

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- ATM, 188
 Abeygunawardena, W.D.S., 88–9
 Abeysingharamaya, 88
 Adipola, Piyadasa, 91
 advisory committees in Government offices, 96, 142, 189, 190, 191
 African states, 1, 3, 137, 182
 Afro-Asian powers, 34, 97
 Agricultural Productivity Act (1972), 185
 Aid Ceylon Club *or* Consortium, 34, 87, 183, 201
 Akurana town, 82
 Algeria, 182
 All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, 11, 136
 All Ceylon Dravidian Progressive Federation, 59
 All Ceylon Muslim League, 175
 Alliance Party (Malaysia), 1, 3, 200
 Ameer, A.C.M., 134
 Ananda College, 10
 ‘Anglo-American capital’, 29
 Anuradhapura town, 84, 107, 116, 168
 Appointed Members, 31, note *b*, 32, 46
 Arab states, 96, 134, 135, 182
 armed forces, 187
 Asia Foundation, the, 182
 Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, *see* Lake House
 Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited (Special Provisions) Act (1973), 188
 Aswan Dam project, 119
Aiththa (Truth), 37, 101, 157, 194, 195
 Auditor-General, 60
ayurveda (native medicine), 23
 Aziz, Abdul, 97, 138, 156, 169
- BLP, 57
 BSP, 18
 balance-of-payments, 22, 34, 180, 194, 197, 199
 ‘balanced representation’, 8, 18, 46
 Bandara, R. M., 65
 Bandaranaike, Anura, 76, 98, 99
 Bandaranaike International Airport, 182
 Bandaranaike, Mrs Sirima, 3, 9, 16, 25, 34, 38, 39, 40, 69, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92, 98, 99, 102, 103, 106, 107, 112, 113, 117, 122, 123, 124, 129, 133, 142, 143, 147, 153, 154, 156, 161, 162; Government (1960–5), 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 33, 134, 173; reconstituted Government (SLFP–LSSP), June 1964, 28, 82, 119, 123, 126, 165, 173; defeat in Parliament, December 1964, 27; electoral coalition, 1965, 28–9; delay in resigning as Prime Minister, March 1965, 31; resigns as Prime Minister, 32; statement on dissolution day (25 March 1970), 86–7; and allocation of seats to LSSP and CP (1970 General Election), 67–8; letter to Governor-General by UF candidates pledging support for her as Prime Minister, 93; appeal for contributions to SLFP election fund, 93; warning to electors of dangers of elections being disrupted, 93–4; views about support of minority groups for her UF, 99, 101; and district councils, 100; visit to Roman Catholic Mission House at Wenna-puwa, 101; explanation for her alliance with LSSP and CP, 103; denies affiliation with PLF, 103–4; leads deputation to the Governor-General on dangers of elections being disrupted, 104; and the rice subsidy, 118; on cost of living and unemployment, 120–1; defends her alliance with the CP and LSSP, 122–3, 125–6; criticises Lake House and the press, 127; statements on people’s committees, 127, 128–9; warns electors of dangers of District Councils Bill being revived, 132; appeals for Muslim support, 134–5; and the Roman Catholics, 135, 136; denies UF talks with FP, 154; returned to power, 105; replies to the proposal of chief Buddhist monks for a national government of the Sinhalese parties, 105; confident of victory, 104; election-eve appeal, 108; and the female vote, 161–2; and the youth vote, 167; and the construction of the UF Cabinet, 181; and UF foreign policy *vis-à-vis* PLF insurrection, 182; and proposal to declare Indian Ocean a nuclear free zone, 183; and disappointment over Colombo as venue for non-aligned Conference, 182–3; visit to China, 183
 Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D., 2, 9, 10, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34, 36, 58, 81, 89, 98, 99, 102, 107, 124, 132, 149, 150, 161, 179; Government (1956–9), 22, 23, 66, 119; pact with the FP, July 1957, *see* FP; reluctance to nationalise schools, 24; *samadhi*, 93
 Bandaranaike(s) (S.W.R.D., and Mrs Sirima), 11, 134, 200; Governments, 32, 85, 97, 121, 130, 134, 136

