliances in the anti-imperalist struggle, 1977. *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, Vol. 5 (7). See No. 190.

331. *TWENTY five years of Ceylon Communist Party 1943-1968.* Colombo: People's Publishing House, [1968], 4, 109 p.

THE UNITED FRONT MANIFESTO: issued by the three parties: SLFP, LSSP And CP, prior to the General Elections of 27th May 1970. *Quest*. Vol. 5 (1 & 2).

See No. 194.

332. UNITED LEFT FRONT.

Election manifesto of the United Left Front. June 1977. Colombo: K.P. Silva, 1977. 6 p.

VENDER, Kroef J.M. Ceylon's political Left : its development and aspiration. *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 40 (3 & 4).

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333. A VICTORY for unity against splitism, landmark for Leftist Movement. Ceylon Communist Party. 7th Congress. *New Age*, Vol. 12 (19), May 1964, 9.

WANASINGHE, Sydney. from Marxism to Communalism. *Young Socialist*, Vol. 3 (3).

See No. 197.

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The major proposal of the CP placed before the Party Congress of May 1955, and the critical analysis of the UNP election manifesto of 1956 by the CP are also included.

See No. 103.

334. WICKRAMASINGHE, S.A. The rise and growth of Leninism in Ceylon. *World Marxist Review*, Vol. 13 (4), April 1970, 11-13.
Founding Member of the CP traces the significant events and growth of the Communist policies in Sri Lanka from the beginning.

WILSON, A.J. Socialism in Sri Lanka. *Socialism in the Third World.*

See No. 433.

335._____.
Traditional Left. *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1973.* London: Macmillan Press, 1974, pp. 151-161.
In this Chapter the author discusses the development of the Left Movement, LSSP, CP and VLSSP, the so-called traditional Left, the unity and common programmes among the Left Parties and Coalition with SLFP are also discussed.

WISWA WARNAPALA, W.A. The Marxist parties in Sri Lanka and the 1971 insurrection. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 15 (9).

See No. 372.

336._____
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The purpose of this article is to explain how the Marxist parties despite their commitment to a revolutionary ideolgy, fought for the strict observance of British Parliamentary practices.

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Dr. S.A. Wickramasinghe and the Left politics of Sri Lanka. *Lanka Guardian*, Nov. 15, 1982 : 20-22.
Traces the political activities of Dr. S.A. Wickramasinghe, one of the pioneer leaders of the Marxist Movement.

WRIGGINS, Howard. The non-communist Left and the Communist Party. *Ceylon dilemmas of a new nation.* Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1960. pp. 124-143.
General discussion of the Left movement since its origin; formation of the LSSP, CP and other Left Parties, their ideological differences, organization, leadership, programmes and actions till the 1950s.
See No. 122

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

(People's Liberation Front)

338.ALLES, A.C.

Insurgency 1971 : an account of the April Insurrection in Sri Lanka. Colombo: Apothecaries, 1976. 256, XVII p.

The author is the former Solicitor-General and Judge of the Superme Court of Sri Lanka, Member Criminal Justice Commission (Insurgency 1971). The account of the insurrection deals with the proceedings before the Commission and its findings. It discusses the origins of the JVP, its growth and destruction in 1971.

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The April 1971 insurrection and the rural youth. *Logos*, Vol. 15 (3), Jan. 1977, pp 49-56.

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A study of the growth and expansion of the radical youth movement. JVP policies as against that of the traditional Left parties, as well as an examination of the philosophy, organisation and leadership of the JVP.

BLACKSTON, Charles. the Marxists and Ultra Marxists of Sri Lanka : since independence. *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 4 (1 & 2).
See No. 291.

341._____
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Sri Lanka Marxists. *Problems of Communism,* Vol. 22 (1), Jan Feb. 1973, 28-43.

Examines the background to the origins of the JVP and expansion of youth radicalism since 1965. The JVP insurgency of 1971 and its challenge to the traditional Left are also discussed in this article.

343.BOPAGE, Lionel. Analysing Uyangoda, a JVP reply. *Lanka Guardian,* Jan. 1, 1982 : 22-23 & 24, Jan. 15, 1982 : 22-23 & 24.

Criticising Uyangoda he explains the policy and programme adopted by the JVP since 1977. The author he is the Secretary of the JVP.
See No. 366.

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The revolutionary policy declared of the JVP. Colombo: Shakthi Press, 1979, 32 p.

345.CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMMISSION (Insurgency). *Judgement of the Criminal Justic Commission (Insurgency) Inquiry No.1* (Politbureau). Colobo: Deptt. of Government Printing, Sri Lanka (Ceylon). 1976. (4), 445 p.

346.DE SILVA, Colvin R.

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347.FERNANDO, H.N. The JVP then and now. *Lanka Guardian,* June 1, 1981 : 16-21.
New policy and programme of JVP as a recognized party since 1977.

348.FERNANDO, L.P.

Political violence in Sri Lanka : The April 1971 Youth Insurrection. (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick), 1976. IX, 96, Leaves.

