

**SRI
LANKA
BACKGROUND
BRIEFING**

Monthly
Issue No. 7
October 1986

**40-YEAR CHRONOLOGY
1946-1986**

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**PART I
1946-1965**

INTRODUCTION

To Sri Lanka, an island nation of 15 million people which had managed its affairs for 35 years of independence with neither glory nor ignominy, July 1983 came as an inglorious culmination. The anti-Tamil violence, the venom and savagery that went on unchecked through that last black week of July brought the country into sharp focus in the eyes of the international community. People spread over five continents, many of whom who did not even know that Sri Lanka existed, sat up and took notice of this blot in the Indian Ocean. Governments, particularly the aid-giving ones, began to take a hard look at the country, its performance and non-performance. In terms of Image, Tourism, Tea Production, Foreign Investments, the damage the country caused itself has yet to be repaired. Yet – anti-Tamil violence and the shame and the brutality of it, were NOT unprecedented as many foreign observers believe. That had a 27-year history at that point of time three years ago. Physical attacks on Tamils began in 1956 even as the language rights of Tamils were being deprived by legislation on that fateful day of 5 June 1956; a fact which the Sinhalese would like to forget (and have forgotten), with only the Tamils, two generations of them, carrying the scars. An honest, authentic testament of what Tamils went through two years later, in 1958, is contained in a book written by a Sinhalese himself. (*Tarzies Vittachi - Emergency'58 : The Story of the Ceylon Race Riots*, Andre Deutsch London). Vittachi who was then Editor of the *Ceylon Observer* smuggled the manuscript out to London, and embittered and disillusioned with his own country and people went into self-exile abroad. He later flowered into Sri Lanka's best known journalist internationally. The Government of that day banned the book and it remains banned to this day.

The difference between the July'83 violence and the earlier ones was firstly one of degree and magnitude. Secondly there was a method behind the madness. Thirdly, it was not just a riot, it had all the characteristics of a State-aided pogrom. But what was most pertinent was the fact that for the first time, Colombo the metropolis saw widespread barbarism at close view. It became impossible to hide it from the world; the tourists were there, the Embassies and High Commissions were there, and so were international airlines; and President Jayewardene in his supine unwisdom allowed Tamil blood to flow and Tamil property to be ravaged, giving sufficient time for the world media to carry the eye-witness message to all corners of the globe. It took a lot of belated wisdom on the part of the country's rulers to realise that they had been hoisted with their own petard!

One cannot blame the world for thinking it was the beginning of the Tamil tragedy. It was not. The sordid story begins with the very door step of the island's entry into freedom; and even before. Unlike India which fought the might of the British empire and made supreme sacrifices to achieve freedom, including the surrender of a part of its territory to satisfy the whim of one man, Jinnah, Ceylon came to be independent through what amounted to a "horse deal" – between the British colonialists and a Sinhala caucus led by D.S. Senanayake, which naturally took into account only the British and Sinhala interests. Unlike Jinnah, who did not want to place his trust on Hindu leaders, men of the calibre and stature of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, and demanded his Pakistan, even a "moth-eaten" one if it came to that, Tamil leaders in Ceylon took D.S. Senanayake at his word. They placed their faith in the Sinhala majority. Urging the minorities in 1945 to accept the Soulbury Constitution D.S. Senanayake gave this solemn assurance: "On behalf of the Congress (*the Ceylon National Congress*) and on my

own behalf, I give the minority communities the sincere assurance that no harm need they fear at our hands in a free Lanka". Appealing specifically to the Tamils, he made this peroration: "Do you want to be governed from London or do you want, as Ceylonese, to help govern Ceylon?" (*State Council Debate on the Soulbury Constitution, 8 November 1945*). Put like that, the Tamils accepted that expression of bona fides, little realising that what the waist-coat wearing future first Prime Minister meant was: "Do you want to be governed from London, or do you want to be governed from Colombo ?!"

The then correspondent for the *Guardian* and *The Observer*, in the Indian subcontinent Walter Schwarz wrote ten years ago: "Looking back, the Tamils also feel that it was "a pity" to have left so much on trust and many have now come to share the view of the United Front leader, Mr.S.J.V.Chelvanayakam, who told the present writer early in 1975: "Our fundamental mistake was not to ask for Independence when the British left". (*The Tamils of Sri Lanka - Minority Rights Group, London, 2nd Revised edition, September 1983, first published in September 1975*).

Taking Sinhala leaders at their word, and then being taken for a ride, has been the regular fate of Tamil leadership for 40 years; and losing lives and property as a result, the cyclic fate of Tamils for 30 years. Well-meaning friends and peace-makers, Gandhian and non-Gandhian, in India and elsewhere, who even to this day keep on tendering friendly advice to the newly emergent generation of Tamil leadership, the Liberation Tigers and other militant groups to accept Sinhala leaders at their word, should pause for a while, and listen to "the inner voice" of the Sri Lankan historical process. The lack of sufficient knowledge about the long, chequered history of the Ceylon Tamil struggle for human rights remains colossal, even in next-door India. Where mercifully ignorance is relieved by knowledge, public memory remains short. Hence this publication. In Tamilnadu itself, there are yet people asking the question: "Tell us, you had gone to that country for a living; how can you ask for a separate state?," little knowing the man who is asked this question, and his forefathers had probably lived in that country the same thousands of years as the questioner and his forefathers had lived in India!

The Sri Lanka Government, for its own propaganda benefit, will begin to tell the story with the one frightful word that you would find printed most in the State-managed Sri Lankan Press today – "Terrorism". By that, they refer to the point of time in Ceylon's history when, trod and trod repeatedly for years and years, the Tamil worm finally turned; the point of time when having lost fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, and friends and kith and kin to Sinhala mob violence and then to Sinhala state violence, the Tamil youth decided that nothing short of guns could defend the lives and honour of their people and the chastity of their womenfolk. It is not a chicken and hen story as many believe. Mob violence against Tamils in the South began in 1956. Army violence against Tamils in the North and East began in 1961. It was not until the middle '70s that Tamil youths threw away their text books, forsook their homes, parents and future and took to guns.

We are too close to history to see recent events in Sri Lanka in perspective. Our hope is that this publication will help. The 40-year chronology that we present is a faithful narration of events in Sri Lanka, and is free of comment. This issue records the first 20 years from 1946. Our next issue of *Background Briefing* will bring up the record to contemporary times.



D.S. Senanayake, as Prime Minister at Opening of Parliament, with Lord Soulbury, Governor-General, 1948.

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1946



G.G. Ponnambalam, O.C. who had his education at Cambridge University: a skilled debator and famous as a criminal lawyer, was one time undisputed leader of the Tamils until he joined the D.S. Senenayake Cabinet.

Ceylon which had remained a British Crown Colony since 1802, assumes full responsibility for all internal affairs. Under the new constitution, passed by the king in Privy Council, on the 15th May, 1946, and based on the recommendations of the Soulbury Commission which was sent to Ceylon in December, 1944, Britain retains control of Defence and External Affairs. The Parliament of Ceylon is to consist of 2 Chambers, a Senate and a House of Representatives with a Prime Minister and Cabinet having collective responsibility to Parliament. On the demand by D.S. Senanayake and the Board of Ministers, for the immediate grant of Dominion Status, the British Government says:—.... It is, therefore, the hope of His Majesty's Government that the new constitution will be accepted by the people of Ceylon with a determination so to work it that in a comparatively short space of time such Dominion Status will be evolved. The actual length of time occupied by this evolutionary process must depend upon the experience gained under the new constitution by the people of Ceylon...."

A proposal of "balanced representation"

— that the Sinhalese should receive half the seats in the proposed House of Representatives and the minorities — Indian Tamils, Ceylon Tamils, Muslims, Burghers and Europeans should control the other half, to prevent non-domination of one community over other, (which came to be known as "the Fifty - Fifty proposal") ably argued before the Commission by Tamil leader G.G. Ponnambalam, was however rejected on the ground that it would amount to communal representation.

The United National Party under the leadership of D.S. Senanayake is formed.

A Select Committee of the State Council, appointed in 1945 to report on "the steps necessary to effect the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages" recommends that English should be dropped as the language of administration in 10 years; that a Commissioner of National Languages should be appointed; a Dept. of National Languages be set up; a Translation Bureau and a Research Institute be established; and that the laws of the country be codified in Sinhalese and Tamil.

1947

Ceylon has a population of 6,276,000 — according to the Bulletin of Statistics issued by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.

While the leader of the United National Party, D.S. Senanayake, and the war-time Civil Defence Commissioner Sir Oliver Goonetilleke continue to press for transfer of power from the British Government, working class agitation grows in intensity in May-June. D.S. Senanayake persuades the British to land British troops in Colombo at the time of the General Strike in May, and accordingly British troops do a route march through the streets of Colombo. On June 5, Tamil Trade Union activist S. Kandasamy is shot and killed by Police firing while he was walking at the head of a procession led by LSSP leader Dr. N.M. Perera, who it was believed was the actual target of the Police attack. Widespread protest follows.

The Governor, Sir Henry Monck-Mason

Moore in his address to the State Council of Ceylon (18 June) announces that no constitutional changes could be brought about before a new government of Ceylon was established under the the Soulbury Constitution. The announcement says: "Agreement will then have to be negotiated on a number of subjects. When such agreements have been concluded on terms satisfactory to His Majesty's government and to the Ceylon Government, immediate steps will be taken to amend the Constitution so as to confer upon Ceylon fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations...."

General Elections under the Soulbury Constitution to the House of Representatives. (Aug. 23 - Sept. 20). Of the total of 101 seats in the House, elections are held for 95, the other 6 to be filled by the Governor to give representation to special groups, which would go unrepresented

otherwise. The 95 electorates are carved out under a delimitation formula taking into account area as well as population. Thus, one seat assigned to a population of 75,000 and one seat for every 1,000 miles would, it was believed, give the Muslim and Tamil minorities living in the scattered communities of the Dry Zone a higher number of seats than they would receive on the basis of population alone.

The Soulbury Commissioners while accepting the essentials of the proposals put forward by the Ceylonese Ministers in 1944, in the framing of the Constitution, had added a Second Chamber — a Senate — to be filled by 15 members elected by the House of Representatives and 15 to be nominated by the Governor General.

Over 1,500,000 men and women go to the polls, which were peaceful. As anticipated by the British Government, the United National Party led by D.S. Senanayake,

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obtains a working majority. The final results of the elections were:-

UNP - 42; Independents (unattached) - 21; Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotskyist) - 10; Ceylon Tamil congress - 7; Indian Tamil Congress - 6; Bolshevik-Leninist Party (also Totskyist) - 5; Communist (Stalinist) - 3; Labour Party - 1.

Leader of the UNP, Don Stephen Senanayake forms the government. Of the 14 Ministers in the cabinet, 11 are Sinhalese, 2 are Tamils, and 1 a Moslem. By religion, 10 are Buddhists, 2 are Hindus, 1 a Moslem and 1 a Christian. The two Tamil Ministers are C. Suntheralingam, ex-I.C.S., C.C.S. and retired Professor of Mathematics (Commerce) and C.Sittampalam (Posts), both elected as Independents. A future Governor General and 3 future Prime Ministers are in the Cabinet: Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, (Home Affairs), J.R.Jayewardene, (Finance), Dudley Senanayake, the Prime Minister's son (Agriculture) and S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike (Health and Local Government).

The House of Representatives meet on Oct.14 and elects A.F. Molamure as Speaker and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike as Leader of the House.

On Nov. 11, the D.S. Senanayake Government signs three agreements with

the government of the United Kingdom - a Defence Agreement, an External Affairs Agreement and a Public Affairs Agreement. Article II of the Defence Agreement gives the British the right to run their military establishments as it was during the colonial days. The Article says: "The Government of Ceylon will grant to the Government of the United Kingdom all the necessary facilities for the objects mentioned in Article I as may be mutually agreed. These facilities will include the use of naval and air bases and ports and military establishments and the use of telecommunication facilities, and the right of service courts and authorities to exercise such control and jurisdiction over members of the said forces as they exercise at present."

The Public Affairs Agreement is designed to safeguard the rights of the British officials who are in the "service of Ceylon" and casts an obligation on the Ceylon government even for the payment of pensions and gratuities when necessary. The Agreement however does not make any stipulations concerning the thousands of estate Tamil labourers who were also brought into the island under British rule.

Two days later, on Nov. 13, in the British

House of Commons, Colonial Secretary Creech Jones presents the Ceylon Independence Bill conferring on Ceylon "fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations". The Bill also incorporates the three Agreements of Nov.11. The Bill is passed unopposed in both Houses and is enacted on Dec.10.

It is announced that February 4, 1948 will be the appointed day for the formal attainment by Ceylon of Dominion Status.

The debate on the Governor's speech delivered at the Parliament of Ceylon on Nov.25, occasions severe criticism of the Agreements signed on Nov.11. One member goes to the extent of referring to D.S. Senanayake as "Asia's traitor No.1". H. Sri Nissanka, Q.C., M.P. for Kurunegala argues that there was no need for Ceylon to enter into a defence agreement because she had no enemy to be afraid of and that the Defence Agreement was mostly in the interests of the British.

Ceylon and India exchange High Commissioners. Indian Representative in Colombo V.V. Giri (who 22 years later was to become President of India) is appointed Indian High Commissioner.

1948

Sir Henry Monck-Mason Moore, the present Governor would become the island's first Governor General on Feb.4, when Ceylon formally assumes Dominion Status, according to an announcement by the Colonial Office on Jan.21.

On Jan.27, Prime Minister D.S.Senanayake announces in the House of Representatives that the Union Jack would continue to be the national flag until the design of the latter is decided by a Parliamentary Select Committee; that when National Flag is agreed upon, it would be used together with the Union Jack; and that the Lion Flag of the former Sinhalese kings (the standard of the Kandyan dynasty which ended in 1815), would be flown at the Independence celebrations of Feb.4.

On Feb.4, Ceylon officially becomes a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Governor General Sir Henry Moore takes the oath of office in the presence of the Cabinet and the Under

Secretary of the British Commonwealth Relations Office, Mr.Gordon Walker, representing the British Government. In a broadcast, the Prime Minister declares that "whatever disagreements we may have had with the British in the past, we are grateful for their goodwill and co-operation which have culminated in our freedom", expressing the hope that "the seed of voluntary renunciation which they have sown will grow into a stately tree of mutual and perpetual friendship".

On Feb.10, the new Dominion Parliament is opened by the Duke of Gloucester representing the British monarch. In his Speech from the Throne, the Duke congratulates the people of Ceylon for achieving "independence as a fully responsible member of the British commonwealth", and expresses the King's satisfaction that Ceylon had gained her freedom by constitutional and peaceful means in collaboration with the U.K. Government. Among those present at the ceremony was Lord Soulbury, who presided

over the Commission that led to the conferment of Dominion Status on Ceylon.

On March 24, Minister of Home Affairs Sir Oliver Goonetilleke and Minister of Finance J.R.Jayewardene begin prolonged talks in London covering a wide field including Ceylon's sterling balances, the establishment of a Reserve Bank in Ceylon, the promotion of economic development and general monetary co-operation. Sir Oliver states on May 3, on his return to Colombo that a detailed agreement had been signed between the two governments on April 30, on the question of Ceylon's sterling and dollar balances. Mr.Jayewardene discloses that British had promised the necessary assistance for the early establishment of a Reserve Bank in Ceylon. Ceylon's sterling balances are estimated at about £50 million - £55 million.

It was announced (April 27) by the U.S. State Department that Mr.Felix Cole, Minister in Addis Ababa would become the first U.S.Ambassador to Colombo.

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Dr.N.M. Perera as Chief Guest at the Kokuvil Hindu College Alumni Dinner, 1957. On left is Handy S. Perinpanayagam, the Youth Congress leader of the late twenties and respected educationist. In the centre is Alagu Subramaniam, 'short story writer in English'

Ceylon applies for membership of the United Nations. It was announced from U.N. headquarters in Lake Success that Prime Minister Senanayake had made the application on the grounds that Ceylon as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth possessed the same status as other Dominions which were already members of the international organisation.

On Aug.18, a proposal to admit Ceylon to the United Nations is defeated in the Security Council by a Soviet veto. The Soviet and Ukrainian delegates question Ceylon's claim to full sovereignty and independence. M.Malik (USSR) says that the Governor General had power to convene, adjourn or dismiss the Ceylonese Parliament and alleges that Ceylon's armed forces were under British control. The Ukrainian delegate calls Ceylon a "puppet" of Britain.

Nearly one million plantation Tamils are deprived of their citizenship and nationality.

The Citizenship Act No.18 (operative September 21,1948), the first major

legislation contemplated by the D.S.Senanayake government soon after achievement of "Independence" comes, in the words of a later-day British jurist, as "a wholly arbitrary deprivation of the fundamental right to the citizenship of one's country for a group of people almost all of whom were born there, who have lived there all their lives, who have never been anywhere else and have no other allegiance, and who have made an immense contribution to that country's wealth while being themselves allotted only a derisory share of it". (Paul.Sieghart: 1984). The Act provides two days by which a person may acquire Ceylonese citizenship, by descent or by registration. To acquire it by descent, a person born in the island before September 21,1948 had to be able to prove that his father before him was also born in Ceylon or that both his paternal grandfather and paternal great grandfather were born in Ceylon. If born outside Ceylon before the appointed day, he had to prove that his father and his paternal grandfather were born in Ceylon. If born after September 21, 1948, he could receive Ceylonese citizenship if his father was then a citizen.

Mr.C.Suntharalingam, Independent Tamil M.P. for Vavuniya and Minister of Commerce, resigns from the Government in protest against the Citizenship Act. He is replaced in the Cabinet by H.W.Amarasuriya, a Sinhalese.

The Soviet Government offers to buy Ceylon's entire Rubber output for 1949, but Prime Minister Senanayake announces (Dec.9) that the Government would decline the offer, adding, "If I consider any country as being dangerous to Ceylon, it is Russia".



Philip Gunawardene, fiery "Father of the Revolution" later descended into racism

Ceylon's application for U.N. membership is vetoed for the second time by the Soviet Union (Dec.15).

The Government follows up the citizenship Act No.18 with the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act No.3 - which becomes law in the following year. The introduction of the Bill in the House of Representatives in December, brings about a split in the Tamil Congress. Speaking on the Debate in Parliament (Hansard - December 10,) Mr.S.J.V.Chelvanayakam (who was to found the Federal Party the following year) says: Today, justice is being denied to the Indian Tamils. Some day in the future, when language becomes an issue, the same fate would befall the Ceylon Tamils. It is therefore necessary that we oppose this Bill unitedly. These words were to become prophetic 8 years later when the "Sinhala Only" Act is passed.

A section of the Tamil Congress under the leadership of G.G.Ponnambalam joins the D.S.Senanayake government. G.G.Ponnambalam becomes Minister of Industries.

1949

The Plantations Tamils who were rendered stateless last year are rendered voteless as well, by the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Amendment Act No. 48 of 1949.

Section 4(1) of the Act states: "No person shall be qualified to have his name entered or retained in any register of elections in any year if such a person is not a citizen of Ceylon." The plantation Tamils who had returned six M.P.s to the existing Parliament at the 1947 elections are now

deprived of future representation in Parliament. It was also known that the Ceylon Indian Congress which represented these estate workers was in a position to influence the outcome in 10-15 other elections.

The Indian and Pakistani Residents (citizenship) Act No. 3 that followed, specifically defines the terms under which persons of Indian or Pakistani origin may become citizens by registration. They must have been in residence continuously since January 1,1946 and have been in residence prior to that for 10 years in the case of an

unmarried person or 7 years in the case of married persons. Documentary proof of residence during these periods were required and special commissioners are to be appointed to investigate and pass upon the application that must be submitted. It was expected that in practice the administration of this Act would have the effect of seriously limiting the numbers who could qualify as citizens.

The split in the Ceylon Tamil leadership surfaces into the open on the voting on this Bill in Parliament, with S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, C. Vanniasingham and

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T. Sivapalan voting against it. The leader of the Tamil Congress G.G. Ponnambalam and two other M.P.s vote for it.

(Earlier, in 1948, before becoming a member of the D.S. Senanayake Cabinet, Mr. Ponnambalam had along with S.J.V. Chelvanayakam voted against the Citizenship Act No. 18 of 1948).

On February 13, the break-away group of the Tamil Congress inaugurates its campaign of non-cooperation with the government opposite the historic Hindu temple at Maviddapuram in Jaffna. The chief Priest of the temple, Sri Sri Thuraichchamy Kurukkal invites Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam (a Christian) to preside over the meeting. Among the speakers are Dr. E.M.V. Naganathan (a Roman Catholic), C. Vanniasingham and A. Amirthalingam, then a law student and later to become an active leader in the Federal Party and the Tamil United Liberation Front.