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**228 Index**

- Bandaranayake, S. D., 69, 108
 Bandung Conference (1955), 21, 96
 Bangladesh, 182, 188
 Bank of Ceylon, 22
 Basnayake, Hema, 76, 88, 130, 131, 132, 140, 153
 Bauddhasara, P. L., 88, 168
 Belgrade Conference (1961), 96
 Bengal, 124, 127
Betrayal of Buddhism, The, 11
 Bharata, Pani, 159
 Blavatsky, Helena Petrova, 10
 Board of Ministers, 20, 46, 47, 48
 brain drain under UF Government, 185
 Bribery Commission Report, 1960, 130
 Britain, 14, 15
 British, -owned agency houses, 95; colonial administration, 11; commercial combines, 22; companies, 13; concerns in Ceylon, 184; control, 13; in composition (Executive Council), 44; interests, 182; Labour Party, 11; 'masters', 9; naval and air bases, 27; rule, 7; sovereign, 15
 Britishers, 10, 44
 broadcasting system, 158–60
 Buddha Sasana Commission, 23–4
 Buddha, the, 84, 146
 Buddhism, 10, 17, 20, 21, 28, 29, 123, 124, 145, 146, 152, 179; under the Republican Constitution (1972), 191
 Buddhist, clergy, 28, 76, 86, 124, 145; educational movement, 10; government, 10; laity, 86; movement, 11; organisations, 17; pressure groups, 36; problem, 17; religious activities, 23; revival, 10; revivalism, 10; revivalist movement, 7–8; United Front, 135
 Buddhist Commission of Inquiry, 17, 21
 Buddhist Committee of Inquiry, *see* Buddhist Commission of Inquiry
 Buddhist monk(s), 11, 13, 20, 21, 37, 76, 88, 89, 95, 136, 145; perform satyagraha in 1958, 25; shooting of a, 131, 154, 168–9; write to the leaders of UF and UNP on the need for a national government of Sinhalese parties, 104–5
 Buddhist organisations (lay and clerical), and UF election campaign, 89; and UNP election campaign, 89
 Buddhist religion, *see* Buddhism
 Buddhist(s), 11, 14; of Ceylon, 28, 29, 136
 Burgher(s), 18, 44; electorate, 44
 Burma, 1, 124; and General Ne Win, 199
 Business Undertakings (Acquisition) Act (1972), 185
 CP, 3, 17, 18, 21, 27, 28, 31, 37, 57, 58, 79, 88, 89, 93, 106, 108, 145, 179; economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 67, 72–4; selection of candidates, 68–71; age composition of candidates, 74; election campaign in Tamil-speaking areas, 111–12; -sponsored United Estate Workers' Union, 133; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election); relations with SLFP and LSSP in the post-1970 election phase, 194–5; strategy in the post-1970 election phase, 192, 193, 194; differences between Keuneman wing and Wickremasinghe wing, 195; section expelled from UF Government Parliamentary Group, 195
 CP (Peking-wing), 69, 108, 125, 145, 183, 195; condemns PLF, 196; the Soviet Union and U.S., 196; and the parliamentary system, 196
 CWC, 16, 28, 36, 37, 40, 99, 113, 130, 132–3, 148, 156, 169, 188; understanding with Dudley Senanayake, *see* Dudley Senanayake; support for UNP, 100; attitude to UF Government's attempts to repatriate Indians opting for Indian citizenship, 187–8
 Cairo Conference, 96
 campaign organisation at constituency level, 78–9
 cartoonists, 'G.S.F.' (*Lankadipa*), 151; Opatha, S. C. (*Daily Mirror*), 149; 'Pukka Sahib' (*Sun*), 153; Wijesoma (*The Ceylon Observer*), 143
 caste(s), 45, 53, 89; depressed, 14, 70, 77, 112; differences, 7, 14; *goigama*, 14, 53; *goigama* Sinhalese electors, 44; groups, 48, 53, 78, 147; Hindus, 77, 112; in UF Cabinet, 181; interests, 52, 55; *Karaiyar*, 78; *karawe*, 14, 44, 53; minority, 70; *mukuwar*, 78; non-*goigama* Sinhalese, 8; *radala*, 106, 119, 129, 195, 197; representation, 55; *Saiva vellala*, high, 77; *salagamas*, 14; *vellala*, 78
 'Catholic Action', 29
Catholic Messenger, 101, 150
 ceilings by UF government, on company dividends, 185; on individual incomes, 185, 193 on ownership of houses, 185
 Central Bank, 61, 155
 central employment exchange, 120
 central institute of *ayurveda*, 23
 Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation, 105, 106, 158, 159–60
 Ceylon Citizenship Act (1948), 15, 49
 Ceylon Constitution (Amendment) Act No. 4 (1959), 52
 Ceylon Constitution and Parliamentary (Amendment) Act No. 8 (1964), 59
 Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council (1946), 48

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)

Index 229

- Ceylon Constitution (Special Provisions) Act (1954), 50
- Ceylon Daily News*, 82, 85, 101, 127, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 154; for brief description of editorial matter etc., see Appendix 1, 202–6
- Ceylon National Congress, 1, 3
- Ceylon Observer, The*, 103, 143, 144, 145, 148; for brief description of editorial matter etc., see Appendix 1, 207–8
- Ceylon Observer Magazine Edition, The*, 143, 144, 145, 146; for brief description of editorial matter etc., see Appendix 1, 206, 207, 208
- Ceylon Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act (1949), 49
- Ceylon Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act No. 11 (1959), 58, 59, 60, 64
- Ceylon Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act No. 10 (1964), 60
- Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order in Council (1946), 56, 60
- Ceylon Tamil (s), 7, 8, 10, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 38, 73, 78, 85, 90, 107, 112, 115, 131, 133, 149, 154, 156, 170; and representation, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55; areas, 26, 36, 38, 85, 111, 131, 147, 157, 171, 174; attitude to UF Government and the Republican Constitution, 188; constituencies, 171; Federalists, 15, 19; in UF Cabinet, 181; leaders, 88; middle class, 14, 73, 100; minority, 18; political parties, 15, 67, 73; problem, 18, 26, 113; public servants, 31, 36, 37; votes, 85, 147, 150, 163, 177; voters, 112, 138, 148, 157; youth insurrectionary organisation, 188
- Ceylon Transport Board, 33, 60, 61, 120
- Ceylon University Teachers' Front, 122
- Ceylonese, 46
- Ceylonese Governments, 16
- 'Che Guevarists', see PLF
- Chelvanayakam, S. J. V., 18, 31, 37, 77, 86, 100, 111, 112, 137–8, 147, 151, 154, 157; role in election campaign, 114; explanation for supporting UNP to form 'National Government', 137; as TUF leader, 188
- China, 14; aid to Ceylon, 183, 201
- Chinese Embassy in Colombo, 183
- Christian(s), 9, 10, 24; endeavour, 10; in the *coup d'état* of January 1962, 26–7; missionary societies, 7; 'monopoly' over education, 8; Sinhalese, 26; vote, 175–6; voters, 176
- Church of Ceylon, head of the, 105, 150
- Cinema Corporation, 90
- citizenship, Ceylonese, 32, 138; Indian, 31, 123, 187; legislation, 8, 18, 138, 189; rights, 8, 13, 18; rights for Indian Tamils, 111, 114, 142
- coconut, 7, 12, 13, 35
- Colebrooke constitutional system, 44
- College of Indigenous Medicine, 23
- Colombo (city), 11, 20, 72, 87, 88, 91, 100; and the UNP vote, 170; as venue for 1972 Conference of non-aligned nations, 182; municipal council, 44; PLF plan to seize, 186–7; port nationalisation, 22; Prime Minister's private residence, 25; 'unemployment marches' to, 38
- colonisation schemes, preference to the people of the area in the Northern and Eastern provinces in, 31; state aid to Sinhalese to settle in Ceylon Tamil areas in, 25, 26, 110, 114, 132, 138
- Commissioner of Elections or Parliamentary Elections, 58, 59, 60–1, 62, 64, 65, 69, 79
- Common Programme, 39, 93, 94, 96, 131, 138, 179, 180, 193
- Commonwealth, 15
- communal, harmony, 36; questions and 1970 general election campaign, 99–101, 130–6
- communist countries or states, 23, 27, 34, 84, 96, 134, 180, 182, 183, 201; diplomatic relations with, 27
- communist(s), 11, 38, 68, 133, 135
- compulsory savings scheme imposed by UF Government, 185
- Congress-Old (O), 4
- Congress-Revolutionary (R), 2, 4, 200
- constituency, single-member, 49, 57; double-member, 49, 53, 55, 57; three-member, 49, 55, 57, 68; multi-member, 47, 52, 53, 56
- constituencies, key to (in alphabetical order), 42–3; Akurana, 55; Ambalangoda–Balapitiya, 53; Akuressa, 90; Amparai, 53; Attanagalla, 75, 76; Badulla, 53; Balangoda, 53, 56; Batticaloa, 55, 90, 109, 134, 175; Borella, 90, 175; Bulatsinhala, 107; Colombo Central, 55, 56, 68, 75, 90, 91, 102; Colombo South, 62, 75; Dambadeniya, 107; Dedigama, 75, 76, 91; Deniyaya, 90; Galagedera, 90; Gampaha, 69; Hiriya, 170; Jaffna, 77, 93, 150, 177; Kalawana, 169; Kalkudah, 109, 175; Kalmunai, 109, 175; Kandy, 90, 170; Kankasanturai, 77, 111, 112; Kayts, 177; Kegalla, 90; Kilinochchi, 177; Kopay, 109; Kuliypitiya, 106; Mannar, 109, 176; Maskeliya, 169; Matale, 90; Matara, 90; Minneriya, 90; Mirigama, 90; Mulkirigala, 90; Mutur, 55, 109, 110, 175; Negombo, 136; Nikaweratiya, 170; Nuwara Eliya, 169, 170; Paddiruppu, 77, 78, 109, 114; Puttalam, 55, 175; Ratnapura, 82, 127; Senkadagala, 90; Trincomalee, 77–8, 107, 109, 110, 175, 177; Uduuwara, 90, 175; Udupiddy, 112, 177; Uduvil, 111;