Main aim of this study is to investigate the causes as well as the pattern of April 1971 insurrection. The aims, methods and objectives of the insurrection. The cause of the April insurrection. The origin and development of the JVP, and theory and practice of armed insurrection are also discussed in this survey.

349.HALLIDAY, Fred. The Ceylonese insurrection. *New Left Review,* No. 69, Sept - Oct 1971 : 55-91

The JVP's radical path to achieve Socialism and the unexpected insurrection in 1971 are dealt with in this article.

350.HOUTART, Francois. The People's Liberation Front. (Janatha Vimukti Peramuna - J.V.P.). *Religion and ideology in Sri Lanka.* Colombo: Hansa Publishers, 1974. pp. 344-358.

An attempt has made to analyse the education, social, employment, religious and caste background of the Members of the JVP. Secondly, it discusses the ideology of the party and the major themes of the five lectures given by the JVP. The period covered by this chapter is 1964-1971.

351.IQBAL, Mehrunissa. The insurgency in Ceylon and its repercussions. *Pakistan Horizon,* Vol. 25 (2), 1972. pp. 51-61.
This study investigates the origin and growth of the People's Liberation Front (JVP). Causes for the uprising and fate of insurgents in 1971 is also given.

352.JANATHA VIMUKTHI PERAMUNA
Message to international revolutionary movements and forces of anti-imperalism from the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front) of Ceylon. London: The JVP, 1970, 8 p.

353. *THE JANATHA VIMUKTHI PERAMUNA (People's Liberation Front) of Ceylon* (London, The JVP, 1971). 37 p.

An account of the policies, programme and ideology of the JVP culled from the JVP's newspaper.

354. _____

The revolutionary policy declaration of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front of Sri Lanka). Colombo: Lioneal Bopage, ((1979). 36 p.

In this policy declaration the JVP, analyses the political, economic and social structure of Sri Lanka with critising the policies and activities adopted by the UNP, SLFP, and other Left parties. It put forward 91 points programmes on the structure of the State and economy as well as the foreign policy of the Socialist State which the JVP hopes to establish.

355. JAYASINGHAM, S.J. Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. *South Asian Studies,* Vol. 9 (1-2), Jan. - July 1974 pp. 1-16.

A Research Fellow of the South Asian Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, India, investigates the causes for the origin and expansion of the "radical revolutionary" Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna since its beginning to the 1971 insurrection.

JIGGINS, Janice. Caste and the insurgency of 1971. *Caste and family in the politics of the Sinhalese.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1979. pp. 122-147.

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JUPP, James. The revolutionary challenge. *Sri lanka : third word democracy.* London: Frank Cass & Co., 1978. pp 293-325.
This Chapter investigates the JVP character, ideology, nature of insurrection and effects of the insurrection on politics since 1971.
See No. 64.

356.KEARNEY, Robert N. Youth protest : politics of Sri Lanka. *Sociological Focus*. Vol. 13 (3), Aug. 1980, Aug. 1980, 293-313.

Deals with the origin and rapid growth of the JVP till the insurrection in 1971 under the sub-title of Insurrection of 1971, pp. 300-304.

357._____ *and* JIGGINS, J.

The Ceylon insurrection of 1971. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 23 March 1975 : 40-64.

Beginning with the general remarks concerning the political background and Left politics in Sri Lanka, this article discusses the growth of the JVP and the 1971 insurrection.

358.KEERAWELLA, G.B. The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the 1971 uprising. *Ceylon Studies Seminar*, Peradeniya, Series 1. Serial No. 78, 1979, 39 p. Republished in *Social Science Review*, No. 2, 1980 : 1-55.

Discusses the development and expansion of the Left Movement, emergence of the various splinter groups, formation of the JVP, (PLF) by six calandestine groups and insurrection of 1971.

359.LERSKI, George. Ceylon. *Year Book on International Communist Affairs*, edited by Richard F. Staurted. Stafford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972, pp. 465-476.

An account of the origin and development of JVP till the insurrection of 1971 and other leftist parties.

360.OBEYASEKARA, Jayasumana. Revolutionary Movement in Ceylon. *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, edited by Kethelen Gangh and Hari Sharma. New York: London: 1973. pp. 368-395.

The author is a revolutionary writer and activist in the Fourth International, wrote the "Ceylon : A Cuba in Asia". Discusses the genesis, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement and image of the J.V.P. against the traditional Left.

361.PERERA, N.M. April, 1971 : a vain and inglorious adventure. *Young Socialist* (N.S). Vol. 1. 1980 : 31-38.

362.PHADNIS, Urmila. Crisis for the old Left in Ceylon. *Venture* (London), Vol. 23 (10), 1971, 10-12.

This is an account of the challenges to the traditional Left Movement by radical youth movement.

363._____ Insurgency in Ceylon : Hard challenge and grim warning. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 6 (19), May 1971, 965-968.

The origin of the JVP; mobilization of the party among the people; economic, education and social background of the party members; 1971 insurrection and its grim warning to the political leadership of the country are discussed.