Lord Soulbury's appointment as Governor General announced. Brigadier the Earl of Caithness to be the C-in-C of the Ceylon Army and Military Adviser to the Govt. of Ceylon.

It is announced in Colombo (Sept. 11) that as first stage of forming the new Ceylon Army and of taking over the British Army's duties, the training of indigenous land A-A, and coastal defence forces would begin in 1950. The strength of the new Army would be 70 officers and 610 other ranks by the end of next year, and would ultimately be 3,000, whilst the British forces would remain in Ceylon for the time being as "welcome guests, with authority for control only among themselves in specified areas".

The Ceylon Rupee is devalued simultaneously with sterling, the existing parity of 1 rupee = 1s.6d. being maintained. The Ceylon Parliament passes a Bill separating the Ceylon rupee from the Indian rupee. Introducing the Bill, Finance Minister J.R. Jayewardene says that when Britain devalued, Ceylon had been faced with the necessity of having to act without knowledge of the Indian government's intentions and that the value of the Ceylon rupee had now for the first time been fixed in terms of gold; with the forthcoming establishment of its own Reserve Bank, Ceylon had in any case intended to sever the link with the Indian rupee.

The Soviet Union vetoes for the third time (Sept. 13) Ceylon's application for U.N. membership. This is the second occasion on which Ceylon failed to gain admission because of conflict between the Soviets and the U.S. The previous occasion was when the U.S. vetoed a Soviet-sponsored proposal for admission of 13 states including Ceylon in August 1948.

The birth of the Federal Party.

The break-away section of the Tamil Congress led by S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, C. Vanniasingham, Dr. E.M.V. Naganathan and others form themselves into a new party – the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchchi (I.T.A.K.) which comes to be referred to as the Federal Party. The inaugural meeting is held in Colombo, at the Government Clerical Service Union hall at Maradana on December 18. The gathering endorses unanimously a resolution moved by S.J.V. Chelvanayakam to work unceasingly for the achievement of a Tamil state within the Federal framework of a united Ceylon, as the only way to ensure that the Tamil-speaking people in Ceylon could live with honour and self-respect.

1950

Colombo Conference of Foreign Ministers of the British Commonwealth (Jan. 9 - 14) Leaders of delegations include: Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Ernest Bevin (U.K.), P.C. Spender (Australia), and Lester Pearson (Canada). Ceylon represented by Prime Minister and Foreign Minister D.S. Senanayake, Minister of Justice Dr. L.A. Rajapakse and Minister of Finance J.R. Jayewardene. Recommendations for the "furtherance of economic development in South and South-East Asia" presented by Mr. Spender at this Conference form the basis for the birth of the Colombo

Plan.

The Tea industry is Ceylon's largest and India's second largest export industry' according to the 1949 report of the International Tea Market Expansion Board. The statistical summary issued by the International Tea Committee gives Tea production figures in Ceylon and India in 1949 as follows: Ceylon - 298,559,000 lb. India - 579,310,000 lb.

As a first step towards the establishment of a Central Bank of Ceylon, a new Monetary Board is set up on July 1, headed by John Exeter, formerly a member of the Board of

Governors of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, loaned by the U.S. government, to advise Ceylon on the creation of the new Central Bank. John Exeter designated to become its first Governor. On Aug. 28, the Central Bank of Ceylon officially comes into existence.

An agreement for American assistance to Ceylon under the "Point Four" programme signed at Colombo on Nov. 7 by Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Joseph C. Satterthwaite, U.S. Ambassador.

1951

Birth of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party as a democratic alternative to the U.N.P. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike with a small group of his supporters crosses over to the Opposition (July) and in September founds the S.L.F.P. The party which elected 2 Tamils as Vice-Presidents issues a manifesto,

which includes the following, under the heading of "National Languages" :- "It is most essential that Sinhalese and Tamil be adopted as official languages immediately, so that the people of this country may cease to be aliens in their own land, so that an end may be put to the inequity of condemning

those educated in Sinhalese and Tamil to occupy the lowliest walks of life, and above all that society may have the full benefit of the skills and talents of the people. The administration of the government must be carried on in Sinhalese and Tamil."

1952

Prime Minister, the Rt.Hon.Don Stephen Senanayake (68) dies in hospital on March 22, from injuries received the previous day after falling off a horse. The Governor General Lord Soulbury who was in London at that time, flies back and on March 26 calls on the dead Premier's son Dudley Senanayake, a bachelor and Minister of Agriculture in his father's Cabinet, to form the government. Dudley Senanayake, accepts the invitation after some hesitation and pledges himself to carry on the administration "so that everyone, whatever language he speaks, whatever religion he professes, and whatever race he belongs to, may live and move on terms of absolute equality." With Dudley Senanayake's assumption of office, Ceylon becomes the first Commonwealth country to have had a father and son as successive Prime Ministers. The late Prime Minister is cremated with Buddhist rites in Independence Square, Colombo, on March 29.

Colombo Plan Exhibition organised by the Colombo Plan countries in Colombo from Feb.23-March 23.

Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake's calls a snap election. Parliament dissolved on April 8. General Elections, the first since Ceylon attained Dominion Status, held between May 24-30, results in a UNP victory. The results, announced in Colombo on June 1, were as

follows: UNP - 54, Tamil Congress - 4, Labour Party - 1, Sri Lanka Freedom Party - 9; Lanka Sama Samaja Party - 9; Communist Party - 3; Federal Party - 2; Independents - 11; and Viplavakari Sama Samaja Party and People's Republican Party, one each. The Ceylon Indian Congress which held 7 seats in the previous Parliament had boycotted the elections as a protest against their being held on the basis of the 1950 electoral registers. Federal Party leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam fails to get returned.

Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake announces his cabinet on June 2. G.G. Ponnambalam who was retained as Minister of Industries and Fisheries and V. Nalliah, who was inducted as Minister of Posts and Information are the two Tamils in the 14-member Cabinet. J.R.Jayewardene continues as Minister of Finance. S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike elected as Leader of Opposition.

The exclusion of the great majority of the Tamils of Indian origin from the 1950 electoral registers, leads to a civil disobedience campaign by the Ceylon Indian Congress and an interchange of Notes between the Ceylonese and Indian governments. Congress volunteers, including former Members of Parliament, engage in Satyagraha by publicly fasting (April 28), outside the House of

Representatives, and the offices of the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Justice, Home Affairs, and Food. Congress volunteers "squatting" outside the Indian High Commissioner's Office forcibly dispersed by the Police on June 9, five being taken to hospital with injuries.

J.R.Jayewardene, then Finance Minister, speaking on May 4, blames the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders - whom he accused of acting under Communist influence - for the disenfranchisement of Indian Tamils. After having treated the offer of Ceylonese citizenship "with contempt", he declared, "they suddenly decided to call off their boycott and to apply for citizenship. Applications began to pour on at a rate with which no Govt. Dept. could cope....".

Ceylon enters into a Rubber-Rice Pact with Communist China. Prime Minister announces (Nov.13) that following a Trade Mission to China headed by Minister of Commerce and Trade R.G. Senanayake, a short-term contract had been concluded for supply by China to Ceylon of 80,000 metric tons of Rice, and that the govt. had agreed in principle to proposals relating to trade in Ceylonese Rubber for Chinese Rice over the next 5 years. The 5-years trade agreement was subsequently signed (Dec. 18) in Peking.

1953

Population Census taken on March 20 shows that the population of Ceylon was 8,103,648 as compared with 6,657,339 at the 1946 census, an increase of 21.7%. The population of the four largest towns was as follows: Colombo-424,816; Jaffna-76,664; Kandy-57,013; and Galle-55,825.

Finance Minister Jayawardene presenting his Budget, says: "We are faced with the collapse of the boom, heavy fall in our export prices, and rising import prices. A combination of all these factors could contribute to the downfall of the economy...I know the solution lay largely in the elimination of the overall deficit but it was not possible to take this step, without removing as well the subsidy on food". In August the govt. abolishes the subsidy on rice, increases the price of sugar, abolishes the free mid-day meal to schoolchildren, increases rail fares-measures which hurt the working and lower middle classes. The indignation explodes in a mass

agitation and the general protest strike of August 12, followed by country-wide, disturbances. A state of Emergency is declared, the army is called in, and a number of people killed by army firing. Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake, already in poor health, resigns, on October 12.

Sir John Kotelawala, (57) Minister of Transport and Works and Leader of the House is called upon by Lord Soulbury to form a government. J.R.Jayawardene who held the portfolio of Finance in the three previous Cabinets assigned instead the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and becomes Leader of the House. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke takes over Finance. With the induction of Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan into the new Ministry of Housing and Social Services and S.Natesan as Minister of Posts and Broadcasting, and the retention of G.G. Ponnambalam, there are 3 Tamils in the 14-member Cabinet. But within 4 days of the announcement of the

Cabinet, G.G. Ponnambalam and Minister of Justice Sir Lalita Rajapakse are dropped from the Cabinet. The Tamil Congress withdraws from the Govt.

While renewing the 5-year Rubber-Rice Trade agreement with China, Ceylon enters into a 4-year agreement with Burma for the purchase of Burmese rice. The rice subsidy is in the meantime restored.

The Ceylon Bank rate which was 2 1/2% since the creation of the Central Bank is raised to 3 %.

An official directive issued on Oct.29 states that only the National Anthem of Ceylon (Namo Namo Matha) would now on be played on official functions and that only the national flag would be flown on these occasions; that since Queen Elizabeth II had been proclaimed Queen of Ceylon, there was no need for the use of the Union Jack or British National Anthem.

1954

Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru sign an agreement in New Delhi on Jan 18, designed to terminate the long-standing controversy between the two countries on the rights of citizenship of persons of Indian descent resident in Ceylon.

Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh arrive in Ceylon (April 11) on a 10-day visit. The Queen opens a joint session of both Houses of Parliament at Independence Hall on April 12, which function was boycotted by the Opposition led by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Only one Opposition member, C. Suntharalingam, was present. The Queen during her 10-day stay visits Polonnaruwa, Nuwara Eliya, Kandy and Peradeniya.

It was announced in Colombo soon after the Queen had left Ceylon that Her Majesty had approved the appointment of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke (61) Minister of Finance and Leader of the Senate, as the Governor General of Ceylon in succession to Lord Soulbury. Sir Oliver, the first Ceylonese Governor General, is to assume office on July 17.

Colombo Conference of South-East Asian

Prime Ministers opens on April 28 and is extended for two more days on May 1 and 2 in Kandy. Leaders who met were Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Mohamed Ali of Pakistan, Dr. Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, Thakin Nu of Burma, and Sir John Kotelawala of the host country. One of the resolutions, sponsored by Ceylon and supported by Pakistan, declaring that international communism was the greatest potential danger in South and South-East Asia, and recommending that the governments participating at the conference should reaffirm their faith in democracy and take measures to prevent Communist interference in their affairs, is opposed by Mr. Nehru as being inconsistent with India's policy of non-alignment and also opposed by Dr. Sastroamidjojo, and is dropped.

Ceylon Indian Congress changes its name to Ceylon Democratic Congress.

Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon C.C. Desai expresses concern over the slow process of registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, and emphasizes that persons whose applications are rejected cannot become Indian nationals

unless they satisfy Section 8 of the Indian constitution.

Sir John Kotelawala visits Jaffna, (September) a visit that was to prove costly to his political fortunes subsequently. In response to an appeal at a public function by the veteran nationalist and Principal of Kokuviil Hindu College, S.Handy Perinbanayagam, Sir John gives the assurance that the Constitution would be amended to provide for both Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages of the country. Although he asserted later that he had been misreported, campaigners for "Sinhala only" make an issue of it in the south.

Growing pressures from various Sinhala-Buddhist groups to make Sinhalese as the only official language. The Tri Sinhala Peramuna engages in open anti-Tamil propaganda in the Kandy district.

All Ceylon Buddhist Congress appoints a Buddhist Committee of Inquiry to "inquire into the present state of Buddhism in Ceylon and to report on the conditions necessary to improve and strengthen the position of Buddhism...."

1955

Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) changes its line on the language issue, and in its annual sessions in December formally advocates that Sinhalese alone should be the official language and that Tamil be made the language of administration in Tamil areas. A Trotskyite group under Philip Gunawardene also comes out in favour of making Sinhalese the sole official language, while the main Left parties, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party continue to support the policy of parity of both languages.

Senator Cyril de Zoysa elected President of the Senate (Jan.24), in succession to Sir Nicholas Attygalle, who had resigned in order

to become Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon in succession to Sir Ivor Jennings.

Col. Anton Muttukumaru (a Tamil) becomes the first Ceylonese Head of the Army with the rank of Brigadier, succeeding Brigadier F.S.Reid. (Jan.31)

Second 6-year Plan for Economic Development introduced in the House of Representatives (July 18).

Independent Tamil M.P. for Vavuniya, C.Suntharalingam, announces (Aug.17) that he would voluntarily vacate his seat in order to force a by-election, because of the "discriminatory treatment" which he alleged, had

been given by the Govt. to the Tamils.

A crowd of over 5,000 people attack a meeting at the Colombo Town Hall, arranged by the LSSP advocating the retention of equal status for Sinhalese and Tamil (Oct. 16). On Oct. 19, a motion for the amendment of Ceylon (Constitution) order-in-Council to give parity of status to Sinhalese and Tamil, introduced by the Sinhala LSSP leader Dr.N.M.Perera, is opposed in parliament by the Prime Minister.

Ceylon admitted to the United Nations (Dec.15), after a 7-year wait, along with 15 other nations.

1956

January : All Tamil M.P.s resign from the ruling United National Party and the govt. Deputy Minister V. Kumaraswamy resigns on Jan.12. Minister of Posts S. Natesan, Mr. Kumaraswamy and 5 other Tamil-speaking

M.P.s resign from the UNP on Jan. 19, after the Committee appointed to draft the agenda for the party conference decides to exclude resolutions on minority rights and parity of status for Tamil presented by both these

M.P.s. On Jan. 20, Mr. Natesan resigns from the Cabinet. All 7 members who resigned, together with Tamil-speaking members of the Opposition, announce on Jan. 20 that they had formed a "united front" to defend



A devastating poster used in the 1956 election campaign against the UNP. The cartoon shows Sir John Kotelawala on the elephant, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke as the mahout and J.R. Jayewardene clinging to the tail of the elephant.

Howard Wriggins makes the following reference to the poster in his book—*CEYLON: DILEMMAS OF A NEW NATION* (1960):-

... "A statue of the Buddha sat under his Bo Tree at one end of the poster and the balance of the cartoon de-

picted a long parade led by Sir John Kotelawala on an elephant, the symbol of the UNP. Sir John was holding a spear pointed at the heart of the Buddha statue. Behind him on the elephant sat one of his reputedly many girl friends. In the parade that followed some were ballroom dancing and drinking champagne, others were waving the country's principal newspapers said to be in the party's pay. In a Buddhist country, to kill meat is abhorrent; to eat it is doubtful practice. In the foreground of the poster came a cart, bearing the car-

cass of a dead calf to remind the devout of the shocking irreverence committed once by the Prime Minister who himself carved a barbecued calf in full public view. In the background, several Uncle Sams hold aloft dollar signs. The poster was entitled "The fight against the forces of evil — 2,500 years ago and now". Underneath ran the caption: "In this year of Buddha Jayanti, rescue your country, your race and your religion from the forces of evil". The allusion was plain...."

the Tamil language and culture and to "carry on the struggle for the creation of a Tamil state which will offer to federate with the Sinhalese state on terms of complete equality, if acceptable to both nations, or elect to remain independent".

Former Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake announces (Jan. 13) that he

would resign from the ruling United National Party and retire from active politics when the present Parliament is dissolved.

February : In the by-election at Vavuniya (Feb. 14), fought largely on the language question, C. Suntharalingam is returned, polling 8,995 votes against 2,003 for the UNP candidate.

UNP Annual Conference meets at Kelaniya (Feb. 16 - 18). The Conference unanimously approves a resolution recommending that Sinhalese should be recognised as the country's only official language, thereby introducing a fundamental change in the policy hitherto pursued by successive Ceylonese governments under which Sinhalese and Tamil had equal status as official languages.



S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike (born 1899) a product of Oxford University where he was secretary of the Oxford Union, formed the first Communal organisation – the Sinhala Maha Sabha, in 1937. He became Prime Minister in 1956 and was assassinated in September 1959.

in place of English. In view of this policy change, the Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke dissolves Parliament on Feb. 18 and orders general elections to be held between April 4 and 11 in order that the Govt. might obtain a mandate for the new language policy.

Buddhist Committee of Inquiry publishes its report (Feb. 4) calling for strong State support of various kinds to come to "the rescue of Buddhism." Titled "Betrayal of Buddhism" it is an aggressive documentation of Buddhist grievances.

April : General Elections (April 5 - 10). UNP suffers severe defeat, losing 46 of the the 54 seats which it held in the previous Parliament. The SLFP-led coalition - the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) wins an absolute majority. 8 members of the previous Cabinet lose their seats including J.R. Jayewardene.

Sir John retains his seat with largely reduced majority. MEP leader S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike returned by a majority of 41,997 votes, the largest ever recorded in an election. In the North and East, the Federal Party under the leadership of S. J. V. Chelvanayakam wins 10 out of the 14 seats it contested For the first and only time, a Tamil constituency – Point Pedro – returns a left candidate. P. Kandiah of the Communist Party. The results, as announced on April 11, were as follows :

M.E.P.-51; L.S.S.P.-14; F.P./10; U.N.P./8; Communist Party-3; Tamil Congress-1; Tamil Resistance Front-1; and Independents-7.

On April 11, Sir John Kotelawala tenders his resignation. S.L.F.P. and M.E.P. coalition leader S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike is called upon to form a government. On the 12th, Mr. Bandaranaike announces a 13-member Cabinet,

with no Tamil member in it. On April 18, R.G.Senanayake who contested 2 seats as an Independent and won both (defeating J.R.Jayewardene at Kelaniya) joins the Cabinet, announcing at the same time that he had joined the SLFP.

New Parliament opens on April 20. The Speech from the Throne outlining Govt. policy says legislation for adoption of Sinhala as the official language would be introduced as early as possible, but assures all religious, racial and other minorities that they need have no fear of injustice or discrimination in the carrying out of govt. policies.

May : Buddha Jayanti celebrations, the anniversary marking 2,500 years of Buddhism, begin, the celebrations to continue for one year.

June : On June 5, the Official Language Bill declaring Sinhalese to be the sole

Official language, is introduced in the House of Representatives by Prime Minister Bandaranaike; outside, on the Galle Face Green overlooking the Parliament building, over 200 Tamil volunteers led by 12 Members of Parliament who were staging a silent protest (Satyagraha) are set upon by a Sinhalese mob and stoned and assaulted, while the Police look on. It was later alleged that they were under Govt. orders not to interfere. Rioting spreads in the city with Tamils getting manhandled in buses, trains and on the streets. Among the victims were two Tamil lawyers, A.C.Nadaraja and S.Sharvananda, now Chief Justice of Sri Lanka (1986). They were pulled out of the car in which they were travelling and pummelled by a mob. Indian Tamil shops are attacked and looted. More serious disturbances occur in the Eastern Province, in Batticaloa, Trincomalee and in Gal Oya valley, where a large number of deaths are reported. In 10 days of

sporadic rioting, an estimated 150 persons are killed, the majority of the victims being Tamils. This marks the beginning of the phase in the island's history when Tamils were subject to physical violence.

On June 15, the Sinhala Only Bill is adopted by 66 votes to 29. While all Tamil members vote against the Bill, the Left-wing M.P.s belonging to the LSSP and the Communist Party, practically all of whom are Sinhalese, join in opposing the Bill.

The Federal Party announces that they regard the Bill as unconstitutional and would test its validity in the Courts. At a meeting soon after, they confirm their objective of establishing an "autonomous Tamil linguistic state within a Federal Union of Ceylon" as the only way of protecting the "cultural freedom and identity of the Tamil-speaking people". They also urge all Tamils to refuse to learn Sinhalese and to transact all their

business in Tamil, or if necessary in English.

August : The Federal Party holds its national convention in the naval port of Trincomalee in the Eastern Province, and warns that unless the government took measures to constitute a Federal union in Ceylon within a year, the Federal Party would undertake a campaign of non-violent direct action (Satyagraha) to achieve its objectives in August 1957.

September : Ceylon to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with Soviet Russia and China, "as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made", it is announced in Colombo.

December : UNP surprises by winning 18 out of the 31 seats at the Colombo Municipal Council elections and secures an overall majority (Dec.15).