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**230 Index**

- Vavuniya, 177; Welimada, 62, 65, 94; Wennapuwa, 101; Yatinuwara, 90; Yatiyantota, 75, 76, 90
- constituent assembly, 96, 130; convened by Prime Minister in July 1970, 189
- constitutional changes, 144; as an election issue, 130; enacted by UF Government, 189–92
- Constitutional Court, the, under the Republican Constitution, 190
- Coomaraswamy, Dr Ananda, 10
- Cooray, Archbishop Thomas, 24
- cost of living, index, 35; rising, 35, 81, 84, 87, 92, 94, 113, 137, 155, 162, 169, 173; as an election issue between UF and UNP, 119–20; and UF Government, 184
- coup d'état*, abortive, January 1962, 26–7, 125–6
- Criminal Justices Commission, 187; section of CP votes against bill for setting up of, 195
- Czechoslovakia, 'rape' of, 102; LSSP condemnation of Soviet invasion of, 194–5 and of Prague trials, 195
- D'Alwis, James, 10
- DMK (Ceylon), 16, 109
- DWC, 16, 156; support for UF, 97, 99–100, 133, 169
- dagoba*, 84, 116, 146; Ruwaneliseya, 107
- Dahanayake, W., 21, 89, 124, 170
- Daily Mirror*, 149, 150, 151, 152; and report of UF–FP talks, 100–1, 150–1
- Dawasa*, 105, 145, 152, 153, 154; antipathy to the UNP, 152–5
- de Alwis, E. H., 155
- de Silva, C. P., 27, 28, 82, 83, 90, 119, 123, 168
- de Silva, Colvin R., 57, 82, 93, 124, 126, 142; views on progress towards socialism in the post-1970 election phase, 192–3
- de Soysa, Right Reverend Harold, message to electors, 105
- defence and external affairs agreement with Britain (November 1947), 15
- Defence Services, 61
- delimitation, 52; commissioners, 55; Donoughmore, 47; of 1946, 51
- delimitation commission, 46, 47; of 1930, 45; First (1946), 47–8; of 1953, 50; of 1959, 52–55; commissioners (first), 49
- 'democratic forces', 40
- 'democratic socialism' of UNP, 108, 155, 179, 198
- Departments: Elections, 61, 62, 64, 98; Information, 159; National Planning, 166; Official Language Affairs, 23; Plan Implementation, 23; Postal and Telecommunications, 61; Railway, 61
- Deputy Minister of, Education (UF Government), 181; Planning and Employment (UF Government), 181
- devaluation of the Ceylon rupee, 35, 38, 155
- Dharmapala, Anagarika, 10
- Devamottawe, the Venerable, 89, 132
- Dhammaratana, the Venerable, 136
- Dias Bandaranaike, Felix, 84, 99, 117–18, 134, 142, 146; views on Marxists and the Tamil problem, 101–2; views on the press, 102, 126; on people's committees, 128; campaign in the Roman Catholic areas, 135; portfolios in UF Cabinet, 181
- Diego Garcia, 183
- Dinamina*, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 153, 205, 207
- Director of Census and Statistics, 52
- Director of Education, 155
- Director of the National Service of Radio Ceylon, 159
- Director-General of Broadcasting, 158
- dissolution of Parliament, 25 March 1970, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 141
- district councils, 31, 36, 100, 107, 128; bill, 36, 111, 131, 132
- districts (administrative), Badulla, 103, 167, 168; Colombo, 166–7; Galle, 167; Kalutara, 167; Kandy, 167, 168; Kegalle, 167; Kurunegala, 167, 168; Matale, 116, 168; Matara, 167; Moneragala, 168; Nuwara Eliya, 168; Puttalam, 169; Ratnapura, 167
- divisional development councils, 184, 189, 191–2
- Donoughmore, Commission, 45; commissioners, 45; Constitution, 3, 9, 20, 45; period, 56; Reforms (1931), 45
- 'Dudley (Senanayake)–Thondaman Secret Pact', 153
- Durayappah, Alfred, 77
- Dutch, 7
- Dutugemunu, King, 107
- 'dynamic neutralism', 22, 27
- 'Educated Ceylonese Member', 44; 'Educated Ceylonese seat', 44
- education, 97, 106, 136; national system of (January 1968), 122; the Muslim community and, 134; UF criticisms of UNP's policy on, 121–2
- Eela Nadu*, 141, 156–7; and the FP and TC, 157
- Eesvaranathan, C., 148
- Egypt, 185
- election campaign in the Sinhalese areas, 81–5, 87–109, 112–14, 115–36; in the Tamil-speaking areas, 85–6, 109–12, 114, 136–8, 139