REID, Barbara. Sri Lanka. *Year Book of International Communist Affairs,* 1976. See No. 327.

RODRIGO C. Popular Frontism in Sri Lanka. *Militant International Review,* No. 9.

See No. 177.

SANMUGATHASAN, N. An analysis of the April 1971 events in Ceylon. *A Marxist looks at the history of Ceylon.* Published in Europe, 1972, pp. 97-114.

A critical analysis of the policies, programmes and organisation of the JVP and the insurgency in 1971. See No. 94.

A SHRINKING Team.

Economist - 1977.

See No. 180.

364.TAMPOE, Bala. the J.V.P. - then and now. *Lanka Guardian*,

May 1, 1981 : 12-13 & 35.
A study of the JVP in 1971 and in 1981.

365.UYANGODA, J. J.V.P. class character. *Lanka Guardian,* June 15, 1981 : 23-26.

Analyses the previous research on J.V.P. and provides a detailed description on class and caste nature of the J.V.P. The atuhor was a Polit Bureau Member of the J.V.P in 1971.

366._____

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna since 1977. *Lanka Guardian,* Nov. 1, 1981 : 18-19 & Nov. 15, 1981 : 21-22.

Discusses the major changes of the J.V.P. and rejects the extra-parliamentary activities of the party since 1977. See No. 343.

367._____

Origin and evolution of the J.V.P. *Lanka Guardian,* June 1, 1981 : 22-23.

Shows the evolution of the JVP, Pt. 1 : 1967-1970 period of calandestine activities. Pt. 2 : 1970-1971 insurrection.

368._____ Theory and ideology of the J.V.P. *Lanka Guardian,* July 1, 1981 : 21-22 and 24.

Criticising the "Five Lectures" of the J.V.P. the author concludes the article by saying that JVP theory and ideology are a radical projection of the false consciousness of the petty bourgeoisie.

369.WEERAKCOON, R. The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna on the basic of evidence : the insurgency judgment : effects of isolation. *Young Socialist* (N.S.), June 1980 : 28-34.

370.WIJEWEERA, Rohana. Speeches to the Ceylon Criminal Justice Commission. *New Left Review,* No. 84 (March-April),

1974 : 85-104. Reprint, *Ceylon Solidarity Campaign Bulletin*, Sept. 1974 : 5-12. *Explosion in a sub-continent, India, Pakistan, Bangaladesh, and Ceylon*, edited by Robin Blackbarn, 1975, pp. 221-251. Call (Delhi). Vol. 26 (2), Oct. 1974, 16-20. and *Frpmtoer* (Canada) Vol.7 (35) Dec.21, 1974, 6-8.

371. WILSON, A.J. The revolutionary Left. *Politics in Sri Lanka* 1947-1973.

372. WISWA WARNAPALA, W.A. The Marxist parties in Sri Lanka and the 1971 insurrection. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 15 (9), Sept. 1975 745-757.

Based on the insurrection in 1971 the author discusses the crisis of the Marxist parties (LSSP, CP (Moscow) and CP (China) after the insurrection, impact of the JVP insurrection on the Left and traditional Leftist attitude towards the insurrection.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party

373.ABHAYAWARDENA, Hector. Categories of Left thinking in Ceylon. *Commentary,* No. 4, 1963 : 31-57.

A leading LSSP theoretician categorises the political Left on the basis of ideology, philosophy and policies of the parties.

AMARASINGHAM, S.P. Left Wing coalition swept into power, *Mainstream,* Vol. 8 (45). See No. 127.

374.AMARASINGHE, Y.R. Internationalism versus parlaimentarism:Fourth International and the Ceylon Trotskyites. *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol. 7 (1 & 2), 1976, 134-161.

The article examine the relationship between Ceylon Trotskyits and the 4th International since 1942 to the LSSP expulsion from the 4th International in 1962. He draws the attention of the reader to the conflicts between the LSSP and the 4th International on their ideology and provides a brief account of the LSSP (Revolutionary) as a branch of 4th International. The author is a Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

375._____

Trotskyism in Ceylon : a study of development, ideology and political role of Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 1935-1964.

(Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London), 1974. 474. leaves.

Development of the LSSP as a major Left-Wing Trotskyist party since its beginnings. The role played in national politics till the Coalition with SLFP in 1964. The party programme, policies, its ideology and Trade Union activities are also dealt with.

BLACKSTON, Charles. The Marxist and Ultra Marxists of Sri Lanka : since independence. *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. IV (1 & 2).

See No. 291.

376.CEYLON:the criticism of Bala Tampo. *Fourth International*,
Vol. 8 (2), Spring 1973, 52-60.

An account of the tactics and programmes of the Marxist parties adopted in the last ten years - especially programmes of the LSSP (R) is dealt with.

_____ *History of International World Socialism*, 1980.

See No. 292.

_____ *Year Book on International Communist Affairs, 1969.*

See No. 293.

CHU, Daniel. Sri Lanka : the purge. *News Week*, Vol. 86 (12).

See No. 139.

377.DE SILVA, Colvin R.