1957

January: Tension between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities following the passing of the Official Language Act and the mob attacks on Tamils become increasingly acute. The situation is worsened by a Govt. order introducing the Sinhala letter "Sri" in the number plates of newly registered motor vehicles. The order is openly defied in the Tamil areas in North and East where the Tamil letter for Sri is substituted instead of the Sinhala letter. Govt. decides to overlook the offence.

February: Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai visits Ceylon (Feb.3 - Feb.5) and attends the Independence Day rally on Feb. 4.

While Independence Day is celebrated among Sinhalese in the south, Tamils in the north and east observe it as a day of mourning. Demonstrations are organised at which copies of the Official Language Act are publicly burnt. In Trincomalee where there is a majority of Tamil-speaking population, the hoisting of the Sinhala Lion Flag in the market place leads to disorders in which one person is killed. Troops sent to restore order.

April: Nearly one year after the original language legislation, Mr.Bandaranaike declares that steps would be taken to ensure the "reasonable use of Tamil" and to give it a proper place in the country's affairs. But

the Federal Party continues its preparations for the August Satyagraha, stating that such verbal assurances hitherto given by the Prime Minister were insufficient, in the absence of any concrete action.

May: Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visits Ceylon (May 17-20) at the invitation of Mr.Bandaranaike to participate at the Buddha Jayanti celebrations.

Japanese Prime Minister Nobosuke Kishi visits Ceylon (May 28-31) in the course of an Asian tour.

June: The British Naval base at Trincomalee and the R.A.F. station at Katunayake to be formally transferred to Ceylon on October 15, 1957 and November 1, 1957, respectively, according to a joint statement by the Ceylonese and British governments issued in Colombo on June 1. The withdrawal of the establishments "will be in the main completed within a period of 3 years", according to the announcement.

On May 27, the Working Committee of the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom party decides to recruit a volunteer force of 100,000 to help maintain order in the event of the Federal party carrying out its threat of starting a non-violent Satyagraha campaign in the north and east in August. This move is strongly criti-

cised by the Press and even by some members of the Govt.

Five Cabinet Ministers led by Finance Minister Stanley de Zoysa who were on a visit to Mannar are stoned (June 1).

On June 5, Mr. Bandaranaike states at a Press Conference:- "... I have already announced in Parliament three measures which should meet any reasonable demands of the minorities. These are the establishment of Regional Councils to decentralise the administration; the amendment of the Constitution to guarantee among other matters fundamental rights to all citizens; and steps to enable reasonable use of the Tamil language at official levels". In these circumstances he appealed to the Federal Party to abandon the "criminal folly" of its Satyagraha campaign, which was likely to result in "untold misery and sufferings for many thousands of people"

On June 13, new session of Parliament opens, and F.P. members withdraw in protest from the opening ceremony, because the Governor General Sir Oliver read the speech from the Throne in Sinhala and English, but not in Tamil.

On June 19, the Tamil Resistance Front M.P., C. Suntharalingam, who had boycotted Parli-



Tamil Leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, Q.C.

ament at the time of the passing of the Official Language Act, is suspended for a fortnight when he protested against Speaker's refusal to allow him to speak in the debate on the Speech from the Throne. On refusing to leave the Chamber he is forcibly removed by the police, and as he refused to move from the pavement where he had been deposited, he is taken to a police station where he remained until June 24, refusing either to go home or to pay for his food. The police then forcibly remove him to his home, but he squats in the centre of the highway refusing to move. A hostile Sinhalese crowd begins to stone him, at which point his family members and relatives forcibly carry him to his house.

On June 26, with the threatened Satyagraha campaign in August approaching, talks begin between Prime Minister Bandaranaike and Tamil leaders S.J.V.Chelvanayakam and C.Vanniasingham, which were described as "friendly and satisfactory"

July: The 1-month old talks between the Prime Minister and the Federal Party concludes on July 25 with a compromise settlement which later comes to be referred to as the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam pact. The settlement envisaged provision for the recognition of Tamil as the language of a national minority of Ceylon without infringing on the position of the Official Language Act, provision for Tamil as the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern provinces, and the setting up of Regional Councils with powers in agriculture, education and selection of candidates for colonization schemes. The Prime Minister also registered his promise to give "early consideration" to the revision of the Citizenship Act that had disenfranchised Tamils in the Plantations.

On July 26, the UNP comes out in opposition to the B.-C. pact, declaring that the agreement would disrupt the unity of the country.

On July 28, the Federal party meets at an emergency convention in Batticaloa and unanimously decides to accept the agreement with the Prime Minister as an "interim adjustment" and ratifies the decision to call off the proposed Satyagraha campaign in August.

On July 29, Mr. Suntharalingam of the Tamil Resistance Front holds a meeting, also at Batticaloa, denouncing the agreement as a betrayal of Tamil rights, and is rescued from an angry crowd by the police.

August: Sinhala opinion builds up against the implementation of the B.-C. pact. The two members of the Bandaranaike cabinet belonging to the Revolutionary Socialist Party - Philip Gunawardene and William de Silva - also object to what they call "wide powers" which it was proposed to grant to the Regional Councils.

On August 4, a number of Sinhala Buddhist organisations led by Buddhist monks warn the Prime Minister that unless the agreement is repudiated by Oct.1, they would launch a civil disobedience movement in the Sinhala areas.

On Aug.12, Mr.Bandaranaike seeks to mollify Sinhala opinion by saying, inter alia, that the Regional Councils would be controlled by parliament and would handle only minor colonisation Schemes, and that anyone corresponding with the govt. after 1960 would receive replies only in Sinhala.

On Aug. 13, the Federal Party General Secretary Dr.E.M.V.Naganathan commenting on the Prime Minister's interpretation, says that "the policy of political agreement by negotiation appears to be futile because the govt. cannot be depended upon" and adds that "the possibility of carrying on our freedom struggle through civil disobedience may be deemed necessary again".

On Aug. 15-16, there are further talks between the Prime Minister and Mr. Chelvanayakam resulting in a joint statement which says that "there were no substantial differences of opinion on the few points on which some misunderstanding has arisen".

Minister of Education W. Dahanayake announces (Aug.22) that a 3-man Commission would inquire into the affairs of the University of Ceylon, the Commission to be headed by Professor Joseph Needham, F.R.S., and assisted by Chintaman Deshmukh, Chairman of the Indian University Grants Committee and formerly Minister of Finance. The third member who was to be a Ceylonese is not named.

September: Mrs. Kusuma Rajaratne, who along with her husband K.M.P. Rajaratne was known to be an anti-Tamil campaigner, is returned to Parliament at a by-election at Welimada (Sept.7), a predominantly Sinhala electorate.

It is announced in Jerusalem that Israel and

Ceylon had agreed to establish diplomatic relations. Ceylon is the 6th Asian country to enter into diplomatic relations with Israel the others being Burma, Laos, Japan, the Philippines and Siam.

A new 5-year trade and payments agreement between Ceylon and China is signed in Peking (Sept. 19). It is also announced in Colombo that the Chinese govt. has offered to set up a textile factory in Ceylon at a cost of Rs. 70 million (£5,250,000) as a gift to the Ceylonese govt.. When this gift is made, China will become the second largest donor of economic aid to Ceylon, the first being the U.S.A.

October: The threatened civil disobedience campaign by Buddhist monks fails to materialize, but J.R. Jayewardene of the UNP leads a march to Kandy (Oct. 4) "to invoke the blessings of the 'devas' (the gods)" for his campaign against the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam agreement. At Imbulgoda on the way, the march is thwarted by SLFP M.P. S.D. Bandaranayake who with his supporters blocks the way, and the Police fearing a breach of peace, stop the march.

Ceylon and Yugoslavia to establish diplomatic relations at Legation level, it is announced in Colombo.

November: The R.A.F. base at Katunayake, 20 miles north of Colombo, is formally transferred to Ceylonese control (Nov. 1).

December: The year ends with a major disaster. Ceylon's worst floods for many years (Dec. 21 - 31) causes 288 deaths and renders over 300,000 people homeless in the Northern, North Central, North Western and Eastern provinces. The floods are estimated to have inundated over 650,000 acres of paddy land, destroying 400,000 tons of rice (three-quarters of Ceylon's total rice crop) and causing damage amounting to £25,000,000.

1958

February: On Feb. 25, a gang of men lie across the rail track holding up an "office train" to Colombo, and refusing to disperse until their friends who had been taken into custody for travelling in a first class compartment with 3rd class tickets are released. The Prime Minister orders the men to be released and rebukes the railway management for not providing sufficient 3rd class accommodation.

March: At the annual session of the ruling SLFP held at Kelaniya (March 1 and 2), the Prime Minister defends the B.-C. Pact as an "honourable solution" in keeping with the highest tenets of Buddhism.

Anti-Sinhala "Sri" campaign in north and east following govt. action in sending a fleet of new Govt. owned buses with the Sinhala symbol "Sri" on number plates. In the absence of the promised legislation to make Tamil the language of administration in the north and east, the Federal Party leaders launch a campaign opposing the use of the Sinhala letter. Volunteers stop buses, deface the Sinhala lettering and substitute the Tamil letter instead.

Sir John Kotelawala (61) the former Prime Minister announces on March 30 his resignation from the leadership of the United National Party which he helped to form in 1946. Dudley Senanayake who had earlier withdrawn from politics but later agreed to re-enter active politics, re-assumes the party leadership.

April: Sinhala mobs begin to retaliate in Colombo and in Sinhala areas by smearing tar over Tamil letterings on road signs and on shops owned by Tamils, and in some cases smashing up Tamil-owned shops and

assaulting Tamils. Police take no action and are slow to restore order unsure of the backing they would receive from the govt., in view of past vehement criticism directed against the police by certain cabinet ministers.

On April 2, Tamil demonstrators stone the police station at Bogawantalawa in the plantation district, whereupon the police open fire and kill 2 plantation workers of Indian origin. Their funeral is attended by nearly 80,000 plantation workers and on April 5, Tamils in the north and east observe "hartal" (complete stoppage of work) in sympathy.

In Ratnapura, 60 miles from Colombo, a Sinhala-Tamil clash results in two deaths and injuries to several.

April 8: Speaking in Parliament, Mr. Bandaranaike states that the Tamil language and Regional Councils Bills were delayed only by the preparation of the schedule to the latter on the divisions of powers between the Councils and the Government. As for the use of the Sinhala symbol "Sri" it was not even raised during discussions by the FP leaders. He says the govt. would not however allow what had happened to stand in the way of just action towards the minorities, although the position had been made much more difficult and embarrassing.

April 9: Abrogation of the BC pact. Within 24 hours of his indication in Parliament that the govt. would go through with the Regional Councils legislation, the Prime Minister publicly abrogates the Pact. About 200 Buddhist monks accompanied by 300 others squat opposite the Prime Minister's residence from 9 a.m. The Prime Minister who was away, returns in the afternoon accompanied by some Ministers and listens to the

denunciation of the monks. After a quick consultation with his colleagues, Mr. Bandaranaike announces that the pact would be abrogated. But on the monks' insisting on a written pledge, Mr. Bandaranaike goes into the house and Minister of Health Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene returns bringing the Prime Minister's written pledge.

The same night, the Prime Minister in a broadcast to the nation, says that the Federalists' illegal act in defacing the Sinhala Sri symbol in state-owned buses has "created a new situation". He continued: "While assuring the Tamil people that the Government will do what it always intended to do in justice to them, I must say that this recent action on the part of the Federal Party has not made it possible to proceed with the implementation of the agreement as contemplated, in view of the feeling created in the country by the Federal Party's action....."

UNP leader Dudley Senanayake supports the abrogation of the Pact.

April 10: The Federal Party issues a statement calling upon all Tamil speaking people to embark on a non-violent civil disobedience movement. It accuses the Govt. of surrendering to pressure from the Buddhist monks and failure to prevent or control Sinhala hooliganism. It declares that the only alternatives before the Tamils were to "fight back for sheer survival or to be for ever content to remain a subject race".

April 10-14: About 100 Tamils, including Mr. Chelvanayakam, 7 other M.P.s, a Senator and the wives of 2 M.P.s are arrested for defacing the number plates of buses and violating the Motor Traffic Act, but are subsequently released on bail. The call for a civil

disobedience movement is not supported however by the Ceylon Workers' Congress and the Democratic Workers' Congress which together represent about 1,000,000 Tamil plantation workers.

At Padaviya, where the govt. had set up a Sinhala colony, the colonists threaten violence against the proposed settling of 400 Tamil families who had been displaced by the closure of the Royal Navy dockyards in Trincomalee. In the face of this threat, the Ministry of Lands and Land Development cancels the settlement plans.

In Colombo, thugs believed to have Govt. support, beat up strikers of the Communist Public Service Workers' Trade Union Federation.

Following a rally at Hyde Park, Colombo, organised by the Left parties, a mob goes berserk smashing up shop windows, stoning passing cars and setting fire to parked vehicles. Police arrive at the scene after 40 minutes and restore order.

May: Anti-Tamil riots break out, on a scale unparalleled (until then) in the island's history.

The disorders begin on May 22, when a Sinhalese mob stops a train taking delegates to the Federal Party Convention (May 23-25) at Vavuniya (160 miles north of Colombo.), murders four of them, assaults and robs the rest. Another train believed to be carrying delegates is derailed on May 23 as a result of sabotage, two policemen and a railway worker being killed (2 of them later discovered to be Sinhalese-Police Sergeant Appuhamy and porter Victor Fernando)-and 15 passengers seriously injured. Tamils in Eastern province retaliate by assaulting passing Sinhala motorists and migrant Sinhala fishermen.

During the next few days the riots spread to many parts of the North Central and Eastern provinces, and on May 25 the police admit that in some places the situation is "completely out of hand". Bands of Sinhalese colonists from irrigation and land development schemes, armed with guns and swords, attack Tamil villages and set fire to houses. Police and army with limited weapons and resources confront mobs, in some areas more than 1,000 strong. Some of the worst excesses occur in Polonnaruwa and Hingurakgoda, where Tamils are cut down with home-made swords, grass-cutting knives or clubbed to death or burnt alive. Nearly a 100 believed killed in Polonnaruwa alone on the night of May 25.

On May 26, the rioting spreads to Colombo. Tamils are beaten, robbed, sometimes stripped naked in the streets, while Tamil-owned shops and houses are set on fire. The evidence of planned organization of the riots is particularly strong in Colombo. The rioting in each area is carried on by hooligans from other parts of the city, who are carried to and fro from the scene in lorries and private cars with Tamil-owned buildings carefully marked beforehand for destruction. The Army and Police, which had received strict instruction not to fire on the rioters, are powerless to restore order.

The same day (May 26), Prime Minister Bandaranaike makes a "Call to the Nation" broadcast which has the effect of worsening the situation. He says: "An unfortunate situation has arisen resulting in communal tension. Certain incidents in the Batticaloa district where some people lost their lives, including Mr.D.A.Seneviratne, a former Mayor of Nuwara Eliya, have resulted in various acts of violence and lawlessness in other areas - for example, Polonnaruwa....." This "substituting the effect for the cause" results in more violence in hitherto non-disturbed areas.

On May 27, riots spread to all parts of the island. At Panadura, a suburb of Colombo, a mob attacks a Hindu Sivan Temple, pulls out the officiating Brahmin priest, pours petrol on him, and burns him alive. Elsewhere in Colombo, the rioting gets worse. Following appeals by foreign embassies and a deputation of leading citizens, and a threat by the Left-wing Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party to call on the people to defend themselves, the Govt. at last stirs to action, and declares a State of Emergency throughout the island. A curfew is imposed from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., armed forces are called in, and a Press censorship is announced. The Federal Party, the main Tamil Party, whose convention at Vavuniya had decided on May 25 to launch a civil disobedience campaign from Aug. 20, is declared illegal, and a Sinhala communal organisation—Jatika Vimukti Peramuna—is likewise prohibited.

On May 28, the Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, although only a constitutional head of the State, assumes direct charge of affairs. But despite the army and Navy opening fire in several instances, mob violence continues, on May 29 and May 30. On May 30, a major rioting at Anuradhapura, organised by a large labour force from Padaviya, is averted in time by committed Army, Police and civil administrators. On May 29, all persons possessing fire arms in Bat-

ticaloa district (a Tamil majority area) are ordered to surrender the guns to the Police. A similar order is issued in the Jaffna peninsula on June 2, following attacks on govt. property. A permanent Army unit is stationed in Jaffna, under the command of Col.F.C.de Saram.

June: On June 2, the govt. requisitions five British ships and a French ship to take 9,426 Tamil refugees from Colombo to Jaffna, out of an estimated 12,000 men, women and children herded in temporary refugee camps. The operation, directed by the Ceylon Navy, is carried out in two stages during the nights of June 2-3 and 5-6, under conditions of complete secrecy. About 2,100 Sinhalese are similarly transferred by sea from Jaffna to Colombo on June 3 in a requisitioned Japanese ship, despite the fact that no attempt was made to do bodily harm to Sinhalese in Jaffna, the govt. claiming that it was a precautionary measure. With order being gradually restored by June 3, the Govt. Parliamentary group meets that day, and Prime Minister faces hostile criticism by party backbenchers, with some of them demanding the arrest of Tamil leaders.

On June 4, the House of Representatives meets at emergency session. The Prime Minister reviewing the riots, apportions a good share of the blame on the Federal Party leaders. He also says that in parts of the Northern and Eastern provinces there appeared to be a "movement against the State and the Government". The House adjourns around 10 p.m. and the same night, several Tamil M.P.s including Federal Party leader Chelvanayakam are placed under house arrest. Between June 5-9, nearly 150 Party leaders at District levels, including some Muslims, are detained under emergency regulations. One Sinhalese, K.M.P.Rajaratne, also detained.

By June 9, normalcy is restored, despite underlying communal tensions, but the state of emergency continues.

On June 24, a joint session of Parliament is held, without participation by F.P. M.P.s who are in detention. The Speech from the Throne promises "early legislation for the reasonable use of Tamil language". C.Suntharalingam of the Tamil Resistance Front moves an amendment calling for the formation of a Tamil state as a separate Dominion within the British Commonwealth. He asserts that "the de facto separation of Ceylon has now taken place and should be given de jure recognition" and adding that partition was the only logical, historical, cultural and

economic way out of the problem of Tamil-Sinhala conflict. His amendment is ruled out of order by the Speaker.

July: On July 4, the Prime Minister says that emergency powers could now be eased but not completely lifted. He says there was no question of releasing the Federal Party leaders at that stage.

On July 17, Mr. Bandaranaike introduces the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Bill in the House after he had submitted it to a conference of Buddhist priests for approval. A request by Opposition Leader Dr. N.M. Perera that all F.P. M.P.s be released to enable them to participate in the proceedings is turned down. Mr. Bandaranaike's offer to permit the M.P.s to attend the debate under Police escort is turned down by Mr. Chelvanayakam who says that would be an affront to the dignity of the House.

August: On August 5, when the Second Reading of the Bill is taken up, all Opposition M.P.s walk out, except two—S.D. Bandaranayake and Mrs. K.M.P. Rajaratne. Deal-

ing with the provisions of the Bill, Mr. Bandaranaike emphasized that the only meaning of an "official language" was that that language was "recognised for necessary official acts" - i.e. in due course official records and similar documents would be kept in the official language and documents recognised by a court would also have to be in that language, though there might be a translation for purposes of convenience. As regards the regulations to be made under the Bill concerning correspondence, he points out that under the Official Language Act the status quo would be preserved until Dec. 31, 1960; after that date any Tamil would have the right to correspond in the Tamil language, although the position of Sinhalese as the official language would be preserved. Thus, a Tamil could be sent a reply in Sinhalese, but for his convenience a Tamil translation or a Tamil version of the substance of the reply would be attached. With regard to the use of Tamil for certain administrative purposes in the Northern and Eastern provinces, Mr. Bandaranaike defends the concession on the ground that there were a very large

number of Tamil citizens living in those areas. The Bill is passed by 46 votes to 3.

Meanwhile the state of emergency is extended for a further monthly period from Aug. 27.

September: 58 Federal Party leaders who had been under house detention from early June are released on Sept. 5 along with K.M.P. Rajaratne.

On Sept. 3, the Senate passes the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Bill.

On Sept. 27, the state of emergency extended for a further unspecified period, and the ban on the Federal Party remains.

China to give Ceylon a loan of Rs. 50 million in 4 annual instalments, to be effected through delivery of industrial equipment, materials etc., according to an agreement signed in Colombo on Sept. 17.

December: Ceylon's first Paper factory at Valaichchenai in the Eastern Province goes into production.

1959

January: The House of Representatives by 78 votes to 7, approves (Jan. 8), a Govt. sponsored Constitution Amendment Bill, which among other things, provides for the abolition of the system of separate electoral lists and representation for registered Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin in Parliament. Negative votes are cast by the Federal Party members and Independent M.P. C. Suntharalingam, who fear that under the proposed re-delimitation the proportion of representation for the Tamil community as a whole might be reduced.