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)

Index 231

- election expenditure, 78–80
 electoral arrangements from 1947, 46–55
 electoral demarcation, 47, 178
 electoral registers, 61–62, 64
 electoral systems, 1–2; first-past-the-post, 1;
 multi-member constituencies, 1; proportional
 representation, 1; rural areas, weightage for,
 2; second ballot, 1; single-member
 constituency, 2; urban areas, 2
 electorates, separate (for Indians and
 Pakistanis), 51; territorial, 45
 elite(s), 15; Anglicised, 1; Ceylonese power, 9;
 English-educated political (in Ceylon, India
 and Malaysia), 201; Sinhalese Buddhist
 power, 14; Sinhalese Buddhist rural and
 urban, 40; Westernised, 1, 8
 Ellawala, Nanda, 144; statement on people's
 committee as SLFP candidate for
 Ratnapara, 127
 emergency rule or regulations, *see* state of
 emergency
 employees' councils, 96, 189, 190, 191
 'England returneds', 9
 English, as a common medium, 201; as a
 language of administration, 37, 40;
 -educated, 8, 9, 11, 14, 21; -educated public
 servants, 17; education, 9; language, 17,
 19; medium, 7; teaching of, 122
 European(s), 44; electorates, 44
 Executive Council, 44
 FP, 16, 18, 25, 28, 31, 32, 40, 58, 77, 78, 85,
 86, 90, 92, 95–99, 104, 107, 113, 131, 134,
 139, 142, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154,
 156, 188; Trincomalee convention (August
 1956), 25; pact with the Prime Minister
 (S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike), July 1957, 25;
 protest campaign, 1958, 25; assurance from
 Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike's emissaries,
 April 1960, 25–6; civil disobedience
 campaign, March–April 1961, 26; pact with
 Dudley Senanayake, March 1965, 31, 37,
 130, 132; and district councils, 36; exit from
 the 'National Government', 36; selection of
 candidates, 68–71; economic, educational,
 professional and social background of
 candidates, 67, 72–4; age composition of
 candidates, 74; and contest in Tamil-
 speaking areas, 109–12, 114; impact on
 Ceylon Tamil electors, 114; under attack
 from CP and LSSP, 111–12; responses to
 TC criticisms, 136–8
 Fernando, Denzil, 136
 Fernando, Hugh, 121, 129, 136
 Fernando, Marcus, 44
 Fernando, Philip, 162, 167
 'fifth column', 15
 Fiji, 137
 film artists, and UF election campaign, 90;
 and UNP election campaign, 90, 106
 Film Commission, 90
 financial corruption, UNP attacks on UF's
 election fund, 129; UNP attacks on bribery
 and corruption in SLFP, 130; UF allegations
 against 'National Government', 130
 Fisheries Corporation, 33
 Fine Arts College, 159; Principal of the, 159
Five Lectures, The (PLF), 186
 Five-Year Plan, the, 184–5, 187
 food drive, *see* 'grow more paddy' campaign
 foreign aid, 33–5, 39, 185, 201
 foreign exchange, 13, 116, 184; currency, 186
 foreign exchange entitlement scheme, 35, 155
 foreign investment, 184
 foreign policy, Bandaranaike, 22, 27; changes,
 34; of UF Cabinet, 181–3
 franchise, limited franchise (1921 and 1924
 Reforms), 45; universal, 44
 free education scheme, 11, 116
 'friends of the Soviet Union', 181
 fundamental rights, charter of, 110; in
 Republican Constitution, 190–1
 GNP, 33
 Galle, city, 89; municipal council, 44
 Galle Face Green, 25, 127, 144
 Gal Oya, irrigation scheme, 146
 Gampaha town, 143
 Gandhi, 1
 Gandhi, Mrs Indira, 2, 200
Gazette Extraordinary No. 11669, 19 February
 1959, 52
 general election, 58, 61; (1931), 45; (1936), 45;
 (1947), 16, 18, 30, 49, 56, 58, 59; (1952), 17,
 18, 30, 49, 56, 57, 58, 59, 78, 178; (1956), 18,
 21, 28, 30, 51, 56, 57, 58, 59, 89, 161, 178;
 (1960), 28; (March 1960), 30, 55, 59, 62, 64;
 (July 1960), 30, 55, 59, 60, 163, 178; (1965),
 27, 28–9, 30, 55, 60, 61, 62, 65–6, 88, 122–3,
 137, 141, 177; campaign of December
 1964–March 1965, 16, 155 and after, 31–2,
 123
 general election (1970), 3, 4, 6, 30, 40, 44, 55,
 62, 65–6, 87, 145, 149, 155, 161–78;
 administration of, 61–6
 Georgetown (Guyana) Conference (1972), 182
 German Democratic Republic, 96, 182
 Germany, Federal Republic of, 158, 182;
 Bonn Embassy in Colombo, 182
 Gnanasinha, the Venerable Henpitagedera, 89,
 144
 Gnanissara, the Venerable Malewana, 89
 Goonesinha, A. E., 11
 Goonewardena, Leslie, 102, 136, 146; views on