Left disunity : A reply to a critic. Colombo: Laxman Press, (1950) 32 p.

While praising the LSSP policy and activities, the author criticises the policy and tactics of CP and UNP. The author is a founder member of the LSSP and the present Leader of the LSSP.

378._____ N.M. Perera : a postle of social change. Young Socialist (N.S.) Vol. I, 1980, 9-10.

379._____ On the eve. Socialist Nation, Vol. 11 (22), Oct. 1976, 3-4.

An account of the LSSP political activities and progress since the departure of the LSSP Left from the Coalition Government in 1975.

380._____

Outline of the permanent revolution : A study course. Colombo: Sama Samaja Publications, 1955, 30 p.

381._____

The party and the revolution in Sri Lanka. (Colombo: L.S.S.P. 1974) 10 p.

382.DE SILVA, E.P.

A short biography of Dr. N.M. Perera. Colombo: Times of Ceylon Ltd., 1975. 132 p.

Author is the editor of the Ceylon Daily Mirror. Main events of N.M. Perera's life and political activities are discussed.

383.DE SILVA, Manik

The Progressives at impasse. Far Eastern Economic Review. Sept. 28, 1979 : 32-33.

LSSP and CP efforts to form a United Left Front.

384.DE SILVA, Mervyn. The Left tries to get it right. Far Eastern Economic Review, March 31, 1979.

385.DE SILVA, Susan

The wrecking of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Colombo:Liberty Press, (1958). 26p.

DEUTSCHER, Tamara. Letter from Ceylon. *New Left Review,* 1970.

See No.145.

386.GERMIN, Ernest. Peoples Frontism in Ceylon : From wavering to capitulation. *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 25 (4), Fall 1964, 104-117.

The decision of the LSSP to join the SLFP. This article presented by a Member of the Fourth International explains the character of the LSSP Leaders and how the decision of the Coalition affected the whole sector of the revolutionary movement in Ceylon.

387.GOONEWARDENE, Leslie. The decline of the Left - Why? *Lanka Guardian*, Vol. 5 (21), March, 1983, 5-6.

The author is a founder member of the LSSP and he was its General Secretary for many years. Analyses the decline of the LSSP and reminds the history of the Left movement and argues that this is not a decline.

388._____

The history of the L.S.S.P. in perspective. Colombo: H.W. Cave & Co., 1978. 24 p.

A historical sketch of the activities and successes of the LSSP in national politics at the beginning in 1930's by a leading member of the party.

389._____

A short history of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. (Maradana: Gunaratne & Co.), 1960, 66 p.

This book published in connection with the 25th anniversary of the party, discusses the development of the party, its main aims, trade union activities, election victories and struggle for the working class during the period of 1935-1959.

390._____. What we stand for, *United Asia*, Vol. 15 (2), Feb., 1963, 114-120.

Discusses the position of the LSSP in the politics of Sri Lanka as well as the role of the party in the Left wing Coalition.

GRIFFERO, S.R.

A Critical Study of the United Front Government of Sri Lanka. 1975.

See No. 151.

391. GUNASEKARA, Vernan *and* MENDIS, M.G.

Secretaries report. *Samasamajist*, Vol. I, 1937, 13-23.

Party activities, development of its organization and enrolment memberships discussed in this report.

392. JAYASINGAM, S.J. Leftist parties in Sri Lanka : the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 8 (2), July 1973, 28-54.

An examination of the formation of the LSSP for the purpose of national independence and moderate socialism; its development as a revolutionary Trotskyist party; expulsion of the Stalinists from the party; activities of the LSSP during the Second World War and British reaction towards the party. Reasons for the expulsion of the LSSP from the 4th International and the LSSP - SLFP alliance also examined.

JAYAWARDENE, B.H.S. Politics may take to the streets. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 26, 1977.
See No. 307.

_____. Socialist unite to fight election, 1977. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 15, 1977.
See No. 309.

393. JAYAWARDENE, V.K. The background to the formation of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. *Young Socialist*, Vol. 1 (N.S.), 1980, 11-26.

394._____. The origin of the Left Movement in Sri Lanka. *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol. 2 (2), July 1971, 195-221.

A survey of the origin and development of the working class movement, formation of the Labour Party by A.E. Goonasinghe, and activities of the Ceylon National Congress during this period. The birth of the Suriya Mal Movement and the birth of the LSSP in 1935 are also dealt with.

JIGGINS, Janice. The Left-Wing parties and the caste. *Caste and family in the politics of the Sinhalese*. 1979.

See No. 59.

KARALARASINGHAM, V. Analysis of the SLFP-LSSP coalition. *World Out Look*, Vol. 2 (26).

See No. 161.

395._____

Politics of coalition. Colombo: International Publishers, 1964, 84 p.

Chapter I gives an account of the Marxist theory and historical experience on coalitions. Criticises the coalition idea of the LSSP. Chapter II discusses the class character of the SLFP and shows its capitalist characteristics. Chapter III gives the relationship of the LSSP with SLFP and formation of the coalition. the collapse of the old leadership of the LSSP is also discussed.