Yugoslav President Marshal Tito, accompanied by his wife pays an official visit (Jan. 21-25) in the course of a 3-month tour of Asian and African states.

On Jan. 22, the State of Emergency imposed in May 1958 to quell race riots is extended for the 8th time. Under the Constitution, an emergency decree has to be renewed monthly.

February: A swing to the right in the ruling S.L.F.P. The Party's Executive meets on Feb. 1 and decides not to have any truck with "Leftist" political parties. For the first time since the party was elected to power 2 1/2 years ago, "Right wingers" who were

noted anti-Communists are elected to all key posts.

On Feb. 3, Govt. decides to drop the inquiry into an alleged attempt to organise a coup d'etat. Deputy Inspector General of Police Sidney de Zoysa against whom the allegation was made by Food Minister Philip Gunawardene, resumes duties.

While the country celebrated the 11th anniversary of Independence on Feb. 4 with an impressive military parade in Colombo, Tamils in the north and east observe it as a day of mourning.

On Feb. 12, amidst tension and scenes of disorder, the House of Representatives adopts a Bill to amend the Public Security Act arming the Govt. with greater executive powers to deal with civil disorder. Leader of the Opposition Dr. N.M. Perera and 8 other LSSP M.P.s are forcibly ejected. The Speaker suspends the House 12 times within 3 hours to enable the police to remove the protesting M.P.s. Dr. Perera becomes the first Leader of the Opposition to be named or removed from the House. The F.P. and Communist Party M.P.s walk out and the Bill is passed by a depleted House by 51 votes to 3.

Ceylon to set up her first Iron and Steel mill with Soviet aid, it is reported from Colombo on Feb. 12.

March: One-day token strike (March 3) to protest against the recent amendment to the Public Security Act. The strike called by the Trotskyite L.S.S.P. involves 12 major Trade Unions including those of plantation workers and white collar workers.

The House of Representatives adopts (March 12) a Govt. bill seeking among other things, to lower the age of eligibility for voting from 21 to 18.

On March 13, the 10-month old State of Emergency is lifted.

May: Crisis in the Cabinet. On May 6, Right wing Ministers write to the Prime Minister asking for the expulsion of Food Minister Philip Gunawardene. They announce that they would abstain from attending Cabinet meetings as long as Mr. Gunawardene remained a Minister. The Cabinet meeting scheduled for that day (May 6) is hurriedly cancelled.

On May 15, Mr. Bandaranaike announces re-allocation of Ministerial duties under

which Mr. Philip Gunawardene would cease to be in charge of Food and Co-operative Development, and assigned the portfolio of Agriculture and Fisheries. Mr. Gunawardene conveys his objection.

On May 18, Mr. Gunawardene resigns, along with the second Marxist member of the Cabinet P.H.W. de Silva, Minister of Industries.

On May 19, 7 Members of Mr. Bandaranaike's own party, S.L.F.P., including 3 Parliamentary Secretaries, resign from the party, reducing the party's strength in the House to 45 in a House of 101.

On May 23, the Governor General issues a proclamation proroguing Parliament up to June 30.

June: The Ceylon Communist Party withdraws (June 1) its policy of "critical support" that it had till then pursued in relation to the 3-year old Bandaranaike govt.

An enlarged and re-shuffled one-party Cabinet is sworn in, on June 9.

Ceylon renews its 7-year old Rubber-Rice barter agreement with China. (June 13).

Indian President Dr. Rajendra Prasad pays a goodwill visit to Ceylon (June 16-22). On June 17 he inaugurates the Vidyalkara University for higher Buddhist ecclesiastical studies at Kelaniya, 8 miles from Colombo, and on the same day lays the foundation stone of a building to house the International Cultural Institute of Ramakrishna Mission Centre at Wellawatte.

On June 24, the Governor General promulgates an Order raising the number of elective seats in the House of Representatives from 101 to 151.

July: An Opposition move to censure the govt. (July 8) fails. The govt. manages to muster its full strength of 50 in the 101-member House, as against the combined Opposition's 41.

August: A new organisation to prevent entry of illegal immigrants into Ceylon from South India to be set up with headquarters in Jaffna in the Tamil-speaking northern province. The decision is taken at a high-level conference in Colombo (Aug 4) attended among others by Chiefs of the Armed Services and the Police.

On Aug. 6, the Prime Minister announces in the House of Representatives that the country would shortly add 12 jet bombers of

the latest type, armed with rockets, to her defence forces. The planes were expected to be delivered by Sept. 30. He also says that 2 frigates were expected to join the two mine-sweepers that were already in the Navy. Fast motor boats would also be bought, and tenders had been called.

September: Assassination of the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister Mr. Solomon West Ridgway Dias Bandaranaike (60) dies on Sept. 26 of bullet injuries inflicted on him by an assassin the previous day. The assassin is identified as a Buddhist monk, Somarama Thero, a lecturer in the College of Indigenous Medicine and an "eye specialist" who had fired four shots at close range at the Prime Minister after a brief meeting with him at his private residence. After a 5-hour operation and 22 hours after the shooting, Mr. Bandaranaike dies in his sleep. Following the shooting, the Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke declares a State of Emergency.

On Sept. 26, the Minister of Education Mr. Wijayananda Dahanayake is sworn in as Prime Minister. Meanwhile the public indignation aroused by the murder leads to a number of acts of hostility against Buddhist monks who appeal to the govt. for protection.

On Sept. 27, Mrs. Bandaranaike appeals to the people to allow the Buddhist clergy to take part in the funeral rites.

After lying in State for 2 days in Parliament House, where nearly 1,000,000 people file past the bier, Mr. Bandaranaike's body is taken on Sept. 30 to his ancestral home at Horogalla, 20 miles from Colombo, and interred in the presence of a vast crowd.

October: Death Penalty to be re-imposed. It is announced on Oct. 3 that the Cabinet had decided to repeal the Suspension of the Death Penalty Act passed by the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's govt. in 1956.

Govt. imposes censorship on the Press with effect from the midnight of Oct. 6. A Gazette notification says that among the subjects covered by the censorship would be "matters relating to any proceedings or investigation conducted in connexion with the death of the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike....."

On Oct. 8, as a protest against the rigorous censorship, all daily newspapers come out with their leading article columns left blank.

On Oct. 14, the High Priest of the Kelaniya Buddhist temple, Buddharakkhita Thero, H.P.

Jayawardene, a publisher, and A.A. Carolis Amerasinghe, a physician, all three prominent members of the S.L.F.P., are arrested in connexion with the killing of the late Prime Minister.

On Oct. 20, Minister of Local Govt. and Housing Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene is removed from office after she had refused to resign; this follows her known association with the three men who were arrested.

On Oct. 21, a Police officer, Inspector W.A. Newton Perera is arrested on a charge of supplying the revolver used in the killing to Somarama Thero.

On Oct. 28-29, allegations that Prime Minister W. Dahanayake and Minister of Finance Stanley de Zoysa themselves were involved in the conspiracy to murder the late Prime Minister, are made by Opposition members in the House of Representatives, and are vehemently denied by both.

On Oct. 30, a motion of no-confidence on the govt. introduced by Leader of the Opposition Dr. N.M. Perera, is narrowly defeated by 48 votes to 43, with the help of 6 Nominated members.

November: On Nov. 2, Deputy Inspector General of Police Sidney de Zoysa, a brother of Finance Minister Stanley de Zoysa, issues a Press statement denying that he had sought to influence officers investigating Mr. Bandaranaike's murder, and declares there was no evidence to justify the arrest of Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene.

On Nov. 4, the Cabinet forbids the attendance of Mr. Sidney de Zoysa at any police conference about the investigation.

On Nov. 19, Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene and Richard de Zoysa are arrested after statement made by Somarama Thero are placed before the Cabinet.

On Nov. 21, Finance Minister Stanley de Zoysa resigns from the Cabinet.

On Nov. 26, the Govt. Parliamentary Group unanimously adopts a motion asking that D.I.G. Sidney de Zoysa be compulsorily retired.

On Nov. 27, it is announced that the Public Service Commission had decided to send Mr. de Zoysa on leave with immediate effect, and to retire him as from March 1, 1960.

December: On the Prime Minister's advice, the Governor General dissolves Parliament on Dec. 5, and orders General Elections for March 19, 1960.



Thrice Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake, a bachelor, a pipe-smoker and a keen amateur photographer, with Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

On Dec. 7, Mr. Dahanayake announces that he had resigned from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and would form a party to contest the coming General Elections.

On Dec. 8, the Working Committee of the S.L.F.P. refuses to accept Mr. Dahanayake's resignation and expels him from the party, together with 13 others. After Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike declines to accept the presidency of the party, the working committee elects Mr. C.P. de Silva, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, as party president. The split in the S.L.F.P. was followed later the same day by the dismissal of 6 Ministers and

one Parliamentary Secretary from Mr. Dahanayake's govt. and the recall of Mr. Stanley de Zoysa as Minister of Health and Home Affairs.

On Dec. 13, Mr. C.P. de Silva resigns from the Cabinet.

On Dec. 14, the hearing of the Bandaranaike case opens before the Chief Magistrate, Colombo. The 7 accused of murder and conspiracy to murder are: Mapitigama Buddharakkhita Thero, H.P. Jayawardene, P. Anura de Silva (a motor mechanic who had been arrested on

Nov. 21), Talduwe Somarama Thero, Inspector Newton Perera, Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene and A.A. Carolis Amerasinghe. No charges were preferred against Richard de Zoysa who was released.

The U.N.P. wins a sweeping victory at the Colombo Municipal elections (Dec. 19), under the leadership of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, obtaining 23 of the 37 seats. The I.S.S.P. wins 8 seats, the S.L.F.P. and C.P. one each and Independents win 4. The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, led by Mr. Philip Gunawardene contests 18 seats but fails to win any.

1960

January: Major General H.W.G.Wijeyekoon assumes command of the Army, (Jan.1), succeeding Major General Anton Muttukumar, who has been appointed Ceylon's High Commissioner in Pakistan.

Five Ministers belonging to the SLFP are dismissed (Jan.5) from the "care-taker government" of Prime Minister W.Dahanayake. Their places are filled by five others who had filed their nominations to contest the forthcoming General Elections under the banner of the Prime Minister's newly formed Lanka Prajathanthravadi Pakshya (LPP).

On Jan.20, the creation of a new Ministry of Internal Security is announced. Mr.Sidney de Zoysa, Deputy Inspector General of Police (on leave preparatory to retirement) is appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry.

March: General Elections on March 19, for the first time held on a single day, and for an enlarged Parliament of 151, excluding 6 Nominated members. The UNP, led by ex-Premier Dudley Senanayake emerges as the largest single party with 50 seats, closely followed by the SLFP with 46 seats. The Tamil Federal Party emerges as the third largest party with 15 seats and appears to hold the balance. Other party results are:- LSSP, led by the Leader of the Opposition Dr.N.M.Perera - 10; MEP, led by Mr.Philip Gunawardene - 10; LPP, led by care-taker Prime Minister W.Dahanayake - 4; Communist Party - 3; Independents and others - 13. In the virtual rout of the newly formed LPP, Mr.Dahanayake is defeated in his own constituency of Galle which he had represented since 1944. Among others who lost their seats are two former Tamil Ministers — G.G.Ponnambalam and C.Suntharalingam.

On March 20, Mr.W.Dahanayake tenders his resignation and Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleka holds consultations with Mr.Dudley Senanayake and the new leader of the SLFP, Mr. C.P. de Silva on the formation of a new Ministry.

On March 21, Mr.Dudley Senanayake is called upon to form a government; having previously stated that he would go into opposition than form a coalition, he accepts the task after some hesitation. At 48, he is being elevated to Prime Ministerial office for the second time.

On March 22, an 8-member Cabinet, the

smallest so far, is sworn in, which includes J.R.Jayawardene given responsibility for Finance, Broadcasting and Information and Local Government and Housing. The same day the Federal Party announces that it would not support Mr.Senanayake's govt. and would vote against it at the first opportunity.

On March 30, the Government suffers its first defeat when the Opposition nominee for the Speakership, Mr.T.B.Subasinghe, a Left-wing Independent, defeats the UNP candidate Sir Albert Peries (Speaker from 1952-1956) by 83 votes to 60 on a secret ballot.

April: The annual report of the Central Bank, made public on April 1, shows that Ceylon had registered a record trade deficit of Rs.251 million in 1959. The rise in the import bill was unprecedented. Total imports were valued at Rs.2,005 million and exports at Rs.1,754 million. The deficit accounted for the drop in external assets from Rs.883 million to Rs.689 million.

Delaring open the newly-elected (fourth) Parliament on April 6, the Governor General outlines the policy and programme of the Dudley Senanayake government. Among steps announced in the Address was "early discussions with minority leaders" to improve the estranged relations between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities.

On April 22, exactly a month after being sworn in, the government is defeated in the House of Representatives when an Opposition amendment to the Government's motion on the Address of Thanks, stating that the Government did not command the confidence of the House, was adopted by 86 votes to 61, with a few abstentions. The Federal Party votes with the Opposition.

On April 23, on the Prime Minister's advice, Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke dissolves Parliament, and orders General Elections to be held on July 20.

May: Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike is elected President of the SLFP (May 7) after the resignation for health reasons of C.P.de Silva.

On May 24, she announces that she would accept the Premiership if the party secures a majority; she would not, however contest a seat on the ground that she did not want to be "just the Leader of the Opposition".

(Under the Constitution, she would lose her Premiership only if she fails to get elected to Parliament within 4 months).

It was announced in New Delhi (May 25) that India's next High Commissioner to Ceylon would be Mr.B.K.Kapur; the present High Commissioner Mr.Y.Gundevia is transferred to the External Affairs Ministry where he would be Special Secretary.

June: The Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake in his electoral campaign accuses the SLFP of having entered into a secret agreement with the Tamil Federal Party. In reply, Mrs.Bandaranaike denies the charge and accuses Mr.Senanayake of trying to win the election by arousing communal ill-feeling between the Sinhalese and Tamils.

July: For the second time in 4 months, the country goes to the polls on July 20. The SLFP, led by Mrs.Bandaranaike, secures 75 of the 151 seats, leaving the UNP a poor second with 30 seats. In terms of votes however, the UNP secures 1,143,290 as against the SLFP's 1,022,154. A feature of the elections was the greatly reduced number of candidatures, as compared with the previous elections held 4 months earlier. Whereas in March there had been 898 candidates, in July there were only 393. The reduction was partly due to a no-contest agreement between the SLFP, the LSSP and the Communists.

The Federal Party which fielded 19 candidates at the March elections and won 15, wins 16 seats having fielded 21 this time. Others returned are:- LSSP-12; Communist Party-4; MEP-3; LPP-2; JVP-2; Tamil Congress-1; and Independents-6.

Mr.W.Dahanayake and Dr.Colvin R.de Silva, deputy leader of the LSSP, who lost their seats in the March elections, are returned to Parliament.

On July 21, Mr.Dudley Senanayake resigns, and the Governor General invites Mrs.Sirimavo Bandaranaike (44) to form a new government. She is sworn in the same day, to become the world's first woman Prime Minister.

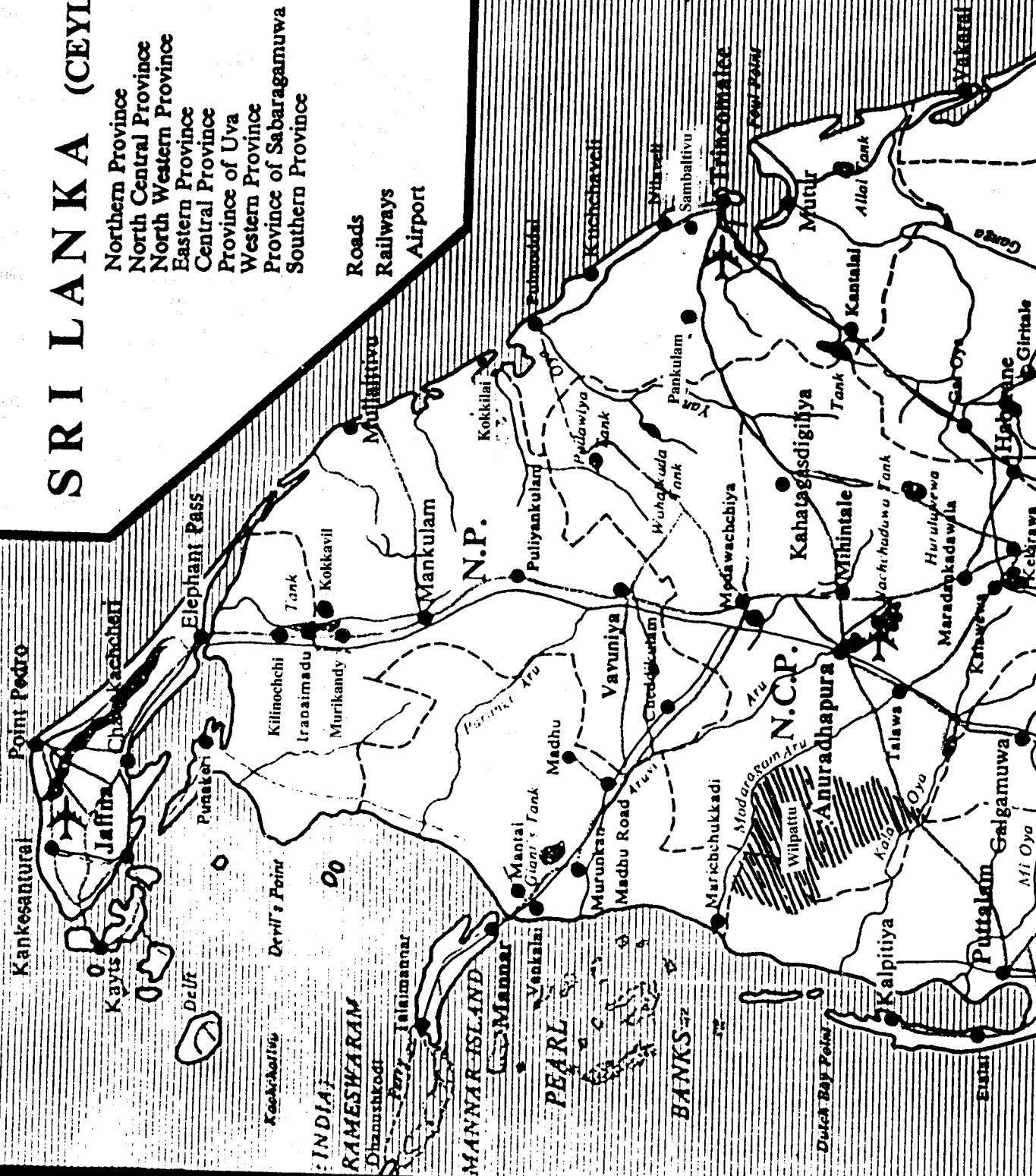
On July 23, the new Cabinet is sworn in. In the 11-member Cabinet, Mr.Felix Dias Bandaranaike becomes Minister of Finance, and the sole minority community member,

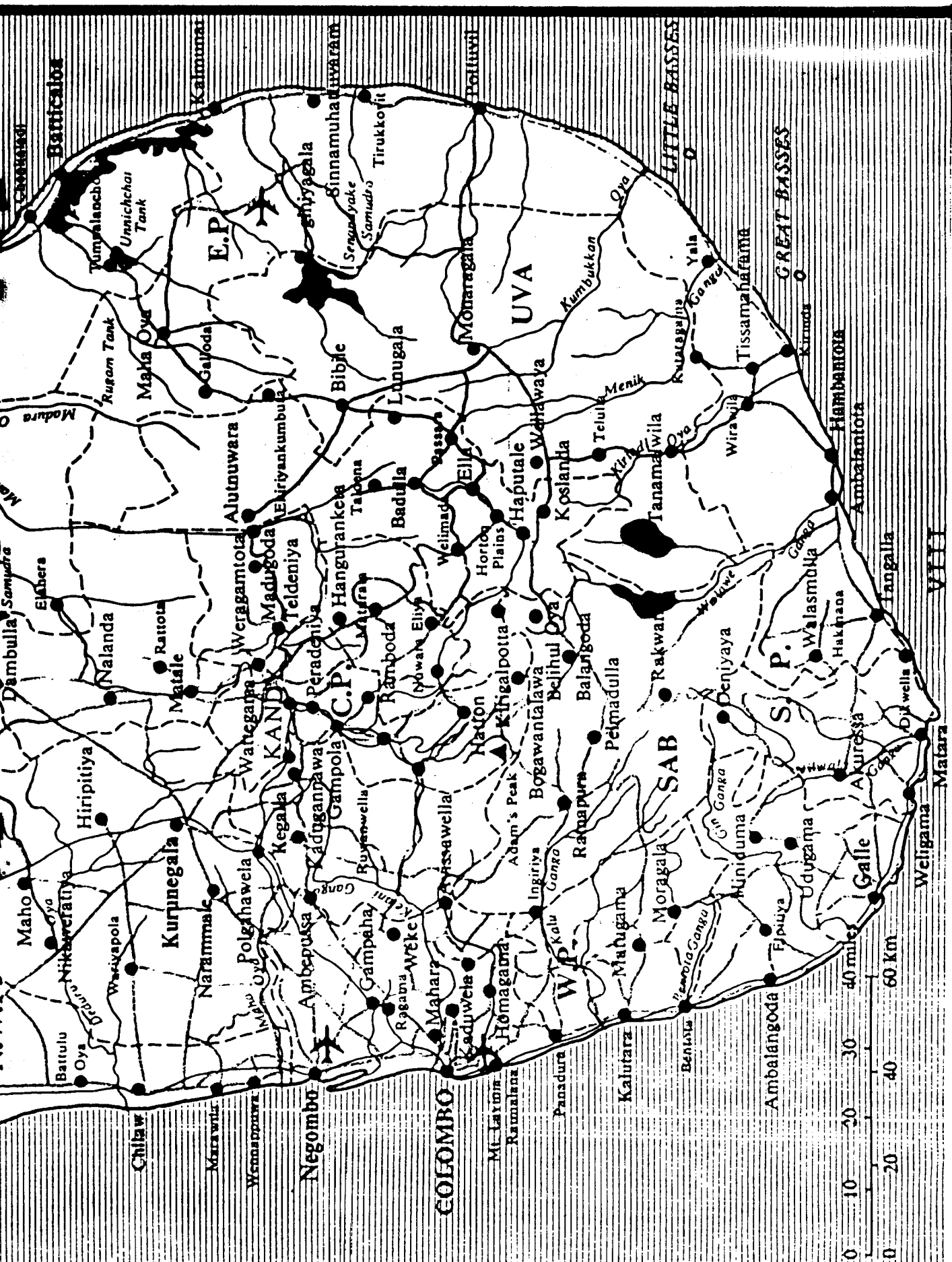
SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

N.P.
N.C.P.
N.W.P.
E.P.
C.P.
UVA
W.P.
SAB
S.P.