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**232 Index**

- Lake House and on the press, 126; views on the journey towards socialism in the post-1970 election phase, 194
- Government Gazette*, 25, 61
- Government of India, 16
- Governor, 10, 44, 48, 131
- Governor-General, 27, 31, 32, 46, 51, 60, 61, 93, 94, 104, 129
- govi peramuna*, 88
- govi rajas*, 159
- Gracias, Cardinal Valerian, 24
- graduates' unions and election campaign, 89–90
- 'grow more paddy' or food campaign, 35, 83, 88, 94, 97, 98, 137, 155, 158, 159, 160, 170, 171; as an issue with the UF, 115–18; as exploited by the UNP, 115–18
- Gunananda, Rev. Migettuwatte, 10
- Gunaratne, the Venerable Metiyagoda, 89
- Gunasekera, C., 144
- Gunawardena, Indika, 88, 106, 125
- Gunawardena, Philip, 17, 18, 21, 22, 70, 88, 103, 106, 119, 145; justifies joining 'National Government', 125, 195; attacks CP and LSSP, 125, 195; condemns SLFP, 195; supports PLF, 195; advocates revolution to establish Marxist society in *The Present Political Situation*, 195–6; death of, 195, 196
- Gunawardena, R. S. S., 89
- Guruge, Thevis, 159
- hartal* (12 August 1953), 15
- Hatton town, 108
- Hettiarachchi, Siripala, 107
- Hickenlooper Amendment, 33
- Higher Education Act (1966), 35, 94, 122
- Higher Education Act (1972), 187
- Hindu(s), 24, 77
- Hinduism, 24
- Horagolla (Mrs Bandaranaike's country residence), 92, 93
- House of Representatives, 15, 16, 17, 20, 29, 30, 32, 37, 50, 51, 52, 59, 82, 83, 163, 178, 181
- Hungarian uprising of 1956, 102
- Hurulle, E. L. B., 83
- IBRD, 33, 34, 82, 83, 87, 94, 95, 116, 119, 121, 155, 182, 186
- IDA, 33, 34, 82, 95
- IMF, 33, 34, 39, 186
- ISF, 38, 68, 98, 133, 134, 135, 152, 154, 156; and the 1970 General Election, 175; appeal to Muslim voters, 99
- Ilangaratne, T. B., 84, 119, 129, 134, 135, 142, 144, 181
- imperialism, American, 142, 196; Soviet social-, 196; Western, 142
- incomes, 13
- indebtedness, rural, 168, 171, 193
- independent(s), 31, 58, 59, 60; candidates at 1970 general election, 65, 74–5, 93, 109, 150, 170, 176; and their economic, educational, professional and social background, 72–4, 75; and age composition, 74
- Independent Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, 140, 141, 145, 152–5, 160; and the UNP, 140–1, 152–5
- India, 1, 3, 15, 16, 137, 182, 183, 188, 199, 200, 201; military aid to crush PLF insurrection from, 182; language, and Hindu–Muslim rioting, 200; Naxalite violence, 201; differences between Hindi- and non-Hindi-speakers, 201; emergency powers in the Constitution, 200; Soviet and U. S. aid to, 201
- Indian(s), 16, 29, 123, 156, 187; illicit immigrants, 16; plantation workers, 11, 18, 100, 108; Tamil(s), 7, 8, 10, 18, 25, 112, 131, 132–3, 157; and the UF, 133; and representation, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53; Tamil labour, 13, 168; Tamil labourers, 11, 14; Tamil leaders, 88, 169; Tamil population, 15; Tamil traders, 14; Tamil vote, 16, 96, 100, 163, 169; Tamil voters, 16; workers, 16, 28, 100, 148
- Indian and Pakistani electoral district, 16, 51
- Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act (1949), 15, 48, 51
- 'Indian expansionism' (PLF view), 186
- Indian National Congress, 1, 3, 200
- Indian Ocean, as a nuclear free zone, 183
- 'Indian presence', 8
- Indian Tamils, *see* Indians
- Indo–Ceylon Agreement of October 1964 (Sirima–Shastri Pact), 13, 16, 28, 31, 32, 38, 40, 96, 111, 132, 133, 138, 169
- Indo–Ceylon Agreement (Implementation) Act (1967), 36, 38, 96, 187
- Indo–China war, 196
- Indo–Pakistan conflict, UF Government and, 182
- Indonesia, 124, 135, 200; and Soekarno, 199; and General Suharto, 200
- Inspector-General of Police, 103, 104
- Institute of Higher Technology, 187
- intelligentsia, English-educated Sinhalese and Ceylon Tamil, 19; Muslim, 133, 134; Roman Catholic, 176; rural, 11, 14, 30; Sinhalese Buddhist, 23; Sinhalese Buddhist-oriented, 9–11; Sinhalese-educated,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**Index 233**