396._____

Senile Leftism. Colombo: International Publishers, 1966. [4], 64 p.

A critical analysis of the old leadership of the LSSP and their idea to join the SLFP.

KEARNEY, Robert N. The Communist Parties in Ceylon : rivalry and alliance. 1969. *The Communist Revolution in Asia*. 1969.

See No. 312.

397._____ The Lanka Sama Samaja Party. *The Politics of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973, pp. 119-123.

A brief account of the birth of the LSSP; its ideology; Coalition with the CP and the SLFP. The disintegration of the party is also dealt with.

398._____ The Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the disrupted United Front path to Socialism in Sri Lanka. *Asian Thought and Society,* Vol. 1 (1), April 1976, 18-23.

This five-page article attempts a brief preliminary interpretation of the United Front experiment as it was perceived and executed by the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

_____. The Marxist Parties of Ceylon. *Radical Politics in South Asia.* 1973.

See No. 313.

399.LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY.

Draft programme for a Socialist United Front. Colombo: [Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 1977], 32 p.

LSSP ideas and proposals for the formation of United Left Front.

400._____

For a Sama Samaja government : election manifesto. Maradana: Gunaratne & Co., 1960.

401._____ Forward to the LSSP government. *Fourth International,* No. 5. 1958 : 54-57.

402._____

General elections 1956 : manifesto of the LSSP. Colombo: [Lanka Sama Samaja Party], 1956.

403._____

Lanka Sama Samaja Pakashaye Viyavastava. (The Constitution of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party). 1958. 11 p.

404._____ *Manifesto of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, May 1st, 1951.* Maradana: Star Press, [1951], 10 p.

Criticising the UNP regime, the LSSP calls upon the masses to march forward to the destruction of the UNP regime and to the establishment of a Sama Samaja Government.

405._____

Open letter to the Members of the LSSP from the LSSP (R). Colombo: LSSP (R), 1969. 17, (6) p.

406._____

Programme of action : adopted at the United Conference. June 4th, 1950. [Colombo: Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 1950], 7 p.

An account of the activities and successes of the party, as well as the programme for the future.

407._____

The road to a Socialist Sri Lanka. Colombo: Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 1978, 37 p.
While discussing their activities in the United Front Government the article discusses ways of achieving socialism through democratic process.

408.LSSP is 38.

Tribune, December 29, 1973 : 7-9.
Article is written for the LSSP's thirty-eighth birthday. A short account of the activities from 1935-1973.

LERSKI, George. Ceylon. *Year Book of International Communist Affairs.* 1972.
See No. 359.

409._____. Ceylon. *World Communism : A hand book 1918-1965.* Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973. pp 59-64.

A short history of the Left Movement in Sri Lanka from the beginning.

410._____

Origins of Trotskyism in Ceylon : A documentary history of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party 1935-1942. Stanford, (California): Hoover Institute, Stanford University Press, 1968. xix, 288 p.

A vivid account of the Trotskyism from the beginning to 1965. Chapter I discusses the origin of the party; the protests against the British for self-government and upliftment of the position of the workers. Chapter II discusses the LSSP activities in the State Council. Chapter III discusses the Trade Unions activities and revolutionary policy adopted by the party. Chapter IV discusses the ideological conflict among the party members. The expulsion of the Stalinist members from the party and the 1965 party conflict also dealt with.

411._____ Trotskyism in Sri Lanka.

Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol. 10 (1-2), (Spring Summer), 1977, 109-132.

Traces the significant part played by the LSSP in the political arena since the 1930's to the 1970's. Attempts to discuss the ideological changes after the coalition with the SLFP in 1960's and gives reasons for the failure of the LSSP in the 1977 elections.

412._____ The twilight of Ceylonese Trotskyism. *Pacific Affiars,* Vol. 43 (3) Fall 1970, 384-393.

This article is a revised version of a paper read at the April 1970 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in San Francisco. Analysis the reasons which compelled the Leaders of the LSSP to abandon their

Trotskyism and severe their links with the Fourth International.

MUKERGEE, S.

Ceylon island that changed 1971.

See No. 82.

413. NANAYAKKARA, Vasudeva *and* DE ALWIS, Shanta.

The way forward for Sri Lanka's Left. Colombo: Gunaratne & Co. Ltd. [1979]. 30 p.

An account of the development of the Left Movement during the past two decades. Origin and history of the Nava Sama Samaja Party is also given. Its programme of action for the working class has also been discussed.

414. NAVARATNE, Gamini. Sri Lanka Left regroups to fight another day. *New Commonwealth,* December, 1977 : 18-19.

A brief account of the defeated Marxist parties in 1977 General Elections and an estimate of their chances in the future.

415. PERERA, N.M. Infantism that passes for vasuism. *Socialist Nation,* Vol. 2 (15), May 1977 : 3 & 5; Vol. 2 (16), May 1977 : 3.

While discussing the LSSP revolutionary path from 1935 to the present day, criticizes Vasudeva Nanayakkara's ultra left ideology by the former leader of the LSSP.