Northern Province
North Central Province
North Western Province
Eastern Province
Central Province
Province of Uva
Western Province
Province of Sabaragamuwa
Southern Province

Roads
Railways
Airport





1946 - 1986

A 40 - YEAR CHRONOLOGY

Mr. Badiuddin Mahmud, a Muslim, is given charge of Education and Broadcasting.

August: Mrs. Bandaranaike takes her oath as a member of the Senate (Aug. 5)—the Upper House. This is the first time that a Prime Minister sits in the Upper House. On Aug. 4, the Govt. also announces the choice of Mr. S. Thondaman, the leader of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, as one of the 6 Nominated members in the House of Representatives. His appointment gives plantation workers of Indian origin representation in Parliament for the first time in nearly a decade, after Indian settlers were disenfranchised.

The Speech from the Throne read by the Governor General at the opening of the new Parliament (Aug. 12) announces a number of important measures, including the proposed taking-over of the two large newspaper groups; the take-over of Assisted schools, and the nationalization of Life Insurance business. It was also announced that the government would implement the legislation of 1956 and 1958 so as to make Sinhalese the official language by Dec. 31, 1960. Steps would be taken to ensure that Buddhism, "the religion of the majority of the people" was given "due recognition and its proper place".

On the same day (Aug. 12), Finance Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike announces a number of drastic measures to preserve the dwindling exchange reserves, including the ban on the importation of several items and increase in import duties on a wide range of goods.

On Aug. 23, in a broadcast, Mrs. Ban-

daranaïke replies to criticisms of the take-over of both the leading newspapers and the lower graded assisted schools. Strong objections to the former were made by the International Press Institute and the Commonwealth Press Union, and the take-over of the assisted schools aroused many protests among the Roman Catholic community in the country.

On Aug. 27, the Motion of Thanks of the Governor General for his Address to Parliament is passed by 99 votes to 31, with 19 abstentions. Speaking during the 4-day debate, Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan of the Federal Party says it is wrong to call any Indian Tamil settlers "stateless". If they were not Indian nationals under the Indian constitution, then they should be regarded as British subjects since they had been in Ceylon before the withdrawal of colonial rule. "There is no use going to Mr. Nehru for a settlement. They are citizens of U.K. You should go to Queen Elizabeth".

The Minister of Education, Mr. Badiuddin Mahmud announces that no compensation would be paid when assisted schools are taken over. The take-over would cover 2,653 schools.

September: Protest meetings of the Roman Catholics are held in various parts of the country opposing the Govt. take-over of Assisted schools.

October: The Working Committee of the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchchi (Federal Party) meets in Colombo on Oct. 1-2, under the presidency of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. M. Manikkam, and decides on "an intensive membership drive before the next

annual sessions in December, at which the Party will decide on its programme of action to achieve its objectives".

On Oct. 28, an official Bill is passed vesting in the government the control and management of over 2,000 Govt.-aided schools.

November: Commander of the Navy, Rear Admiral Royce de Mel and six other Naval officers interdicted from service (Nov. 16) pending investigation of an allegation that two naval vessels had smuggled contraband liquor into the island.

December: On Dec. 1, Government assumes control of about 2,500 aided schools. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic agitation against the take-over continues along the coastal belt, with parents and the Catholic public moving into about 60 school premises to resist the take-over.

On Dec. 29, the House of Representatives adopts an official motion making Sinhalese the language of the House, with arrangements for members who did not understand Sinhalese. It was announced meanwhile that public servants over 50 years of age could opt to retire without compensation before December 31, 1961, and those who do not exercise the option would be required to pass a proficiency test in Sinhala within 3 years.

Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike arrives in New Delhi on Dec. 29, on what she described as a "pilgrimage" to India. Her 17-day tour had actually begun on Dec. 20 when she arrived in Bangalore from Ceylon, accompanied by her two daughters, Sunethra and Chandrika.

1961

January: On Jan. 1, Sinhala becomes, de facto, the sole official and administrative language of Ceylon, under the terms of the Official Language Act of 1956.

On Jan. 2, a hartal (complete stoppage of work) organised by the Federal Party takes place throughout the northern and eastern provinces in protest against the manner in which the government had sought to implement the language policy, which Tamil leader S. J. V. Chelvanayakam characterises as a "betrayal of assurances" given by the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

On Jan. 22, the Federal Party at its party

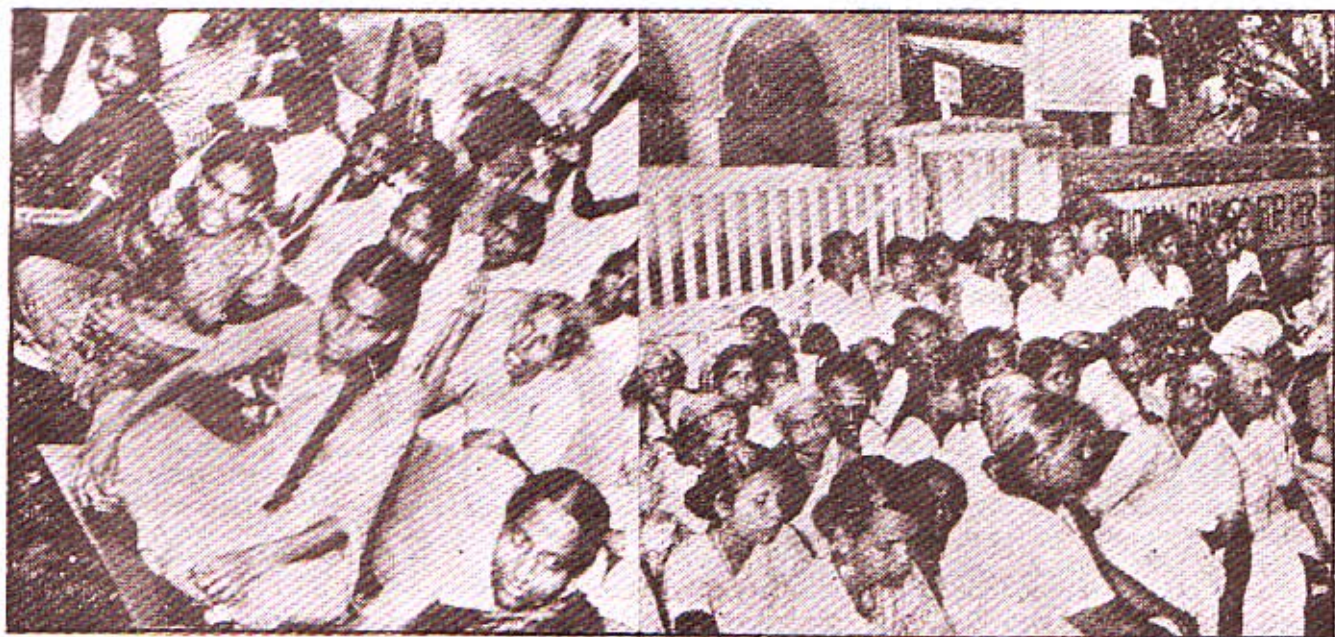
convention, adopts a resolution calling on the Tamil population of the two provinces to launch a direct action campaign by picketing Govt. offices, refusing to co-operate with officials conducting business in Sinhala, and resisting the teaching of Sinhala in schools in Tamil areas.

In Madras, on Jan. 23, Finance Minister C. Subramaniam admits in the State Legislative Assembly that the ownership of Kachchativu, a small islet off Rameswaram was in dispute between India and Ceylon, and that he hoped it would be settled when other issues between the two countries are also settled. When asked about reports of harassment of

Indian fishermen at the hands of the Ceylon Police, he confirms the reports, and says that the State government had taken "proper steps" in the matter through the Government of India.

On Jan. 30, the Federal Party campaign begins, with volunteers distributing leaflets appealing to Govt. employees not to co-operate in the implementation of the Official Language Act.

February: The first English-language tabloid newspaper, "Ceylon Daily Mirror", is launched in Colombo (Feb. 1), published by the Times of Ceylon Ltd. and edited by Fred de Silva.



Satyagraha scenes: Women volunteers outside the gates of the old Jaffna Secretariat.

20th February: Satyagraha campaign begins in Tamil areas.

The second phase of the non-violent agitation begins – very soon to encompass the entire population in the North and East, including Muslims, and in some instances even Sinhalese living in these areas. The Satyagraha proper is limited to approved volunteers of the Federal Party who are strictly forbidden from any form of violence either by deed or word even under grave provocation; but the tremendous enthusiasm generated by this resistance movement among all sections of the people, gives it the impression of a popular uprising, resulting in an initial sharp reaction from the government. On the morning of the 20th at 7.30 a.m. when the F.P. leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, along with about 200 volunteers, squat opposite all entrances to the Jaffna Kachcheri (the provincial secretariat), a huge crowd gathers filling up the streets, pavements and all approaches.

In order to clear a path for the Government Agent (M. Sri Kantha), the police trample on the volunteers with their boots, pull them by their hands and feet, lift some of them and hurl them away, while attacking them with batons. While several persons in the crowd rush to the gates and replace the dislodged satyagrahis, some others, enraged by the Police violence hurl stones at the police jeeps and trucks. The police then use tear gas to disperse the crowd, which falls back for a

while, but keeps surging forward again. Picketing of the secretariat continues with more volunteers pouring in; in the face of the swelling numbers, police abandon their attempt to create a pathway. The Kachcheri does not function. Among scores of people injured and bruised, are – 5 M.P.s – Dr. E.M.V. Naganathan (a Police baton used on him breaks, and he holds up a broken piece), V.A. Kandiah, A. Amirthalingam, V. Dharmalingam and K. Thuraiaratnam.

On the 21st, the second day, the satyagraha led by A. Amirthalingam, then M.P. for Vaddukoddai. Although there is a Police party present armed with shields, batons and helmets, there is marked restraint in their behaviour.

On the 22nd, the Police arrive at the secretariat at dawn and take up positions trying to prevent volunteers from blocking the entrances, but a party of 300 volunteers led by M.P. for Kayts, V.A. Kandiah move up despite the brandishing of batons and a half hearted use of force. In Colombo, there is sharp criticism by Opposition M.P.s over the manner in which the Police acted on the first day. The Times of Ceylon (the evening daily) in its editorial comment, adverts to the similar sit-in headed by philosopher Earl Russell at the entrance to the Defence Ministry in London along with 6,000 supporters, and comments: "It is noteworthy that Earl Russell's and Federal Party's were both non-violent demonstrators, but the significant difference

was that while Russell and his followers had to deal with the disciplined London Police, the Federal Party had to reckon with Ceylon Police".

On the 23rd, the 4th day, women plunge into the movement. Out of 500 satyagrahis led by the M.P. for Chavakachchen, V.N. Navaratnam, about 80 are women who take up positions at the main entrance, led by Mrs. Rajapopathy Arunachalam, President of the Federal Party Women's Front. On the same day, it is decided to convert the F.P. movement into an all-party one. The sole Tamil Congress M.P., M. Sivasithambaram (later to become the President of the Tamil United Liberation Front), LSSP activists, the Mayor of Jaffna, T.S. Durairajah and leading Muslims meet and decide to throw their weight with the movement.

On the 24th, the campaign spreads to Mullaitivu, Mannar and the Eastern Province. On the 25th, a large procession of Muslims led by Muslim lawyers and businessmen join the satyagrahis in Jaffna.

On the 26th, Nominated M.P., S. Thondaman warns against suppression of the F.P. campaign and alerts plantation Tamils to store food and provisions for 3 months should a struggle for Tamil rights become necessary.

On the 27th, Satyagraha and picketing is launched in Batticaloa, the capital of the East-



Satyagraha scenes: School girls marching in procession before participating in the non-violent protest.

ern Province, and administration is brought to a standstill in both north & east.

On the 28th, an Opposition suggestion in the House of Representatives in Colombo, to initiate talks for a settlement of the problems that had provoked the Federal Party agitation, is rejected summarily by Finance Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike who says the government was not prepared to negotiate under pressure.

March: On March 1, troops and naval personnel commanded by Sinhalese officers, are sent to Jaffna and Batticaloa, where they parade through the streets with fixed bayonets, in a massive show of strength. This measure which is deeply resented by the Tamil population, is followed by an intensification of the anti-government campaign. At Jaffna, troops and police blockade the pickets outside the secretariat to prevent food and water from reaching them; a large crowd of demonstrators, however, in turn blockade the troops, cutting them off from outside contact, and in consequence, the troops had to lift their blockade after 48 hours.

On March 2, a hartal is observed throughout Jaffna and trains are held up by about 100 volunteers who lay down on the railway lines. Jaffna gets an acting G.A., Nissanka Wijeyeratne, a Sinhalese, who is quoted in the newspapers the next day as saying: "The Satyagrahis are very well behaved gentlemen". In Batticaloa, Muslim M.P. for Kalmunai, M.C. Ahmed exhorts Muslims to join the civil disobedience campaign.

On March 3, postal services in Jaffna paralysed by a strike of postal workers. In

Batticaloa, thousands of Muslims led by 2nd M.P. for Batticaloa, Marcan Markar, participate in the campaign. In the evening of the same day, all naval personnel are withdrawn from Jaffna and Batticaloa. In Colombo, 9 Trade Union organisations protest to the Prime Minister against the use of troops on Satyagrahis.

On March 4, picketing is launched at Trincomalee, led by M.P. for Trincomalee, N.R. Rajavarothayam and M.P. for Mutur, T.A. Ehangparam, the latter among those seriously injured by police baton-charging.



Women volunteers – another procession.

Some highlights: Some highlights of the campaign during the first fortnight were:—

The complete identification of the Muslim community with the satyagraha movement, both in the north and east;

The large-scale participation of women, who in many instances, slipped or broke through army and police cordons when men volunteers were prevented from approaching the secretariat in Jaffna;

The Jaffna Government Agent M. Sri Kantha going on 1 month's leave after reportedly pleading with the Govt. and the transfer of the Batticaloa G.A. B.R. Devarajan who was suspected by the Govt. of having shown open sympathy with the satyagrahis and his replacement by a Sinhalese G.A., D. Liyanage;

The incident opposite the Jaffna secretariat on the 2nd March, involving the Senior Asst. Secretary of the Ministry of Defence, N.Q. Dias, which brought a touch of comic relief to the thousands of volunteers and onlookers; troops and police personnel in their anxiety to help Mr. Dias gain access into the secretariat compound, carry him high in an undignified position, stumble against the satyagrahis, some of them standing with upraised hands, and drop him heavily with a thud on the inner side of the wall, tearing his clothes in the process!

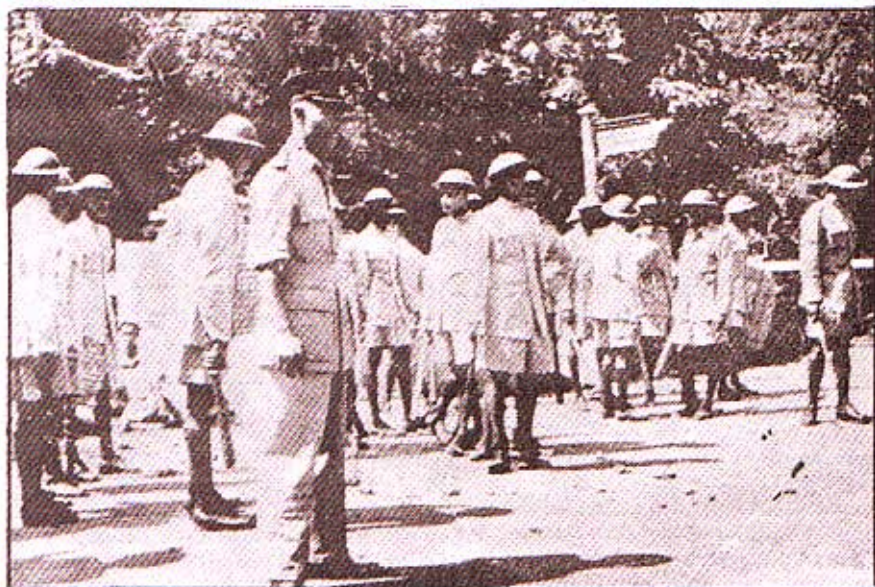
Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike leaves (March 4) for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London; a few hours before her departure, she makes a broadcast appeal to the Federal Part to call off its civil disobedience campaign, while accusing the satyagrahis of violence. She says: "It is said that non-violence is the essence of any satyagraha movement. But the so-called satyagraha movement carried on by the Federal Party is by no means non-violent. Last Thursday, a Federal Party Member of Parliament and his associates had attempted by use of force (she was referring to the N.Q. Dias incident) — to prevent a highly placed Government official entering the Kachcheri premises. Last night, I saw for myself the torn clothes of this official..."

From March 11, the Govt. adopts a policy of refusing to issue permits to wholesale dealers to buy Govt. — distributed and subsidised rations of rice and flour except through the picketed secretariats, with the result that food distribution in the Tamil provinces breaks down. This is to some extent counteracted by local purchases by the co-operative societies which were supporting the campaign, and by the assistance of the peasantry who bring stocks of food into the towns.

On March 14, the Govt.'s policy is strongly criticized in both Houses of Parliament as a deliberate attempt to "starve out" the Tamils, especially in view of the fact that other permits were being issued outside the Secretariats.

Appeals for a compromise settlement are made during Mrs. Bandaranaike's absence by a number of prominent public figures, including leading Govt. supporters. After visiting Jaffna to see the situation on the spot, S.D. Bandaranayake, a Govt. MP who had previously been strongly critical of the Tamil claims, states (March 12): "... It is the duty of patriotic Sinhalese people to grant the Tamils in the northern and eastern areas their rightful place in the use of the Tamil language"; after commenting on the peaceful way in which the campaign was being conducted, and on the complete unity of the Tamil population irrespective of party or class, he gives warning that "the only alternative to a settlement is division of the country like what has happened in Korea, Vietnam and the Congo".

The agitation meanwhile continues to spread, and in some areas picketing is extended to excise warehouses (a develop-



The police getting ready for action.

ment which acting head of the Govt., C.P. de Silva describes as a deliberate attempt to deprive the gov't. of revenue) to other Govt. offices and law courts.