- 19; Sinhalese-educated rural and urban, 112; Westernised, 7–9, 10, 14
- Iran, 135
- Iriyagolle, I. M. R. A., 71, 88, 141; criticised for his educational policies, 121–2
- Israel, 38, 96
- Israeli–Arab dispute, 38, 96, 134, 182
- JVP, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 107, 132
- Jaffna, peninsula, 26, 100, 110, 112, 114, 175, 177, 188, 199; Tamil(s), 26, 156
- Janadina* (People's Daily), 37, 157
- Janata, 143
- Jayarathne, S. D. R., 127
- Jayasuriya, Senator A. P., 100, 151
- Jayasuriya, F. R., 88, 155
- Jayawardene, Dommie, 90
- Jayawardene, J. R., 68, 71, 75, 84, 88, 123, 130, 132, 144, 148, 155, 156, 162; exposure of Marxist techniques for seizure of power, 124–5; on dangers of people's committees, 127; as leader of the Opposition, 196, 198; differences with Dudley Senanayake, 197; criticises UNP policies in *The UNP in Opposition* and in other public pronouncements, 197–8; advocates responsive cooperation with UF Government, 197–8; meets with opposition from UNP, 197–8; differences with Dudley Senanayake settled, 198; as new President of the UNP, 199; declares opposition to UF Government's encroachment on the liberties of the people and the press, 188
- Jayaweera, Neville, 158
- Jennings, Sir Ivor, 48, 57
- Kaleel, Dr, M. C. M., 99, 148
- Kalpage, Professor Stanley, 144
- Kalugalle, P. B. G., 84, 90, 130
- Kandy city, 89, 94, 153, 156; municipal council, 44
- Kandyan, areas, 15, 16, 17, 78, 100, 168, 169; rural population, 46; Sinhalese electorates, 168–9, 170; Sinhalese peasantry, 46, 168
- Kandy Perahera, 57
- Karalasingham, V., 111; views on the Common Programme and the march towards socialism in the post-1970 election phase, 193
- Karunaratne, W. S., 71, 88, 90
- Karunatilake, Nimal, 118
- Kelani river, 48
- Kelaniya town, 136
- Kerala, 124, 127
- Keuneman, P. G. B., 57, 90, 91, 102; differences with Wickremasinghe wing of CP, 195
- key contests, Attanagalla (Mrs Bandaranaike), 75, 76; Dedigama (Dudley Senanayake) 75, 76; Jaffna (G. G. Ponnambalam), 77; Kankasanturai (S. J. V. Chelvanayakam), 77; Paddiruppu (S. M. Rasamanickam), 78; Trincomalee, 77–8; Yatiyantota (N. M. Perera), 75, 76–7
- Korea, 185; Democratic People's Republic of, 96, 182
- Korean War, 14
- Kotelawala, George, 76–7
- Kotelawala, Jack, 89, 103
- Kotelawala, Sir John, 15, 17, 19, 21, 57; Government, 21, 89
- Kudapola, Reverend, 131
- Kurunegala, city, 143
- LPP, 60
- LSSP, 3, 17, 18, 21, 23, 27, 31, 37, 57, 58, 79, 81, 82, 89, 93, 108, 145, 179; fourteen point 'anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme' (1952), 17; ministers, 31; economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 67, 72–4; selection of candidates, 68–71; age composition of candidates, 74; candidates, 91; election campaign in Tamil-speaking areas, 111–12; -sponsored Lanka Estate Workers' Union, 133; strategy in the post-1970 election phase, 192–4; relations with CP in the post-1970 election phase, 193, 194–5; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election)
- LSSP(R), 108, 125, 145, 195
- Lake House, also Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, 6, 95, 102, 107, 136, 138, 140, 141; Table 18, 153, 154, 155, 188; nationalisation proposal, in 1964, 27, in 1971, 193; and the UF's attitude to the press, 126–7; and opposition to the UF, 141–8, 153, 154, 202–8; newspapers, 141–8, 152, 160; and the FP, 147–8; and the TC, 147–8
- Land Reform Act (1972), 185
- Land Reform Commission, 185
- Land Settlement Act, 132
- Language of the Courts Act (1959), 26, 31
- language question, 24
- Lankadipa*, 148, 151, 152; on UF–FP talks, 152
- Lanka Mahila Samithiya*, 91
- Laos, 196
- Laxapana power station, 82
- Leadbeater, C. W., 10

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**234 Index**

leadership patterns, 13–14

Left, 21, 23, 27, 39, 152, 163, 182

Left-wing, 73, 181; allies, 16, 177; candidates, 14, 16, 21, 112; collaborators, 70; dailies, 157; elements, 20; groups, 16, 58; leaders, 57; movement, 20; organisations, 15; parties, 15, 17, 20, 37, 48, 67, 164, 167, 193, 194; partners, 73, 179, 189, 191

legislation to implement Indo–Ceylon

Agreement of October 1964, 17

Legislative Council, 44, 45

'Letters of Intent' to the IMF, 34

Local Government Service, 60, 61

Lumumba University, 196

Lusaka Conference (1970), 182

MEP (Bandaranaike), 18, 21, 23, 58, 161, 200; Government *see* Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D., government; programme, 21–2MEP (Philip Gunawardena), 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 70, 79, 81, 92, 106, 125, 195, 196; and May Day, 1970, 98; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election); economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 72–4; selection of candidates, 68, 69–71; age composition of candidates, 74

Mahaveli, Ballet, 159; Bill, 82; River, 83; River Diversion Scheme, 82, 87, 92, 95, 97, 116, 142, 158, 159, 168

Mahmud, Badiudin, 38, 133, 134, 135, 154, 156, 181

Maho town (broadcasting station), 158

Maithri, the *Daily Mirror's* political commentator, 149–50

Malays, 2

Malaysia, 1, 2, 3, 124, 135, 199, 200; and Chinese, 2; and Malays, 2; and Kelantan, 2; and Trengganu, 2; and Malaya, 3; and Sabah, 3, 201; and Sarawak, 3, 201; and communist guerillas in Malaya, 201; Constitution's emergency powers, 200; and communal disturbances in Malaya, 200; and differences between Malays and Chinese, 201; and absence of a population problem, 201; U. S. and British investments in, 201

Malwatte Chapter's Chief High Priest, 150, statement supporting Mrs Bandaranaike, 105, 154; contradiction of statement supporting Mrs Bandaranaike, 105–6, 145 manifesto(s), FP, 110–11, 147; SMP, 107; TC, 110, 147, 154; UF, 94–6, 126, 144, 153, 156, 161 and criticisms by Dudley Senanayake, 98, 131; UNP, 97, 98, 144, 156

Maoist, 181, 182, 186, 196

Martyn, C. X., 77

Marxism, 11, 14, 105, 106, 122, 152, 194; as an election issue with UNP, 122–5

Marxist(s), 4, 9, 11, 14, 17, 28, 29, 48, 84–5, 88, 93, 101, 105, 106, 132, 144, 145, 179; candidates, 49, 112; goals, objectives, 192; ideologies, 73; movement, 170; parties (traditional), 3, 18, 39, 70, 89, 98, 105, 108, 157, 163, 181 and support for SLFP and Mrs Bandaranaike, 103; partners, 86, 93, 148, 149, 152, 153, 180, 197; positions, 194; solutions, remedies, 20; state, 194

Matale Sasanatilleke Thero, the Venerable, 107

Matara town, 170

May Day, in Ceylon, 23, 98; rally of UF in 1970, 98–9; rally of UNP in 1970, 98, 99, 100