416. _____. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the peasantry. *Young Socialist,* (N.S.), June, 1980 : 9-11.

417. _____ The SLFP and the Socialist United Front. 1976. *Socialist Nation,* Vol. I (4).

418. _____ Thirty-five years after. *Nation,* December 18, 1970 : 4.

Issued on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the LSSP; provides a history of the 35 years of LSSP.

419.PERERA, Wilfred. The strategy of betrayal (from permanent revolution to permanent coalition). *Young Socialist.*

Vol. 3 (2); & *Whole*, No. 12, 1965 : 61-68.

A critical analysis of the LSSP policy of Coalition with the SLFP.

420.PHADNIS, Urmila. United Left Front of Ceylon. *Eastern World*, Vol. 17 (11) Nov., 1963, 11-12.

Examines the formation of ULF by the LSSP, CP, and the MEP against the SLFP Government in 1963. Reasons for the LSSP departure from the Front and Coalition with SLFP in 1964 is also dealt with.

REID, Barbara. Sri Lanka. *Year Book of International Communist Affairs*, 1976.

See No. 327.

RODRIGO, C. Popular Frontism in Sri Lanka. *Militant International Review*, No.9.

See No. 177.

421.ROSS, Michael

The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon. New York: Labour Publications Inc., 1972. 69 p. (Bulletin Pamphlet Series No. 9).

422.SAMARAKKODY, Edmund.

Politics of the VAMA [Left], Samasamajists. [Mount Lavinia, 1977], 12 p.

Vasudewa and others of the Vama Samaja Group recently expelled from the LSSP have functioned as revolutionaries, and their aim was to give revolutionary perspective to the

party whose leadership was functioning in a reformist manner.

423._____. The struggle for Trostkyism. *Spartacist,* (Fourth Internationalist) an organ of revolutionary Marxism. (N.Y.), No. 22, 1973-1974, 1-24.

A discussion on the history of Trotskyists Movement in Sri Lanka since its beginnings to frontism with SLFP in the 1960s.

SAMARAWEERA, Vijaya. Sri Lanka Marxist in electoral politics. *Universal Franchise the Sri Lankan Experience,* 1981. See No. 328.

SANMUGATHASAN, N.

A short history of the Left Movement in Ceylon. 1972.

See No. 330.

424.SIRIWARDENA, Reggie. How the L.S.S.P. turned Trotskyist. *Lanka Guardian,* July 1, 1982 : 11-13.

This article points out that the main reason for the LSSP's evolution towards Trotskyism was due to the influence of Philip Gunawardene.

425._____. N.M. A political assessment. *Lanka Guardian,* Sept. 1, 1979 : 11-12.

A brief account of N.M. Perera's political activities.

SUBASINGHE, D.W. Political alliances in the anti-imperialist struggle. *Problems of Peace and Socialism,* Vol. 5 (7).
See No. 190.

426.TROTSKY, Leon. A letter to Selina Perera, November 24, 1939. *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-1940.* New York: Merit Publishers, 1969, p. 14.
Leon Trotsky's advice to his followers in India and Sri Lanka.

427. TROTSKYISM in Ceylon. *Economist*, June 3, 1948: 24.

THE UNITED FRONT MANIFESTO; issued by the three parties: SLFP, LSSP and CP prior to the General Elections of 27th May, 1970. *Quest*, Vol. 5 (1 & 2).

See No. 194.

UNITED LEFT FRONT.

Election Manifesto of the United Left Front. 1977.

See No. 332.

428. VAIDIALINGAM, A. The new face of the Sama Samajists. *New Age*, Vol. 1 (10), March 1946, 31-38.

The idea of the LSSP on the formation of Left Front with CP for National Liberation is critically examined.

429. VANDER, Kroef J.M. Ceylon's political Left : its development and aspiration. *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 40 (3 & 4), (Fall and Winter), 1967-1968, 250-278.

The object of this article is to discuss the development of the Left Movement since the 1930s and its attitude towards the popular frontism.

WANASINGHE, Sydney. From Marxism to Communalism. *Young Socialist*. Vol. 3 (3).

See No. 197.

WEERAWARDENA, I.D.S. Lanka Sama Samaja Party. *Ceylon General Election 1956*. Colombo, M.D. Gunasena & Co., 1960. pp. 69-75.
The party organization, its ideology, main aims, its demands, 14-point programme and major issues of the election manifesto of 1956 also dealt with.
See No. 103.

430. WHETHER the L.S.S.P.
Red Flag, No. 3, 1969 : 16-22.

Discusses the wealth and property of the LSSP leaders. Criticises the class character, nature of the leadership and counter revolutionary ideology of the party.

431. WICKRAMANAYAKE, George H.
To the former minority of the L.S.S.P. (R) back to the revolutionary party : A letter to the author's former Comrades in the L.S.S.P.(R) dated 17.2.1967 on leaving of their decision to rejoin the parent party. (Unpublished, typescript). 7 p.

432. WICKRAMASINGHE, Martin. The evolution of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. *Nation,* December 24, 1970 : 5.
A comment on the formation and growth of the Trotskyist L.S.S.P.