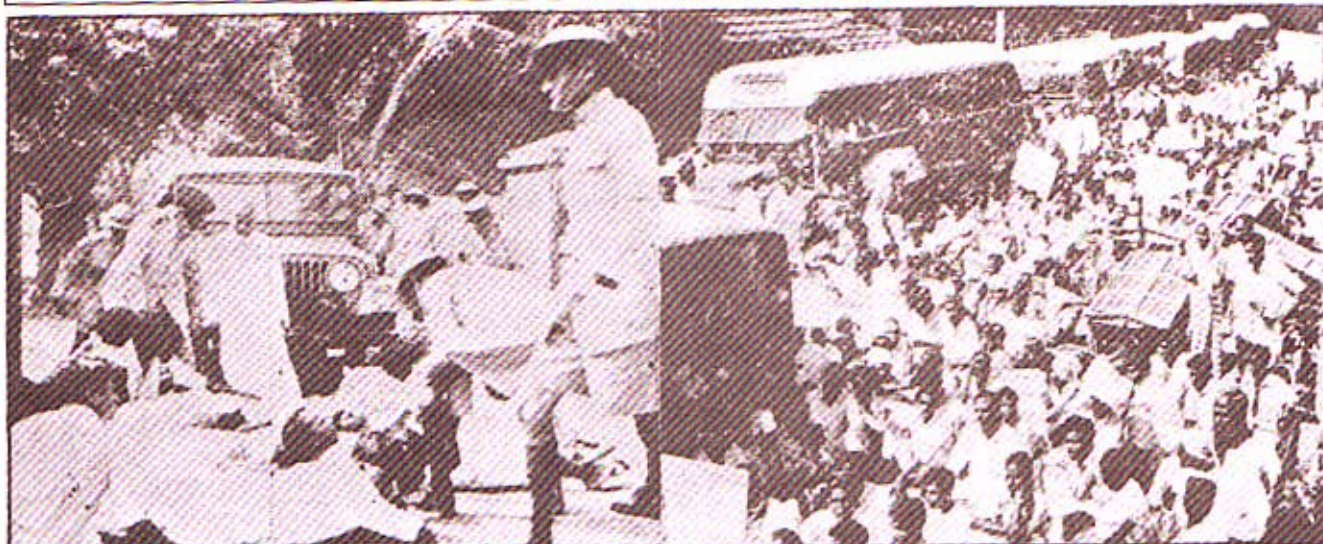
Picketing of the secretariat at Mannar begins on March 20, with the support of the Town Council, the Ceylon Workers' Congress and the Muslim population.

On March 23, Prime Minister returns to the island after an absence of 18 days, and two days later she again appeals to the Tamil leaders to call off their campaign, and gives warning that the Govt. might use "other means" to restore order. Mrs. Bandaranaike says that there was "room for grave concern as to whether certain political organisations in the north and east are not in fact endeavouring to paralyse the administration in these places with a view to establishing a separate state". The Government, she declared had acted with "commendable restraint" whilst the Sinhalese population had shown "remarkable patience and forbearance". She concludes: "Should the Government be compelled to restore law and order by other means at its disposal, the supporters of the satyagraha movement must take full responsibility for the consequences that must necessarily follow".

Commenting on the Prime Minister's broadcast, President of the Federal Party, S.M. Rasamanickam says that there was no question of withdrawing the satyagraha cam-

paign which had been launched only as a last resort after exploring every possibility for a peaceful settlement. He says that Mrs. Bandaranaike's speech seemed to encourage extremist Sinhalese elements, and observes that similar unguarded words by the late Mr. Bandaranaike had unleashed the first communal riots in 1956. The Tamil people, he adds, are "not prepared for any more disappointments" and wanted the Government to do "something concrete" before they withdrew the campaign.

Replying the Prime Minister on 26th March, Mr. Chelvanayakam says: "At no time did we under-rate the might of the Prime Minister's government. We are quite aware that she has powers enough to turn her armed forces against us. We were and are aware that when the Prime Minister's forces turn their guns against us, we would be as helpless against her armed killers as her late husband was powerless when he faced the gunshots of his assassin on that fateful day in 1959. The Prime Minister has made a radio speech touching on the Satyagraha. That speech is more befitting an imperial dictator speaking to his subjects rather than a speech made by a democratic leader to her people. In fact the manner and contents of her speech correctly depicts the true status of the Tamil-speaking people in Ceylon. The rule over them is indeed a colonial imperialism. It is noteworthy that the Prime Minister's speeches touching on the struggle for freedom of the Tamil-Speaking people even



Satyagraha scenes: (left) Doctor E.M.V. Naganathan stands before a police jeep as policemen try to remove the Satyagrahis to clear a path for the Government Agent's jeep. (right) As police threw a cordon round the Satyagrahis, conservancy labourers throw a cordon around the police vehicles, by parking their cars!

adopt the cheap techniques of imperialism. In her radio speech just before her departure to Great Britain, she made an appeal to those whom she called reasonable Tamils to disown the actions of the mischief-makers, viz. the Federalists. This is exactly how the British imperialists replied to the struggle for freedom of the Indian patriots. The factual situation is that there is no section of the Tamil-speaking people, certainly in the Northern and Eastern provinces, which does not fervently support the Satyagraha movement

April: Govt. deputed Minister of Justice Sam P.C. Fernando to have "informal" talks with Federal Party leaders. Negotiations between the Govt. and Mr. Chelvanayakam begin on April 5, but break down two days later. Mr. Chelvanayakam proposed that Tamil should be used for all administrative purposes and in the courts in the Northern and Eastern provinces, and also made representations regarding the setting up of Regional Councils, the position of Tamil public-speaking persons outside the North and East. The Government refuses to consider his proposals on the ground that they conflicted with the Official Language Act.

Following this deadlock, the Federal Party decides to strengthen the movement. Presiding over a mass rally at the Jaffna esplanade, on April 12, Mr. Chelvanayakam says: As the political parties in south Ceylon treat the Tamil question as a suitable issue to play upon the emotions of the Sinhalese voters and enthrone themselves on the seats of power, these parties or their politicians re-

fuse, or are unable to, see the justice of our demands.

April 14: The Federal Party launches a civil disobedience campaign which takes the form of openly defying the law in order to court arrest; it inaugurates its own Postal service. 2,500 stamps, 2,500 stamped envelopes and 3,000 Post cards are reported to have been sold out in a little more than an hour. It is also rumoured that the party was planning to form its own Police force and take over Crown lands for distribution among landless peasants. As part of the campaign, Tamil passengers on the nationalized bus service refuse to purchase tickets; 55 people are arrested for this offence in Batticaloa on April 17. On the same day, the postal service is extended at Kankasanturai.

April 17: On the morning of the 17th, the Ministers meet at "Temple Trees", the Prime Minister's official residence in Colombo, and discuss the situation in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Despite lack of unanimity in the Cabinet, it is decided to impose a state of emergency. The Minister of Finance and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, Felix Dias Bandaranaike holds a series of conferences with army, navy and police chiefs. In the evening, the Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke proclaims a state of emergency throughout Ceylon and assumes powers to maintain essential services, ban political parties, and impose a Press censorship. The Federal Party is proscribed; all public meetings and processions in the Northern and Eastern provinces forbidden; and a 48-

hour curfew imposed in Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Mannar, Vavuniya, and four other areas in the Northern province. Detention orders are issued against 68 persons, including Mr. Chelvanayakam and 14 other Members of Parliament. That same evening a special train carrying about 350 soldiers and 15 officers leave for Jaffna, many of them from the Singha Regiment, exclusively composed of Sinhalese, and formed during S.L.F.P. rule.

April: 18: 2.30 a.m. The special train carrying the soldiers arrives in Jaffna, and the troops are promptly moved into the sprawling secretariat grounds through the rear, while about 200 satyagrahis, nearly 90 of them women, unaware of developments, tired from the day's fasting and prayers in the hot sun, are yet squatting or stretched out at the Kachcheri entrances. Some of them are in deep slumber. While usually there are thousands of supporters fringing the satyagrahis during the day, there are hardly any at that hour of the night.

The crackdown begins. Some police officers emerge first, approach two M.P.s A. Amirthalingam and V. Dharmalingam, who had been keeping watch, and inform them that they had been instructed to take them into custody under the emergency regulations. The M.P.s submit without protest. Mrs. Amirthalingam is also taken into custody. Thereafter, an estimated 500 army men, some of them carrying rifles, swoop on the passive satyagrahis, attack them with rifle butts, belts and clubs. The sleeping volunteers wake up groaning and writhing in



Federal Party stalwart, Dr. E.M.V. Naganathan. Died: August 16, 1971.

pain. They are trampled with boots, kicked, and dragged away from the entrances. Proctor S. Nadarajah, one of the joint secretaries of the F.P. sustains head and shoulder injuries, his clothes drenched in blood. The Tamil Congress M.P. for Udupiddy, M. Sivasithamparam who, fearing assault on the women satyagrahis, had stood with his arms stretched out, is himself attacked and he sustains injuries on his face, shoulders and arms. The soldiers go berserk and attack everything on sight. They pull down the Federal Party "Post office" structure, smash up cars and bicycles parked in the vicinity, ripping tyres with the bayonets, and ramming the windcreens.

As the hospital, a mile away, gets filled with injured persons, news of the ravage spreads, and thousands of people surge on the secretariat area. Meanwhile, while several injured satyagrahis lie helpless within the military cordon, trucks are brought in and the women volunteers are herded in. Restless youths and students who show signs of violence are kept under restraint by repeated appeals from party leaders and elders.

The troops fan out, attacking everyone in sight, and enforce the 48-hour curfew. Or April 20, when the curfew expires, a 12-hour curfew from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. is substituted.

In a broadcast, Mrs. Bandaranaike declares that Mr. Chelvanayakam's demands had been "so unreasonable that they could not

be even considered by the government", and asserts that the "Federal Party has by its actions made it abundantly clear that their real objective is to establish a separate state". After saying that the government had acted "with the greatest restraint and patience", she goes on to say — "the patience and goodwill shown by the government has met with no response" and the government is now left with no other alternative but to use all the forces at its command to establish law and order. It is not unlikely that a number of innocent people will suffer in various ways in consequence of these measures. It is precisely for this reason that the Government delayed taking stern action. For any unfortunate happenings the Tamil leaders must take the entire blame"

Although all news from the Northern and Eastern provinces are strictly censored, Govt. statements make it clear that resistance continued in these province and that it sometimes took violent forms, in contrast to the strict non-violence observed by the Tamils before the proclamation of the Emergency.

It was stated on April 20 that patrols had twice fired on hostile crowds which were defying the curfew order in the Jaffna area, one man having been killed and three others wounded. After a patrol had been fired on and 2 soldiers wounded in the Jaffna area, all persons in the district possessing firearms are ordered on April 24 to surrender them to the police on pain of rigorous imprisonment after summary trial.

By April 24, 59 of the 68 persons, including Mr. Chelvanayakam and 14 other M.P.s are under arrest. Although the Tamil Congress M.P., M. Sivasithamparam had along with his constituents taken an active role in the satyagraha, only Federal Party leaders and activists are detained.

On April 24, the Ceylon Workers' Congress and the Ceylon Democratic Congress together representing about 1,000,000 plantation Tamil workers of Indian origin, inform the Government that unless the detained Federal Party leaders are released and their linguistic demands granted, the estate workers would come out on strike. In consequence new emergency regulations are issued the same day, declaring strikes and lock-outs in essential services illegal, and adding banking to the list of essential services.

Nevertheless, on April 25, plantation workers go on strike.

On April 26, they return to work after talks between S. Thondaman (leader of the Ceylon Workers' Congress and a Government-nominated M.P.) and Mrs. Bandaranaike. A Bank clerks' strike in support of wage demands, which had been in progress since April 4, continues, in defiance of the Government order.

On the 25th Governor General orders the mobilization of nine units of the Army volunteer force, the Navy volunteer force, the Navy reserve and the Home Guard to prevent or suppress any disturbances and to maintain essential supplies and services. New emergency regulations, applying to the whole country, are issued making arson, sabotage, looting, trespass, unlawful assembly punishable by death or life imprisonment, and prescribing lesser penalties for possessing offensive weapons, making speeches likely to cause a breach of the peace, affixing posters etc.

Communication links from Jaffna to the rest of the island (and the outside world) are cut off. Postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and train bus and air services suspended. A general black-out (both figuratively and literally) is imposed along with curfew. With military vehicles, trucks and jeeps, plying constantly and at high speed, towns and streets are deserted and become devoid of civilian population. Tamil areas, both in north and east, come under military terror. Indisciplined army men shoot dead and injure persons outside curfew hours on the pretence of maintaining curfew. Shops are robbed of soft drinks, cigarettes and eatables, and meek requests for payment from shopkeepers are met with the amused taunt: Get the money from Chelvanayakam! Troops make fun of passing cyclists, harass and humiliate pedestrians, and attempt to molest women even within homes, at the point of a gun. During curfew hours, residents are ordered to put off all lights. (When later, complaints about this were made by opposition M.P.s in Parliament, Leader of the House, C.P.de Silva is credited with the laconic remark:- Possibly some soldiers misunderstood the curfew for a black-out!) Several instances of deaths and suffering of the sick and expectant mothers occur, for want of medical attention, because of arbitrary implementation of curfew orders. Cases are reported where even persons armed with Police-issued curfew passes were shot at on sight.

With the Federal Party leaders incarcerated at Panagoda in the south,

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communications are gradually restored, but people in the north and east continue to live in fear. The Point Pedro Magistrate, S.N.Rajadurai, who asked the Police to remand a soldier who had shot dead a deaf-mute washerman on the road, is promptly transferred to Kurunegala in the south. Many cases in which military personnel are accused, are transferred to courts in Colombo, on Government orders, thereby rendering a full-scale hearing impossible, with witnesses sometimes poor villagers, called upon to travel 250 miles away from the places where the alleged offences are committed.

May: The conduct of the armed forces in the North and East comes in for strong criticism during debates in both Houses of Parliament. Specific criticisms are made by Edmund Samarakody (Lanka Sama Samaja Party), M.Sivasithambaram (Tamil Congress) and Senator S.Nadesan. Mr.Nadesan alleges in the Senate (May 2) that the military had been "let loose on the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and from all accounts are behaving, at any rate so far as the Jaffna Peninsula is concerned, as if they were a conquering army in occupation of enemy territory".

On May 12, the Bandaranaike assassination trial before Justice T.S.Fernando and a jury of seven, comes to a climax with death sentences being passed on 3 of the accused - the ex-High Priest of the Kelaniya Buddhist Temple, Buddharakkhihta, the assassin priest Somrama and H.P. Jayawardene. Two others

who were on trial - P.Anura de Silva and ex-Police Inspector Newton Perera are acquitted. (Mrs.Vimala Wijewardene, who was a Minister in the Bandaranaike Cabinet was earlier discharged by an examining Magistrate on July 15, 1960).

The State of Emergency is extended on May 17. The same day a Bill is passed for setting up a "Peoples' Bank" which would provide relief to peasants in distress.

June: The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation is established (June 1); the Corporation will import and sell oil in competition with British and American oil companies working in Ceylon. N.E.Weerassoria, Q.C., is appointed Chairman.

Government appoints a 6-man Committee, consisting 6 high-ranking officials, 3 Tamils and 3 Sinhalese, headed by Bribery Commissioner A.W.H.Abeysundera, to report on the administrative problems and hardships to citizens ignorant of the Sinhala language arising from the Govt's linguistic policy (June 3).

The Visa Tax comes into force (June 8). The Immigration Dept. is empowered to collect a tax of Rs.400/- from every non-Ceylonese (affecting mostly Indian nationals) holding a visa for over 3 months, with retrospective effect from September 1960.

July: Ceylon - USSR contract signed in Colombo (July 4) for the supply of equipment

for the first stage of the proposed Iron and Steel mill to be set up in Ceylon with Soviet aid.

Tamil leader S.J.V.Chelvanayakam who is under detention is permitted to leave for U.K. for medical treatment. Curfew (hours reduced from time to time) is finally lifted in the north and east (July 22).

September: Emergency extended for the 6th month. Press censorship and detention of Federal Party leaders continue. The Prime Minister tells the Senate (Sept 19) that the police and army had information that secret attempts are still being made in the north and east, to create fresh trouble.

October: On the 4th, 15 Tamil members of Parliament under detention since April, are released. Emergency extended for a further month from Oct. 17.

In New Delhi, an Indo-Ceylon Friendship Association is inaugurated (Oct 17) by Prof. Humayun Kabir, Central Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, in the presence of Ceylon's Minister of Commerce, Trade and Shipping, T.B.Ilangaratne.

December: The ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party holds its 10th annual meeting at Ratnapura 56 miles from Colombo (Dec. 2).

1962

January: The nationalized Life Insurance Corporation formally inaugurated (Jan. 1). A wave of strikes by both public and private sector employees demanding wage increases which began the previous month (Dec.'61) continues throughout the month.

The Supreme Court of Appeal presided over by Chief Justice H.H.Basanayake dismisses (Jan. 15) the appeal of Somarama Thero against the sentence of death passed on him in the Bandaranaike murder trial. The appeals of Buddharakkhihta Thero and H.P.Jayawardene also dismissed, but death sentences, passed on them are commuted to life imprisonment; the court holds that the legislation restoring the death penalty with retrospective effect, covered only actual

murder, but not abetment of murder or conspiracy to murder.

On Jan. 18, the Govt. introduces the Capital Punishment (Special Provisions) Bill, covering abetment and conspiracy with retrospective effect, thereby validating all three death sentences and making null and void the commutation of the sentences by the Court. The Bill is strongly criticized by Opposition members, the legal profession and by the "Times of Ceylon" which commented (Jan. 19) that the Bill sought to "clothe in the habiliments of legality an act of the crudest vengeance". Opposition Members also refer to the Bill as "murder by statute" and a "stinking piece of legislation". On Jan. 24, a Cabinet statement says : ".... No legal techni-

cality will be allowed by this Government to stand in the way of justice being meted out to the persons found guilty of the crime..."

Jan. 28: Government announcement of a "Coup" attempt creates a sensation. The announcement says that a plot by senior officers of the Police and Armed forces to arrest a number of Ministers and other political leaders and overthrow the Government had been discovered on the previous day, a few hours before the coup was to have been carried out. 29 persons, most of them Army or Police officers arrested on suspicion of complicity in the plot. On the 28th, the following 7 are arrested:— C.C.Dissanayake, a Deputy Inspector General of Police; Col,

Maurice de Mel and Col. F.C.de Saram, Commandant and Deputy Commandant of the Volunteer Force; Sydney de Zoysa, a former Deputy Inspector General of Police; B. John Pillai and L.C.S. Jirasinghe, Asst. Superintendents of Police; and Lt.Col.B.R.Jesudasan, C.O., Volunteer Signals. An order is also issued for the arrest of Royce de Mel, formerly Rear Admiral and Commander of the Navy. Of these seven, Col. de Saram is a former captain of the Ceylon cricket team, and while at Oxford played for the University and for Hertfordshire. Sidney de Zoysa, was once alleged to have been involved in a similar plot against the late Mr.Bandaranaike's government. Another 22 persons taken into custody between Jan. 30 and Feb. 7, comprising 3 Lt. Colonels, four majors and four Captains, seven present or former police officers, Deputy Director of Land Development, D.J.F.D.Liyanage and three others.

February: Prime Minister Mrs.Bandaranaike in a special message to the nation on the 14th anniversary of independence (Feb. 4), warns the people against "saboteurs and forces of reaction". Official ceremonies planned at Anuradhapura, the ancient capital in central Ceylon, are cancelled in view of the situation arising from the political plot.

Captain J.E.L.Poulier, an officer in a volunteer regiment who had made a voluntary statement to the police about the Coup plot, commits suicide (Feb. 7). In a letter to his wife he states: "I am foolishly one of the conspirators of the coup d'etat. I cannot stand the disgrace of going to gaol...."

On Feb. 13, Finance Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike makes a lengthy statement in the House of Representatives on behalf of the Cabinet on the abortive Coup d'etat. He tells the House that the name of the Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke had been mentioned by the arrested persons. One arrested Police officer had stated that two former Prime Ministers belonging to the United National Party, Sir John Kotelawala and Dudley Senanayake were "in the know" of the plan to overthrow the government. He reads the names of the 29 persons taken into custody; investigations however had not been completed.

The Finance Minister says: "It does seem a strange coincidence that the coup d'etat was planned to take place on the night of Jan. 27, on which day the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike was to be at Kataragama. Planning had been done for quite some time by a very few top and the security precau-

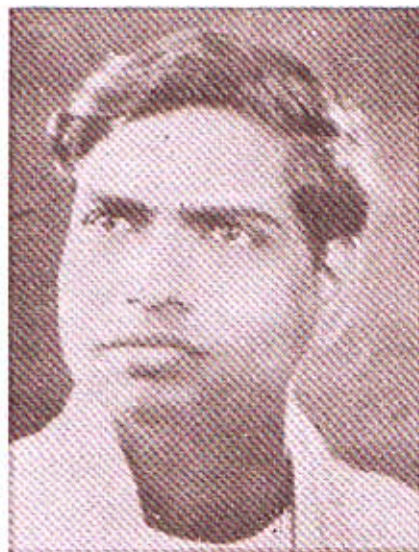
tions of the "need to know" were strictly observed. The detailed plans were revealed less than 48 hours from "H" hour."