McCallum Reforms (1912), 44

Mecca, 134

Mendis, Stanley, 89

Methodist Church in Ceylon, former President of the, 136; head of the, 150

middle-class, 11, 18, 149, 174, 176, and the UNP, 170; Christian, 175; English-educated Ceylonese, 44; lower-, 170; Muslim, 175

Middle East, American peace plan for, 196

Minister of, Agriculture (MEP Government), 119; Broadcasting and Information (UF Government), 181; Communications (UF Government), 181; Education ('National Government'), 35, 121, 122, 141 and harassment of university population, 106; university students' rally in his electorate, 106 and graduate unemployment, 120, in UF Government, 181; External and Internal Trade (UF Government), 181; Finance (SLFP Government), 118, in 'National Government', 33, 120, 128, in UF Government, 181, 184, 186, 187, 193; Home Affairs, Local Government and Public Administration (UF Government), 181, 189, 191; Housing and Construction (UF Government), 181; Industries and Scientific Research (UF Government), 181; Justice (UF Government), 181; Labour ('National Government'), 133; Lands, Irrigation and Power ('National Government'), 119; Local Government ('National Government'), 128; Plantation Industry and Constitutional Affairs (UF Government), 181; Posts and Telecommunications (UF Government), 181; Trade and Commerce ('National Government'), 128

Ministry of, Cultural Affairs, 23; Education, 120; Planning and Employment, 184, 192

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**Index 235**

- minorities, 46, 86, 96
 minority community, 48
 minority groups, 45, 46, 47, 48, 99, 142–3, 186
 Mohamed, Izzadeen, 135
 Mohamed, M. H., 133, 134
 Moonesinghe, Anil, 142
 mother tongue, 17; compulsory use in
 education of Tamil children, 110, 111, 156
 municipal councils, 44
 Muslim(s), 10, 38, 57, 68, 77, 78, 85, 99, 100, 107, 131, 133–5, 143, 150, 154, 156, 157, 170, 177; and representation, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55; candidates, 93, 174–5; electorates, 132, 143, 163, 169; lobbies, 182; vote, 96, 99, 163, 174–5
- Naganathan, Dr E. M. V., 137
 Nasser, President, 119
 National Exhibition, 158, 159
 national flag for Ceylon, 18
 ‘National Government’, 40, 86, 96, 97, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 146, 150, 151, 153, 154, 159, 171, 176, 195;
 formation of, 32; economic policies of, 32–3
 national languages, 11, 17, 19, 179
 National Operations Room, 23
 National Planning Council, 22
 National State Assembly, 182–3, 188, 189–90, 191, 198
 nationalisation, measures, 32, 95; policies, 137;
 policies of the Bandaranaike Governments, 32–3, 179, 180; of the port of Colombo (1958), 22; of omnibus transport (1958), 22, 111; of insurance, 22; of the Bank of Ceylon (1961), 22; of schools (1960–1), 22, 111; of petroleum, 22, 27, 111; of the press as an issue, 29, 85; FP opposition to policies of, 111; UF plans for, 119–20; as advocated by LSSP’s central committee in August 1971, 193; of foreign-owned banks, UF Government’s unwillingness, 186, 193
 nationalised enterprises, 33, 94–5; UF plans for resurrecting, 121
 nationalist movement, 10
 Navaratnam, V., 109, 177
 Negombo city, 170
 Nehru, 1, 24, 200
 Nehru–Kotelawala Pact (1954), 16, 51
 Nepal, 182
 nepotism, UNP allegations against Mrs Bandaranaike’s relatives in UF nomination list, 129; UF defences against UNP allegations, 129–30; UF allegations against Dudley Senanayake’s relatives, 129; dangers of (under Republican Constitution), 190
 neutralism, 182, 183
 neutralist bloc, 34
 newspapers, circulation figures of, 141, Table 18
nindagam system, 123
 no-contest mutual aid electoral pacts, 21, 163, 164–5, 173, 174
 nomination day, 94, 146
 nomination of candidates by UF, 92–3; by UNP, 92
 non-aligned states, 181–2, 183
 non-alignment, 22, 34, 97, 182, 183
 Nuffield College, Oxford, 4; approach (election study), 4
- Official Language Act (1956), 29, 91, 96, 110, 111, 137, 153
 Official Members, 44
 Olcott, Colonel, H. S., 10
 one-day general election, 57, 58
 on-party-dominance, in Ceylon, India, Malaysia, 200
 Oruwela site, 146
- PLF, 103–4, 152, 180, 182, 197; origins, programme, campaign and insurrection, 186–7; damage caused by insurrection, 187; LSSP’s reaction to insurrection, 193; receives support from Philip Gunawardena and his MEP, 195; condemned by CP (Peking), 196
Pacha Bahu, 83, 143
 ‘package deal’, as presented by Prime Minister Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike in November 1971, 187
 paddy, 12, 35, 137
 paddy-growing areas, 170–1; constituencies in, 170–1
 Paddy Lands Act (1958), 12, 22, 111, 118–9, 193
 paddy land ownership, 12
 Pakistan, 1, 3, 15, 135, 182; troop planes at Bandaranaike International Airport, 182; and Ayub Khan, 199
 Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, 2, 200
 pan-Tamil movement, 16
 Parakrama Bahu, King, 83, 115
 Paramadhammacetiya Pirivena, 10
 parity of status as between Sinhalese and Tamil languages, 8, 19, 25, 114, 146
 Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act (1949), 15
 Peace Corps, 182
 peasantry, 12, 22, 76, 94, 98, 116, 118–19, 144, 170, 171
 People’s Bank, 22
 people’s committees, 96, 98, 107, 127–9, 138, 144, 153–4, 189, 191