433. WILSON, A.J. Socialism in Sri Lanka. *Socialism in the Third World;* ed. by H. Desfosses and J. Levesque. New York; 1975, pp. 225-290.
A historical survey of the development of Socialism under the Trotskyism and Leninism leaderships. Emergence of the new Left and their radical way for revolution is also discussed.

_____
Traditional Left. *Politics of Sri Lanka* 1947-1973.
See No. 111.

WISWA WARNAPALA, W.A. The Marxist parties in Sri Lanka and the 1971 insurrection. *Asian Survey,* Vol. 15 (9),
See No. 372.

_____. Parliamentary Opposition in Sri Lanka, some aspects of the behaviour of Marxists. 1975. *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies,* Vol. IX (4),
See No. 336.

434. WOODWARD, Calvin. The Trotskyite Movement in Ceylon. *World Politics,* January 1962 : 307-321.
This study deals with the impact of Trotskyism on politics in Ceylon as well as an analysis of the reasons for disunity of the Trotskyite Movement and its role in national politics are discussed.

WRIGGINS, Howard. The Non-Communist Left and the Communist Party. *Ceylon dilemmas of a new nation.* 1960.
See No. 122.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (R)

AMARASINGHE, Y.R. Internationalism versus Parliamentarism.

Fourth International and the Ceylon Trotskyites. *Modern Ceylon Studies,* Vol. 7 (1 & 2).

See No. 374.

CEYLON : the criticism of Bala Tampoe. *Fourth International,* Vol. 8 (2).

See No. 376.

435. REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PARTY.

For an anti-capitalist United Front of the Working Class. Colombo, R.M.P., 1977. 5, III. p.

436. _____. Ceylon Section of Fourth International.

The political situation in Ceylon and the rebuilding of the Left Movement under revolutionary Marxist Leadership. [Colombo, Mahabodhi Press, 1974], 34 p.

Lanka Sama Samaja Party (R) changed its name to the Revolutionary Marxist Party in 1973. Statement signed by Bala Tampoe, Secretary of the R.M.P.

WICKRAMANAYAKE, George H.

To the former minority of the LSSP (R) back to the revolutionary party. (1967).

See No. 431.

WILSON, A.J. The revolutionary Left. *Politics in Sri Lanka. 1947-1973.* (1974).
See No. 111.

The Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party

NANAYAKKARA, Vasudeva *and* DE ALWIS, Santha.

The way forward for Sri Lanka's Left (1979).
See No. 413.

PERERA, N.M. Infantism that passes for vasuism. *Socialist Nation*, vol. 2 (15).

See No. 415.

SAMARAKKODY, Edmund.

Politics of the VAMA (Left) Samasamajists (1977).

See No. 422.

Communal Parties

The All Ceylon Tamil Congress

JUPP, James. Minority politics. *Sri Lanka third world democracy*, London; Frank Cass and Co., 1978, pp. 137-161. This chapter examines the politics and political organizations of the Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils, Muslims and other religious groups. It discusses the formation of the T.C., F.P., C.W.C. and D.W.C. and their activities till the formation of the T.U.F. in 1972.
See No. 64.

KEARNEY, Robert N.

Communialism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon. Durham: North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967.

Formation of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress in 1944, its main aim, departure of the S.J.V. Chelvanayakam fraction in 1949, T.C. policy towards the UNP and its electoral strength are examined till 1965, pp. 36-37, 39, 75, 77, 90-93, 96-97, 101, 106, 120, 126, 128, 129.

See No. 66.

MATHEWS, Bruce. The situation in Jaffna and how it came about. *Round Table*, No. 290.
See No. 478.

437. PONNAMBALAM, G.G.

Presidential address delivered at the first plenary session of the ALL-Ceylon Tamil Congress held at the Town Hall, Colombo, on 27th November, 1944. Colombo: All Ceylon Tamil Congress, (1944), 22 p. (Tamil Congress Publication, No. 1).

WILSON, A.J. Ethnocentric groupings. *Politics in Sri Lanka 1947-1973.* (1974).
See No. 111.

WOODWARD, Calvin A. Communal parties. *The growth of a party system in Ceylon*. Providence: Brown University Press, 1969, pp. 62-65 and pp. 230-231.

A brief account of the activities of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and the Federal Party of Sri Lanka in the 1960s.

See No. 118.

WRIGGINS, Howard. Tamil parties. *Ceylon dilemmas of a new nation*. (1960).

See No. 122.

The Ceylon Workers Congress (Political Wing)

438. CEYLON WORKERS CONGRESS.

General election 1977 : Ceylon Workers Congress (Political Wing). Manifesto. Colombo: New Leela Press, 1977. 16 p.

President of the C.W.C., S. Thondaman was elected for Nuwara Eliya Maskeliya Constituency and later joined the UNP Cabinet as Minister of Rural Industries. The activities and success, and future programme of the C.W.C. put forward to the voters by its manifesto.

439. _____

19th Session 1963. Nawalapitiya: Raja Press, 1963, 28 p.