Had the coup been successful (Mr.Bandaranaike continued) police cars equipped with radio and loudspeakers were to be sent out soon after midnight to announce an immediate curfew in Colombo. The Central Telegraph Office and other telephone exchanges were to be put out of action; newspaper offices, police headquarters, the CID office, and other key points to be taken over; and tanks and armoured cars to be stationed at certain points to ensure the success of the operation.

Mr.Bandaranaike tells the House of the various instructions given to subordinate officers involved in the conspiracy by C.C.Dissanayake, Sidney de Zoysa, Col. Maurice de Mel and Col.F.C.de Saram. "When questioned on the afternoon of Jan. 28 in the course of investigation, Col.de Saram decided to take the rap for the whole affair. He claimed that he alone was responsible for the attempted coup, and that everyone else who had played any part in it had done so on his orders. According to Col.de Saram, the plan for the coup, besides the arrests of Leftists, envisaged only the arrest of Mr.F.D.Bandaranaike and Mr.N.Q.Dias (Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs), because in his view, they were the only persons who could give lawful and effective orders to the Service commanders so as to frustrate the coup; and possibly Mr.S.A.Dissanayake, D.I.G., whom he thought was potentially dangerous. After Mr.F.D.Bandaranaike and Mr.N.Q.Dias had been imprisoned in the Ammunition Magazine at Army Headquarters, he intended to go at once to Queen's House and to coerce the Governor General to take over the government. The Governor General, he emphasized, had nothing to do with the coup.

"He admitted that a military dictatorship would not work for any length of time, and that the whole of his scheme depended upon the Governor General. He admitted also that he had no clear plan as to what he should do if the Governor General did not act as he hoped".

Mr.Bandaranaike added: "There were several questions to which Col.de Saram declined to give an answer in the course of investigation.... The Governor General has been informed of the fact that his name had been mentioned in the course of investigation, and he has volunteered to submit him-



A founder leader of the Federal Party, C. Vanniasingham, Died: September 17, 1959.

self to interrogation and investigation like any other citizen, and inquiries are now proceeding."

Feb. 13 - 15: Mr.Bandaranaike's statement is debated in the House. All political parties condemn the plot to overthrow the government. Mr. Dudley Senanayake (UNP) says wild insinuations had been made against himself, and that he was prepared to face any impartial tribunal at which he could prove his innocence. Dr.N.M.Perera (LSSP) says that the plan for a coup had been superimposed on a plan for the arrest of left-wing party and trade union leaders which had been prepared by Mr.Felix Dias Bandaranaike himself, with or without Cabinet authority. He also refers to the fact that Mr.S.A.Dissanayake and Mr.Abeyakoon (Inspector General of Police) had not informed the Prime Minister until several hours after they had learned of the conspiracy, and commented that certain facts in Mr.Bandaranaike's statement "did not click". Mr. Philip Gunawardene (MEP) demands the immediate removal from office of the Governor General. "I am no stickler for constitutional niceties", he says. "Some say that the Governor General cannot be removed without the Queen's permission. Remove him first. Then we will tell the Queen. It is we - this House - who run the Government". The MEP, LSSP and CP also demand a probe into the activities of the Catholic Action and the affairs of the "Times of Ceylon" newspaper organisation which they allege was the breeding ground for the foiled coup.



Thrice President of the Federal Party, S.M. Rasamanickam. Died: October 8, 1974.

On Feb. 15, a Bill making conspiracy against the State a capital offence, with retroactive effect, is introduced in the House of Representatives. Under the legislation – the Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Bill – anyone who conspired to overthrow the Government by unlawful means, or murdered or conspired or attempted to murder, or wrongfully restrained or attempted to restrain, the Governor General, the Prime Minister or any member of the Cabinet, might be punished with death, or imprisonment for a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 20 years, and a forfeiture of all his property. Persons charged with these offences might not be allowed bail; might be held incommunicado for 60 days without appearing before a magistrate; might be tried without a jury before 3 judges of the Supreme Court nominated by the Minister of Justice; and if convicted would have no right of appeal. The provisions of the Bill were made retroactive, to cover offences committed since January 1, 1962. The Bill was the second piece of retroactive legislation, imposing the death penalty for offences which were not capital at the time of their commission, which the government had introduced within a month.

The Bill passed its Second Reading in the House of Representatives on Feb. 17, by 89 votes to 52, with one abstention; and its third reading on March 2, by 70 votes to 27, with one abstention. On both occasions, the SLFP, the CP and MEP votes in favour; the UNP, the LSSP, Federal Party and Tamil Congress votes against.

On Feb. 26, the Government announces the appointment of Mr. William Gopallawa, Ambassador to USA, as Governor General in succession to Sir Oliver Goonetilleke. Mr. Gopallawa is the first Buddhist to hold the post of Governor General.

March: Mr. Gopallawa assumes office as Governor General on March 2.

Sir Oliver Goonetilleke leaves Colombo on March 7 for Paris. Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike states in the Senate (March 14) that Sir Oliver had been questioned before he left Ceylon and that, although his name had been used by the leaders of the plot to influence others, the inquiries had not revealed anything that would have justified his being prevented from leaving the country. There was no question, she added, of Sir Oliver having resigned or having been removed; his term had been extended in 1959 for two years, and he had continued to hold office at Her Majesty's pleasure until a successor was appointed.

April: The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva expresses profound concern (April 1) over the passing of the Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Act, many of whose provisions are "entirely contrary to the generally accepted principles of the rule of law", and asks permission to send an observer to attend the trials of the accused. In a telegram to the Minister of Justice, Sir Leslie Munro, Secretary General of the Commission, criticizes: (1.) The retroactive effect of the law; (2.) the power of the Minister of Justice to nominate the judges; (3.) the denial of the writ of habeas corpus to persons detained under the Act; and (4.) the denial of the right to appeal.

Replying on April 15 to Sir Leslie Munro, the Minister of Justice Senator Sam P.C. Fernando alleges that the I.C.J. appeared to show concern "not for the lawfully established Government of the country but for conspirators who attempted to overthrow it". He says that the Government would consider the Commission's request to send an observer for the trials, "quite irrespective of the comments which you have unfortunately chosen to make".

On April 30, Ceylon and USA exchange Notes extending validity of the Agreement between the two countries on broadcasting in Ceylon up to May 1971. The new agreement would make it possible for US government to continue financial and technical assistance in the field of broadcasting in return for facilities for the broadcast of Voice of

America programmes provided that they are not prejudicial to national interests.

May: The Government Parliamentary Group approves in principle (May 8) draft legislation to take over newspapers published by Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. (Lake House) and the Times of Ceylon Ltd., and convert the two companies into statutory corporations in which the public will hold shares.

In London, the Caltex Petroleum Company announces (May 14) that the Ceylon Government had seized the property and installations of Western oil companies in the island, accusing the Soviet Union of being behind the confiscation.

In Judicial Committee of the Privy Council dismisses (May 16), three petitions for leave to appeal against the Ceylon Court of Criminal Appeal's judgment in the Bandaranaike murder case, filed by Somarama Thero, Buddharakkhita Thero and H.P. Jayawardene.

On May 25, Leader of the House of Representatives C.P. de Silva announces the forthcoming appointment of a commission to investigate the political aspects of the late Premier Bandaranaike's assassination.

July: On July 11, the 3rd sessions of Parliament open, and Governor General Gopallawa in his Speech from the Throne announces Government's intention to establish a Republican form of government; the reorganisation of the Armed services, the abolition of the Civil Service and the establishment of a unified administrative service are other measures announced. It is also stated that the Government would pursue a "vigorous policy" of implementing the Official Language Act.

July 18: The coup trial begins. The trial of 24 persons charged with conspiracy in the alleged anti-Government plot opens before the Supreme Court in Colombo, before three judges nominated by the Minister of Justice – Justice T.S. Fernando, Justice L.B. de Silva and Justice P. Sri Skandaramah. Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam Q.C. senior counsel for most of the defendants, announces at the opening of the trial that he was prepared to produce Rear-Admiral Royce de Mel, who had been evading arrest since the alleged coup attempt. At the request of both the Attorney General and Mr. Ponnambalam, the hearing is adjourned until July 30 to give both sides more time to prepare their case.



C. Suntherlingam, educated at Oxford University, who resigned his jobs in the Indian and Ceylon Civil Services to become Professor of Mathematics; an ebullient and controversial politician and the man who fathered the Eelam concept.

The Government bans (July 22) the three groups of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) functioning in the country - the Ceylon Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam led by Mr. Ilanchelian, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam led by Mr. Ira Athimani, and the All Ceylon Dravida Progressive Federation led by Mr. A.M. Anthony muttu.

Finance Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike in his Budget speech in Parliament (July 26) announces a series of measures to conserve foreign exchange. He also announces reduction of the weekly rice ration from 2 measures to $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures, and Govt's intention to nationalize the Bank of Ceylon.

July 30: Senior Counsel G.G. Ponnambalam Q.C. produces Rear Admiral Royce de Mel before the Supreme Court at the resumption of the Coup trial. Mr. Ponnambalam then objects to the jurisdiction of the Court, contending that it was not lawfully established or constituted because: (1) the nomination of judges by the Minister of Justice was contrary to law; and (2) the Minister was debarred from issuing directions or making nominations because he had an interest in the matter, having himself participated in the interrogation of witnesses and the coup suspects.

August: Finance Minister F.D. Bandaranaike resigns (Aug. 25) his portfolio following the withdrawal of the rice ration cut by the government, consequent to the strong opposition in the country. On Aug. 28, Ag-

riculture Minister C.P. de Silva is sworn in as Finance Minister.

September: Renewal of the Rubber-Rice barter agreement with China is announced (Sept. 16) Ceylon to supply 33,000 metric tons of rubber to China in return for 200,000 metric tons of rice.

October: Coup trial resumes (Oct. 3). In a unanimous decision, the three judges rule that they had no jurisdiction to hear the case, since Section 9 of the Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Act was ultra vires. Mr. Justice T.S. Fernando who delivered the decision, says that in the court's view, the power of nomination of judges was essentially a judicial function, and nowhere in any Constitution was that power handed over to a body outside the judiciary. Nomination by the Minister of Justice would create an impression in the mind of the ordinary man that there was improper interference in the course of justice, and even that the tribunal was biased and not impartial. The Supreme Court's judgment is commended in a statement issued in Geneva on Oct. 19 by the International Commission of Jurists, which describes the court's ruling as "bold, fearless and independent".

November: In view of the Supreme Court's decision, Leader of the House of Representatives C.P. de Silva introduces (Nov. 6) a Bill amending the Criminal Law (Special Provisions) Act to enable the Chief Justice to nominate the judges - of whom he might himself be one - for the trial of the 24 suspects. Following this enactment, the Chief Justice nominates Justice L.B. de Silva, Justice Kingsley Herat and Justice A.W.H. Abeyundere to constitute the new panel.

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike rejoins the Cabinet (Nov. 5) as minister without Portfolio.

Mr. C.P. de Silva, who was Minister of Finance in addition to Agriculture, Lands and Power, resigns the Finance portfolio and Minister of Transport and Works, P.B.G. Kalugalla is sworn in as Finance Minister (Nov. 8).

Disturbances in the House of Representatives (Nov. 22) Opposition Members of Parliament grapple with the Police who were ordered to remove an M.P., K.M.P. Rajaratne

who had been "named" by the Speaker but refused to leave the Chamber. The trouble arose over a private Bill submitted by former Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake proposing that five former Parliamentarians found guilty of bribery should be deprived of their civic rights. The police efforts to remove Mr. Rajaratne were foiled, and the Speaker adjourns the House.

December: On the initiative of Mrs. Bandaranaike, a Conference of six non-aligned Asian-African nations is held in Colombo (Dec. 10 - 12) to help bring about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. Participant countries are Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Ghana and the U.A.R.

New Indo-Ceylon travel restrictions come into force on Dec. 15. Under the new order, a citizen of Ceylon will be permitted to go on a holiday to India only once in 7 years, either by sea, air or train. Restrictions on sea and air travel were in force since 1960. But the general public was not very much affected by this since the train-ferry travel was free from any restriction. This order comes as a major blow to all Tamil citizens who maintained regular religious, cultural and social contacts with South India, and Tamils from the plantations, many of whom had parents, brothers and sisters across the Palk Strait. In representations against these restrictions, President of the Ceylon Workers' Congress S. Thondaman points whatever the need for the imposition of this rule, human considerations should be given due weight.

Colombo Municipal Council elections (Dec. 22) results in a landslide victory for the United National Party (the Opposition in Parliament), which gains 40 of the 47 seats. Of the remaining seven seats, the LSSP wins three, the SLFP and CP one each and Independents two. The UNP's victory comes as a climax to a series of similar electoral victories in other local bodies' elections.

It is announced in Colombo (Dec. 28) that Mrs. Loranee Senaratne had been appointed Ceylon's High Commissioner in Ghana. Mrs. Senaratne is the first woman to head a Ceylon mission abroad.

On Dec. 31, Mrs. Bandaranaike arrives in Peking, carrying the Colombo proposals of six non-aligned nations, in a bid to settle the Sino-Indian border dispute.

1963

January: Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike in China, joined by Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio, has talks with Chinese leaders, in a bid to bridge differences between China and India over the Sino-Indian border dispute. A joint communique issued by Mrs. Bandaranaike and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai at the conclusion of their talks on Jan. 7 says that the Chinese Government had given a "positive response" to the Colombo proposals. Mrs. Bandaranaike proceeds to New Delhi, where she is joined by the President of the Executive Council of the United Arab Republic, Wing-Commander Ali Sabry and the Minister of Justice of Ghana, Mr. Ofori-Atta.

In Colombo, it is reported (Jan 9) that the Government would compensate the three oil companies, British Shell Oil Company and the American Caltex and Stanvac, for the assets taken over from them for the State-owned Ceylon Petroleum Corporation. A Govt. spokesman says it was not the intention of the Government to expropriate American and British oil interests. An earlier report had said that USA had warned Ceylon that all American aid would stop on Feb. 1, unless the Ceylon government took meaningful steps to compensate the companies. The warnings, reports said, were conveyed by the US Ambassador Miss Frances Willis, in a series of discussions with the Ceylon govt.

In New Delhi, Mrs. Bandaranaike holds discussions with members of the Indian government (Jan. 12 - 13) on the Sino-Indian border dispute.

For the second time, the Coup Trial Court is dissolved (Jan. 16). The three Supreme Court judges nominated by the Chief Justice announce when the trial began, that the court was not properly constituted and that it would not be in the interests of justice for them to hear the case. The presiding judge, Mr. L. B. de Silva says that Mr. Douglas Jansze, Q.C., the Attorney General, had intimated to them that one of the judges (Mr. Justice Abeyesundera) had earlier in his capacity as acting Attorney General, taken certain steps regarding investigations of the coup suspects and had tendered legal advice to the govt. In view of the Attorney General's advice, the court was dissolving itself. Senior Defence counsel, G. G. Ponnambalam Q.C. says he wished to give notice of an application for bail as the 24 suspects had been in

fiscal custody for almost one year. The presiding judge says that the suspects would be placed in fiscal custody until they were brought before another trial or the Supreme Court took other steps.

Mr. M. F. de S. Jayaratne, a senior Civil Servant is named (Jan. 17) as Ceylon's ambassador to USA, in succession to Mr. William Gopallawa, who assumed office as Governor General in March last year.

February: Independence Day celebrated at Anuradhapura (Feb. 4). In a special message on the occasion, Mrs. Bandaranaike refers to the "unthinking elements in this country and interested parties abroad" who were critical of her mission to China and India, and says that in the world in which they lived, it was not possible for any country to live in splendid isolation. "Events in the neighbouring sub-continent could have the greatest impact in this island. The granting of independence itself in 1948 was largely influenced by the freedom movement in India in those days ... A war in the neighbourhood would not only imperil our independence, but it may well mean our total destruction."

The United States suspends economic and technical assistance to Ceylon (Feb. 8), because of alleged failure by the Mrs. Bandaranaike government to compensate American oil companies for expropriated property. Mr. David Bell, the Director of the Foreign Aid Agency says Ceylon's right as a sovereign state to nationalize private property was not contested. "However, when such property belongs to a citizen, or company of a foreign country, the payment of prompt, adequate and effective compensation is required for international law"

The Cabinet rejects (Feb. 27) an application by the Indian High Commissioner to remit to the National Defence Fund of India Rs. 3,00,000/- contributed by Indians and Ceylonese. The Cabinet decides that it was against Ceylon's neutral policy to allow the application because the purpose of the Indian Defence Fund was to finance defence efforts against China. Govt. sources say that if the application was allowed, the Ceylon government would be compelled to allow similar applications from other parties to remit money to China. (Under the present exchange control practice, no one could remit

money abroad without permission from the Controller of Exchange, who in turn must get Govt. sanction in such exceptional cases as the present one).

The exchange control regulations also prevent Mr. P. Navaratnam of Jaffna College from proceeding to India to join the peace march from Delhi to Peking. He was invited by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan to join the Peace Brigade. He was the only Ceylonese invitee.

March: After 2 weeks of negotiations with the 3 oil companies, the Government takes compromise measures (March 14) which would enable Shell, Caltex and Esso to continue operations in Ceylon. On March 19, Mrs. Bandaranaike denies, in the Senate, that the Government had yielded to any kind of pressure from the oil companies or from the American or British governments in allowing the companies to import oil.

The Federal Party's Executive Committee behind closed doors at Kilinochchi in north Ceylon (March 16) unanimously confirms its earlier Mannar conference resolution to launch direct action some time in April. The nature of this direct action would be finally decided at a meeting of the Central Committee to be held at Vavuniya on April 6 and 7.

April: The Federal Party's "Direct Action" campaign scheduled to be launched on April 17, is indefinitely postponed. The decision is taken at the Vavuniya meeting on April 7.

It is officially announced in Colombo (April 27) that the Ceylon Civil Service, which had been established in 1789, would be abolished on May 1 and that the "top thousand" in that service would become members of the new Ceylon Administrative Service.

May: The 2-year old State of Emergency is ended (May 1). It was proclaimed on April 17, 1961, following the civil disobedience campaign launched by the Federal Party.

A Cabinet reorganization (May 29). A major Cabinet reshuffle is announced prior to the opening two days later of the annual conference of the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party. T. B. Illangaratne is Minister of Finance — the fourth Finance Minister since the formation of the Mrs. Bandaranaike government in 1959. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, who had been



Mrs. Bandaranaike, derogatorily referred to as "the weeping widow", but became the world's first woman Prime Minister.

Minister without portfolio takes over Agriculture, Food and Co-operatives, and Badiuddin Mahmud ceases to be Minister for Education and takes over Health and Housing. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike is again Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, in addition to his Ministerial duties.

June: The 11th annual conference of the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party held at Badulla on June 1, passes a resolution urging immediate steps for presenting to Parliament a draft Bill for setting up a republican form of government.

An Inquiry Commission, to inquire into and report on various aspects of the assassination of the late Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike is announced (June 28). Mr. Justice T.S. Fernando (Ceylon), Mr. Justice Abdel Yunis (U.A.R.) and Mr. Justice G.C. Mills-Odai (Ghana) to compose the Commission of inquiry with Mr. Justice Fernando (who had heard the Bandaranaike assassination case in the Supreme Court,) as Chairman.

July: Population Census (July 8). Provisional results show that the population totals 10,644,809, an increase of 31.5% since the 1953 census. The 1953 figure was 8,097,895. The three largest municipal areas are Colombo (510,947), Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia (111,013) and Jaffna (94,248).

The Ministry of Defence and External Affairs issues a Press note (July 24) explaining the Government's move to take over the internal distribution of oil. U.S. officials regard this latest action of Ceylon as a fresh deterioration in relations between the two countries. The measure, now before Parliament in the form of an amendment to the Petroleum Corporation Act, seeks to vest in the State-owned Corporation the import and distribution of petroleum in Ceylon from January, 1964.

August: A United Left Front is formed (Aug. 12). The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party, and Mahajana Eksath Peramuna sign a formal agreement to form a United Left Front operating as a single unit; a joint programme calls for the establishment of a republic, severance of ties with the British monarchy, and the nationalization of all foreign as well as locally-owned plantations and industries. The three parties together have a strength of 19 members in the 157-member House of Representatives. The effect of the agreement is that the new grouping will be on the left in Ceylonese politics; the SLFP will be in the centre; and the conservative United National Party led by Dudley Senanayake on the right.

The Federal Party decides to launch a civil disobedience movement "unless the Government withdraws the imposition of "Sinhala Only" and grants the just demands of the Tamil-speaking people before Oct. 1 this year." The decision is taken by the Central Working Committee of the party at the end of a 2-day meeting in Jaffna (Aug. 10).

In the House of Representatives in Colombo, leaders of both Right and Left wing Opposition parties charge the government (Aug. 30) with veering towards the Chinese line in foreign affairs by its attitude towards the Sino-Indian border dispute. Philip Gunawardene of the United Left Front accuses the government of having become a "stooge of the Peking warlords". As a result, Ceylon was moving away from its avowed policy of "dynamic neutralism — without knowing or understanding it". He appealed to the Government to remove the impression that Ceylon was "hostile to India". "India is our friend despite the fact that we have differences with her". Mr. J.R. Jayewardene of the UNP alleges that there was a pro-China lobby in the Ceylonese cabinet. A similar lobby was active elsewhere too.

On Aug. 31, Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister

tells the House of Representatives that as far as Ceylon was concerned there were no "Stateless" people in the country. There were only two categories of citizens — Ceylonese and Indians. He contends that under international law, a person's claim to nationality of any country depended on domicile — the land he ultimately chose to make his home. The mere fact of residence in another country for even 20 years did not affect his domicile which could be changed only by a conscious wish to abandon the domicile of origin. Every consideration, such as exchange remittances and visits to India and other contacts showed that Indian workers in Ceylon had Indian domicile. He maintains that these workers had a rightful claim to Indian citizenship as under the guarantee of fundamental rights in the Indian constitution. The remedy for those who were refused Indian citizenship was to seek a writ of "mandamus" on Indian government officials. This would have to be decided by the Supreme Court of India.

Meanwhile Indian Press reports (Times of India, New Delhi, and The Hindu, Madras) say that the Ceylon government has severely tightened its policy in the matter of issuing visit visas for Indian nationals desiring to visit Ceylon. Ceylonese missions in Madras, Bombay and Delhi were reported to be insisting not only on letters of guarantee from Ceylon residents on whose invitations the proposed visit to Ceylon was being undertaken but also a draft issued by the Reserve Bank of India for an amount enough to meet the expenses of their stay in Ceylon.

The Government appoints a 3-member Press Commission (Aug. 31) headed by retired Supreme Court judge K.D. de Silva to investigate the working of all newspapers and periodicals. This follows earlier failures to reach agreement on four draft Bills to take over the newspapers by converting them into corporations. The other two members are Mrs. Theja Gunawardene, herself an editress of a defunct journal and Secretary of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association, and S.W. Walpita, a lawyer.

September: The terms of reference of the Press Commission comes in for bitter criticism (Sept. 3) in the House of Representatives. The Opposition Whip J.R. Jayewardene alleges that one of the members of the Commission, Mrs. Theja Gunawardene, was an agent of the Chinese government. She was an editress of a journal whose conduct itself would have to be investigated by the

Commission.

The Government which had planned to conduct all levels of administration in the official language — Sinhala, from Jan. 1, 1964 makes a concession; public servants are to be allowed another 2 years to attain proficiency in Sinhala. This means that the change to Sinhala will not take place till Jan. 1, 1966.

The Ceylon Workers' Congress representing the bulk of the Tamil plantation labour, holds its 19th annual sessions. In his presidential address, Mr.S.Thondaman says the problem of "Stateless" people could no longer be kept in cold storage. The problem "for which our (Ceylon) government is solely responsible" could not be solved by whipping up prejudice against a set of workers who had made a vital contribution to the economy of the land. Neither could the problem be solved by following the course adopted by successive governments of Ceylon, of seeking to negotiate with the Indian government the future of these plantation workers who had made Ceylon their home and who have been rendered Stateless because of unjust and oppressive laws. He says the problem is a "domestic issue, between a class of people permanently settled in this country — who have been deprived of their legitimate citizenship rights — and the government of this country."

Mr.Thondaman says: "While we welcome any moral support in our struggle for citizenship rights from whatever quarter it comes,

we consider that any negotiation between the Government of India and our Government regarding the political and other rights of these workers is derogatory to their dignity as human beings, particularly when their representatives are not parties to such negotiations.... We are told recently the Prime Minister of Ceylon has, instead of conducting negotiations with the accredited representatives of these plantation workers, sent a communication to the Prime Minister of India regarding them. In the past we acquiesced in such approaches being made as we thought that the good offices of the Prime Minister of India might help these workers win their rights, but experience has conclusively demonstrated that interference, however well meant, on the part of the Indian government has, far from solving the problem, created psychological barriers".

October: Prime Minister Mrs.Bandaranaike makes official visits to the U.A.R. (Oct. 10-14), to Czechoslovakia (Oct. 14-17), to Poland (Oct. 17-21) and to the U.S.S.R. (Oct. 21-31). She has talks with President Nasser, the Czechoslovakian and Polish Prime Ministers and with Soviet leader Mr.Khrushchev".

Mr.N.Shanmugathasan, leader of the pro-China wing of the Ceylon Communist Party is expelled from the party (Oct. 27), on a decision taken by the Central Committee. He was the General Secretary of the Communist-sponsored Ceylon Trade Union Fed-

eration. The action against Mr.Shanmugathasan followed a number of charges against him, including one that he had made speeches against the views of the Party and the agreed conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the international Communist movement.

Canadian High Commissioner in Ceylon James George informs Finance Minister T.B.Illangaratne that Canada will finance the Katunayake airport scheme, estimated to cost £2 millions. Earlier, USA was to have financed this scheme, but the offer was withdrawn when America suspended aid to Ceylon because of delays in paying compensation to oil companies for assets taken over by the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

November: Mrs. Theja Gunawardene, whose appointment as a member of the Press Commission provoked wide criticism, resigns.

The Thamil Arasu Kadchchi (Federal Party) retains the Trincomalee seat in the House of Representatives in the by-election held on Nov. 23, with an increased majority — 5,800 as against just over 4,000 in a heavier poll than in July 1960 (19,100 against 13,300). The by-election in the Tamil-speaking constituency in the Eastern Province was caused by the death of Mr.N.R.Rajavarothayam, Mr.S.M.Manickarajah, the Federal Party candidate, won 11,532 votes against his two Independent rivals, Mr.A.H.Alwis (5,721) and Mr.B.Wijenathan (1,876).

1964

February: Consular exchanges with East Germany - Suspension of West German aid.

Deputy Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Herr Bruno Leuschner, visits Ceylon (Feb. 7-14). A joint communique on Feb. 14 states that both countries had agreed on the conversion of the East German trading mission in Colombo into a Consulate-General and on the setting up of a Ceylonese Consulate-General in the G.D.R. The communique also states that Mrs. Bandaranaike had reaffirmed the view, which she had previously expressed, that the German question could only be solved through the recognition of the existence of two German states.

In Bonn, it was announced on Feb. 21, that the German Federal government had

informed the Government of Ceylon that the latter's attitude towards the regime in Eastern Germany made it impossible to continue with the West German programme of development aid to Ceylon. The Federal Government's decision was taken in accordance with the "Hallstein doctrine", formulated in 1955, which laid down that the Federal Government would not maintain diplomatic relations with any country, except the Soviet Union, recognizing the regime in East Germany.

On Feb. 22, Ceylon and the Soviet Union sign an Air agreement in Colombo, providing for Aeroflot to operate through Colombo, with reciprocal rights to Air Ceylon.

March: M.E.P. leader Philip Gunawardene alleges in the House of Representatives the existence of a Right-

wing conspiracy against the Govt. On March 5, fearing a threat both from the Right and the Left, Govt. proclaims a State of Emergency; on March 13, Parliament is prorogued until July. UNP leader Dudley Senanayake alleges in a statement made to the Police (March 23) that he had information that certain Ministers were planning to set up a dictatorship. Mrs. Bandaranaike says in a speech on March 28 that Parliament had been prorogued because obstruction by certain Opposition members was preventing Parliamentary business being dealt with; Government therefore felt that they could spend their time more usefully on the efficient administration of the existing laws.

May: Speaking on May Day, Mrs. Bandaranaike calls for unity between the ruling SLFP and the United Left Front. She says: "Today the country is broadly divided

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into a capitalist camp and a socialist camp. The United National Party stands as the sole bulwark of the capitalist forces in Ceylon. The progressive socialist forces on the other hand, are divided ideologically and otherwise into various groups and with various shades of opinion, united essentially in principle but often, differing as to method... I would therefore appeal to all those who have the welfare of the workers and peasants of this country at heart to rise above petty differences and unite on the larger ground of those many principles common to us all. This is the only way, as I see it, of meeting the threat imposed on us by the firmly integrated forces of capitalism and reaction in this country..."

Mrs. Bandaranaike's proposal for unity with the U.L.F. meets with opposition from some members of the Cabinet; specific objections are raised against any form of collaboration with the MEP constituent led by Philip Gunawardene. A Cabinet meeting on May 7-8 finally agrees that the LSSP and the CP, but not Philip Gunawardene, should be invited to enter a coalition government. On May 9, the SLFP executive committee votes (209 to 4) for a resolution empowering the Prime Minister and the Cabinet "to set up a coalition government with those progressive forces willing to accept the basic policies of our party, and to enter into an electoral agreement with those parties for the next election".

On May 10, the Central Committee of the LSSP rejects a motion by party leader Dr. N.M. Perera, by 21 votes to 20, that the party should enter the government; however, a compromise proposal that the Prime Minister should negotiate with the ULF as a body, is approved by 29 votes to 12.

Meanwhile, 23 ruling party M.P.s including 6 Cabinet Ministers inform Mrs. Bandaranaike that they were opposed to the inclusion of, besides the MEP, the CP as well; the Communist Party's support to the Soviet Union in its ideological dispute with the Chinese government, it was feared, would embarrass the country's relations with China.

On May 19, formal talks between the Prime Minister and the ULF begin.

June: Breakdown of SLFP - ULF talks (June 3); Mrs. Bandaranaike's offer to admit only LSSP members into the govt. is rejected as unacceptable.

On June 7, the LSSP holds its annual conference. A motion by Dr. N.M. Perera

favouring the entry of the party into the government is carried by 507 votes to 179.

This crucial decision, while making the party veer away from its theoretical revolutionary role, also marks the formal abandonment of its language policy of parity of status for Sinhala and Tamil. It also marks the break-up of the United Left Front.

A resolution moved by radicals within the party opposing a coalition with the SLFP as well as a compromise resolution supporting a coalition on condition that all three Left-wing parties are admitted, are both defeated. After the vote, about 125 delegates including Edmund Samarakody, M.P. and Bala Tampoe, the Trade Union leader, walk out in protest, and announce on the following day that they would form a new party to be known as the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section).

June 11: The LSSP reaches agreement with the Government on a common programme; among the provisions of which were: Regulations would be formulated for the implementation of the Official Language Act in a manner more acceptable to both Sinhalese and Tamils; while giving Buddhism its rightful place as the religion of the majority, full freedom of worship would be ensured to all others; an election programme acceptable to both parties would be prepared by the Prime Minister, special attention being paid to the number of seats held by the two parties.

The same day, a Coalition government is sworn in. The SLFP Cabinet of 12 is expanded to include three LSSP Ministers: Dr. N.M. Perera (Finance); Anil Moonesinghe (Communications) and Cholorondeley Gunawardene (Public Works). Dr. Perera (59), a pupil of Professor Harold Laski at the London School of Economics, was first elected to the State Council in 1936. he was imprisoned under the wartime Defence Regulations in 1940, but escaped to India in 1942; he was rearrested and detained until the end of the war.

The formation of the coalition government brings divisions into both parties. Deputy Leader of the LSSP, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene, a former General Secretary of the party decline to accept portfolios, while SLFP Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Mahanama Samaraweera resigns from the Cabinet.

July: New session of Parliament opens

on July 2. Governor General announces in the Speech from the Throne that "a planned programme of Socialist development in which every section of the working people will be associated" would be implemented shortly, in accordance with the joint programme of the Government parties. It is important to note that the "planned programme" did not include the largest single segment of the working people - the plantation Tamils in the Tea and Rubber industry. On July 30, the new Finance Minister Dr. Perera presents his budget.

September: Indian Minister for External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh visits Ceylon (Sept. 11 - 13) for talks with the Government. The question of the future of the plantation Tamils of Indian origin is also taken up by the Ceylon Government. Later, Mrs. Bandaranaike has private talks with Opposition leaders including UNP leader Dudley Senanayake on the subject.

October: The Srma-Shastri Pact is signed in New Delhi. A top-level delegation headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike and including the Parliamentary Secretary for External Affairs Felix Dias Bandaranaike and the Minister for Trade T.B. Illangaratne arrive in New Delhi on Oct. 22. UNP leader Dudley Senanayake who was invited by Mrs. Bandaranaike to join the delegation, declines.

On the previous day (Oct. 21) Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri had talks with the Madras Chief Minister Bhaktavatsalam, who, it was reported, opposed any large-scale repatriation. He had pointed out that his State was already faced with the problem caused by the repatriation of thousands of Tamil-speaking Indians from Burma. He urged that people coming from Ceylon should be settled in other States as well, and that repatriation should be spread over a long period.

Because no settlement could be reached until Oct. 27, Mrs. Bandaranaike offers to extend her stay in Delhi.

An agreement is finally reached on Oct. 29. The agreement, confirmed on Oct. 30 in the form of an exchange of letters, and signed by the two Prime Ministers, says:

(1) The declared objective of this agreement is that all persons of Indian origin in Ceylon who have not been recognised either as citizens of Ceylon or as citizens of India should become citizens either of Ceylon or of India.

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The signing of the Srinivasan-Shastri Pact in New Delhi on October 1962

(2) The number of such persons is approximately 975,000 as of date – this figure does not include illicit immigrants and Indian passport holders.

(3) 300,000 of these persons, together with the natural increase in that number, will be granted Ceylon citizenship by the Government of Ceylon; the Government of India will accept repatriation to India of 525,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number. The Indian government will confer citizenship on these persons.

(4) The status and future of the remaining 150,000 of these persons will be subject-matter of a separate agreement between the two Governments.

(5) The Indian Government will accept repatriation of the persons to be repatriated within a period of 15 years from the date of this agreement, according to a programme as evenly phased as possible.

(6) Grant of Ceylon citizenship under Paragraph 3 and the process of repatriation under Paragraph 5 shall both be phased over a period of 15 years, and shall, as far as possible, keep pace with each other in proportion to the relative numbers to be granted citizenship and to be repatriated respectively.

(7) The Government of Ceylon will grant to persons to be repatriated to India during

their period of residence in Ceylon the same facilities as are enjoyed by citizens of other States – except facilities for remittances – and normal facilities for their continued residence, including free visas. The Government of Ceylon agrees that such of these persons as are gainfully employed on the date of this agreement shall continue in their employment until the date of their repatriation in accordance with the requirements of the phased programme or until they attain the age of 55 years, whichever is earlier.

(8) Subject to exchange control regulations for the time being in force, which will not be discriminatory against the persons to be repatriated to India, the Government of Ceylon agrees to permit these persons to repatriate at the time of their final departure for India all their assets, including their provident and gratuity amounts. The Government of Ceylon agrees that the maximum amount of assets which any family shall be permitted to repatriate shall not be reduced to less than Rs. 4,000 (£300)...

An Indian spokesman explains (Oct. 30) that the present plan was to repatriate to India about 36,000 persons annually, while Ceylon would grant citizenship to 20,000 persons every year. Mr. Shastri tells the Press that an Indo-Ceylon Ministerial Committee would be set up to supervise the registration and other provisions of the

agreement and that there would be also a committee at official level. He adds that a clear assurance had been given by the Ceylon Government that there would be no discrimination against those Stateless persons who were to be granted Ceylonese citizenship.

In Colombo, the leader of the Federal Party, which represents the Ceylonese Tamil community, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam criticises the agreement (Oct. 30). He points out that many of the 525,000 people who are apparently to be sent to India without their consent had been born in Ceylon and had no homes in India to go to. He says: "It is an unprecedented move in international relations for half a million people to be treated as pawns in the game of power politics."

November: Speaking in Madras on Nov. 6, Indian Prime Minister Shastri declares that the repatriation of persons of Indian origin from Ceylon was a national responsibility and gives an assurance that the Central Government would give all the assistance possible to the States for the rehabilitation of these people.

Govt. proposals to introduce legislation on the Press, an issue which had been before Parliament ever since its election in 1960, give rise to violent controversy. Mass demonstrations are held in Colombo for and against the proposed legislation. Parliament is prorogued from Nov. 12 to Nov. 20. The Prime Minister says that this action was taken because of "certain procedural shortcomings" in the Press Bill and the Newspaper Corporation Bill, which would both be reintroduced when Parliament reassembles. As a result of the prorogation of Parliament, an earlier ruling by the Speaker (Oct. 6) postponing the debate on the Press Bill automatically lapses.

On Nov. 20, Parliament reassembles and the Governor General announces in the Speech from the Throne that the lapsed Bills from the previous session would be taken up; he also says that the Government proposed to introduce legislation "to give Buddhism its proper place as the religion of the majority and at the same time guaranteeing freedom of worship to all religions." Opposition members boycott the ceremony, as a protest against – in the words of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, "the misuse by the Government of the procedure of prorogation to cover up their lapses."

On Nov. 26, notice is given of the presentation of the Press and Newspaper Corporation Bills.

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Two leaves and a bud: Indian Tamil women Tea pluckers, who helped to maintain the Sinhala welfare state.

December: Defeat of the Government in Parliament.

(Dec. 3). The coalition Government is defeated by a majority of one vote in the House of Representatives, on the debate on the address of thanks to the Speech from the Throne. An amendment to the address moved by Mr. W. Dahanayake declaring "that the people have no confidence in the Government, as it has miserably failed to such pressing problems as unemployment and the high cost of living", is carried by 74 votes to 73. Leader of the House and Minister of Land, Irrigation and Power, C.P. de Silva and 13 other SLFP dissidents cross the floor and vote with the Opposition along with the Appointed Member representing European interests. In a speech after crossing the floor, Mr. C.P. de Silva says: "... From what I have known, what I have heard, and what I have seen in the inner councils

of the coalition, our nation is being inexorably pushed toward unadulterated totalitarianism. This is the bitter truth, which no subterfuge, not even the device of diverting public attention towards a vague promise of giving Buddhism its rightful place, can conceal." Several other M.P.s who defected accuse the government of inefficiency and corruption.

Outside the Parliament building, on Dec. 4, clashes occur between Government and Opposition supporters. The Speaker, Mr. Hugh Fernando criticizes the police for not taking action to protect Opposition supporters from pro-Government mobs. He says he himself had seen crowds stoning Mr. C.P. de Silva's car. He adjourns the House until Dec. 17.

The same day, Mrs. Bandaranaike announces that she had advised the

Governor General to dissolve Parliament and order General Elections. Denouncing Mr. de Silva's "stab in the back", she says that he had not only helped in drafting that Throne Speech against which he had voted, but had not at any stage expressed any views against it.

By Dec. 7, Parliament is yet to be dissolved. Opposition parties mount agitation alleging that the Government was trying to "prolong its life by various devices".

On Dec. 8, Opposition parties call for a general strike on Dec. 10.

On Dec. 9, Mrs. Bandaranaike announces that Parliament would be dissolved on Dec. 17, whereupon the threat of a strike is called off.

Parliament is dissolved on Dec. 17. General Election fixed for March 22, 1965.

1965

January : The campaign for the March 1965 elections, described as "the bitterest (until then) in the island's history" gets into swing.

Over 500 candidates hand over nominations (Jan. 11) for the 151 seats. Former Minister and Leader of the House C.P. de Silva who defected from the SLFP puts forward 32 candidates in the name of a new party named the Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist

Party, absorbing in the process the Lanka Prajathantra Party (LPPI) led by W. Dahanayake. The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) a Marxist-Sinhala nationalist party led by Philip Gunawardene (who at one time was known as the "Father of the Revolution") fights the election in co-operation with the Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna, an openly Sinhala chauvinist party led by K.M.P. Rajaratne. The MEP and JVP which held 3 and 2 seats respectively in the July 1960 elections, field together an ambi-

ous slate of 70 candidates - the third largest number, after the UNP and SLFP.

The electorate numbers over 4,700,000 - about 1,000,000 more than in 1960, the minimum age for voters having been reduced from 21 to 18. The over-18s thus get the first opportunity to vote, the electoral registers having been revised since the change in law was made. Another change in the electoral law becoming operative for the first time, is the ban on the use of private cars to take

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Published by

Tamil Information & Research Unit (TIRU),
3rd Floor, No.61, Velankanni Church Road,
Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090, India,
on behalf of Tamil Information Centre,
3rd Floor, 24-28 Clapham High St., London SW47UR, U.K.

Design and Lay-out: S. Anandamurugan