440. _____

Report of activities, 1979-1981. Colombo: Ceylon Workers Congress (1982). 99 p.

This report provides a outline of the formation of the C.W.C. in 1950, its contribution to the plantation workers till 1979 as a background. In the 26th convention of the party the leader explained the events that had taken place since the earlier sessions in 1976. It discusses the party politics with special reference to the C.W.C. Provides the details of the Trade Union activities, workers education and strikes conducted by the C.W.C. and its relations with international organizations. The major objectives of the Youth Congress and the Womens' Congress. The resolutions adopted by the 39th Anniversary Meeting at Badulla, 9-11 March, 1979, and accounts of the C.W.C. since 1978 to 1980 are also included.

441. _____

Report of activities 1976-1978. Colombo: Ceylon Workers Congress, 1979. 85 p.

This report also provides the details of the activities from 1976 to 1978 on major fields stated in the above entry.

442._____

Report of activities : October 1969 to December 1977 twenty fourth convention. Colombo: New Leela Press, (n.d) 68 p.

443._____

Report of the Ceylon Workers Congress: presented at the 21st annual sessions held at Matale. Colombo: Ceylon Workers Congress, 1965. II, 68 p.

An account of the activities, the C.W.C.'s contributions to the Indian origin plantation workers. The CWC stand on Indo-Ceylon Agreement and Citizenship of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka are also dealt with.

444._____

Report of the General Secretary 1963. Colombo: Ceylon Printers, 1963. 66 p.

445._____

The statement adopted at the joint meeting of the National Council and 16th Executive Council of the Ceylon Workers Congress, in August 1977. Colombo: Ceylon Workers Congress, 1977. 8 p.

446._____ *Statement adopted by the National Executive Council of the Ceylon Workers Congress on the 17th November, 1982 at a Meeting held at the Headquarters, by the President Hon. S. Thondaman.* 1982. 4 p. (Typescript).
The Executive Council of the C.W.C. appeals to the voter to support the United National Party for the continuity of Parliament.
JUPP, James. Minority politics. *Sri Lanka third world democracy.* (1978).
See No. 64.

KEARNEY, Robert N.

Communalism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon. Durham; North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967.

Formation of the Ceylon Workers Congress, its political activities, a split in the CWC in 1956, the CWC policy towards the SLFP and the UNP are examined briefly, pp. 105-106, 115, 121, 129.

See No. 66.

_____ Minor parties and independents. *The politics of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).* Ithica and London, Cornell University Press, 1973. pp. 107-108.

A brief account on the development of the Ceylon Workers Congress and its role in Sri Lanka politics till the 1970s.
See No. 70.

447. THONDAMAN, S.

Ceylon Workers Congress:Twenty-seventh Convention: marking the organization's forty-second anniversary. Address by its President S. Thondaman. Colombo: Ceylon Printers, 1982, 20 p.
An account of the activities of the C.W.C and the Minister of Rural Development, in the last three years to raise the level of the Indian Tamil plantation workers. The problems of the Citizenship of the Indian Tamils, education and other economic and social problems related to the plantation workers, and the Trade Union activities of the C.W.C. are also discussed.

448. _____
Presidential address : Ceylon Workers Congress (Twenty-fifth convention). Kandy: Ceylon Printers, 1976.

449. _____
Presidential address (sixteenth annual conference). Colombo: Times of Ceylon, 1957. 15 p.
WILSON, A.J. Ethnocentric groupings, 1974.
See No. 111

The Federal Party

(ILANKAI TAMIL ARASU KADCHI)

450.CHELVANAYAKAM, S.J.V. Statement on federalism and language. *Tribune*, Vol. 6 (26), June 3-19, 1-7.

451._____

United Ceylon. Colombo: Federal Party, 1960.

This booklet explains the nature of the federalism that the FP sought. It was in the form of question and answers, such as What federalism is not. What federalism is. What Federal Party does not ask. Will federalism imply union with South India, and what is the language problem.

452.FEDERAL PARTY.

Ceylon faces crisis : the case of the Tamil National Minority for a Federal Constitution as a Permanent Solution of the Inter-Racial Problem of Ceylon. Colombo: Federal Party, 1957. 36 p.

453.GUPTA, Babu Lal. Political parties in Ceylon : their plans and programmes. *Political and Civic Status of Indians in Ceylon*. Agra: Educational Publishers, 1963. pp. 207-214.

An analysis of the development of the Tamil Federal ideas in Sri Lanka; problems ahead to make a federal constitution and federalism in Sri Lanka. A map is also included.

454.ILANKAI THAMIL ARASU KADCHI (Federal Party of Ceylon). *The case for a Federal Constitution for Ceylon : resolution passed at the First National Convention of the Ilankai Thamil Arasu kadchi*. Colombo: I.T.A.K. 1951. 19p.

The Constitution of the Party stated that its main aim was the attainment of freedom for the Tamil speaking people by

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Last three pages have been devoted to discuss the rise of the TULF and its main programme for separatism, and a short account of the FP, p. 529.

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