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**236 Index**

- Perera, Festus, 101
- Perera, L. M., 90, 168
- Perera, Dr N. M., 27, 57, 75, 76, 77, 82, 92, 102, 117, 118, 119–20, 124, 126, 134, 142, 144; on people's committees, 128; views on progress towards socialist goals in the post-1970 election phase, 192–3, 194
- Peter Pillai Institute of Social Studies, 126
- Philippines, 185
- Polgahawela town, 143
- political developments in Ceylon, 1947–65, 12–29
- poll cards, 62, 64
- polling stations, 62
- Ponnambalam, G. G., 18, 77, 110, 114, 177; condemnation of FP by, 137
- Ponnambalam, V., 77, 111, 112
- population, 12, 13, 14, 186, 199, 201; figures (1971 census), 214 (note 1, chapter 2)
- portfolio of Health and Local Government, 20; Planning, 23
- Portuguese, 7
- postal voting, 59, 60, 61
- poya* days, 29, 38, 135, 136, 145, 176
- Premadasa, R., 71, 76–7, 88, 123, 128, 130; differences with UNP, 198; addresses citizens' fronts meetings critical of UNP policies, 198
- Present Political Situation, The* (Philip Gunawardena), 195–6
- Press Councils Act (1973), 188
- press, the, 'monopoly', 29; under a broad-based corporation, 29; misleading stories, 103–4; pro-government national dailies, 105, 106; Opposition newspapers, 105–6; attempts by Mrs Bandaranaike's Governments to control, 123; and the UF election campaign, 126–7
- Prime Minister (Dudley Senanayake), 71, 76, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 92, 100, 114, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 153, 155; and his constituency (Dedigama), 75, 90; and the 'green revolution', 97; reviews administration, 1965–70, 87, 142; defends his policies for promoting communal harmony, 131; reneges on his undertaking to provide relief to Roman Catholic private schools, 135; and early phase of election campaign, 88–90; visit to Roman Catholic Mission House, Wennapuwa, 101; statement to Governor-General on UF's allegations of plans to disrupt elections, 104; replies to the proposal of chief Buddhist monks for a national government of the Sinhalese parties, 105; assessment of election campaign, 112–13; the rice subsidy and the food drive, 116–18; on the cost of living, 119–20; on unemployment, 120; attacks CP and LSSP as danger to democracy, 123–5; condemns people's committees, 127–8; confident of victory, 104; election eve appeal, 108–9
- Principles of State Policy, in Republican Constitution, 190–1
- 'progressive forces', 39
- Protestant(s), 175, 176; candidates, 70; Christian leaders and opposition to UF, 136; denominations, 175
- Protestant missionary organisations, 24
- provinces, Central, 168; Eastern, 25, 31, 47, 48, 53, 55, 67, 77, 92, 93, 109, 114, 132, 137, 139, 171, 174, 176, 177, 191; Northern, 25, 31, 47, 48, 53, 67, 77, 92, 93, 109, 110, 111, 137, 139, 171, 174, 176, 177, 191; North Central, 83, 84, 88, 116, 119, 168, 170, 171; North Western, 48, 168, 169; Sabaragamuwa, 48, 76, 168, 170; Southern, 46, 51–2, 68, 88, 103, 169, 170; Uva, 48, 89, 103, 168; Western, 46, 51–2, 103, 169, 170
- Public Security Act, 15, 37, 87; as part of the Republican Constitution of 1972, 200
- public servants, 96, 97, 149; 'National Government's' relief for, 120; old entrant, 152; UF Government's legislation granting political rights to lower rung, 190
- public servants' organisations, and UF election campaign, 91
- public services, the, 61, 188; under the UF Government, 190; under the Republican Constitution, 190
- Puttalam town, 116
- queues, 120; age of, 120
- Radio Ceylon, 158, 159
- Rahman, Tunku Abdul, 1
- Rajadurai, C., 137
- Rajarata, 119
- Rajaratne, K.M.P., 107, 132; Mrs, 107
- Ramanathan, Ponnambalam, 44
- Rasamanickam, S. M., 78, 85–6, 114
- Ratnasara, Rev. Dambarawe, 131
- Ratnasara, the Venerable Hewanpola, 89
- Ratwatte, Senator Barnes, 119
- Reforms, 1921, 45; 1924, 45
- representation, communal, 45; communal and territorial principles in, 46; 1944 scheme of, 46, 47, 48; territorial, 45; weightage in, 46, 53
- Republic of South Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the, 96, 182
- Republican Constitution of May 1972, 181, 189–91; Ceylon Tamils and the, 188; and UNP opposition, 189; Dudley Senanayake's

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)

Index 237

- statement on, 189; and FP opposition, 189
- results (1970 General Election), all-island, 161–5, 164–5, Table 20; UF, 161–3, 164–5 (SLFP, 161, 162, LSSP, 161, 163, CP, 161, 163), UNP, 161–5, and allies, MEP (Gunawardena), 161, and TC, 161; FP, 161; Mrs Bandaranaike's impact on the electors, 161–2; Dudley Senanayake and the, 162; *rural areas*, 165–8, also 166–7, Table 21, SLFP, 165–6, 167, LSSP and CP, 167, UNP, 165–7, 168, Table 22; *Kandyan Sinhalese areas*, 168–9, UF, 168–9, SLFP, LSSP and CP, 169, UNP, 168–9; *Indian vote*, 169, UF, 169, UNP, 169, CWC, 169, DWC, 169; *Low Country Sinhalese areas*, 169–70, SLFP, LSSP and CP, 170, UNP, 170; *the paddy-growing areas*, 170–1, UF, 170, UNP, 170–1; *the urban areas*, 172–4, also 174, Table 24, SLFP, LSSP and CP, 172–4, UNP, 172–4; *Muslim vote*, 174–5, SLFP, 175 (ISF, 175), UNP, 175; *Christian vote*, 175–6, UF, 176, UNP, 175–6, FP, 176, TC, 176; *Tamil-speaking areas*, 176–7, FP, 176–7, TC, 177, UNP, 176–7, SLFP, LSSP and CP, 176–7
- Returning Officer, 65, 66
- rice, 14, 35, 87, 97, 113, 137, 142, 171; ration, 34, 38, 84, 87
- rice subsidy, 12, 14–15, 21, 35, 83, 84, 92, 99, 113, 138, 142, 143, 169; and UNP, 115–18; and UF, 115–18; and the UF Government, 183–4
- Roman Catholic Church, 22, 24, 28, 40, 77, 135; and relief to schools, 36; and schools question, 38, 101
- Roman Catholic(s), 24, 38, 77, 85, 86, 112, 125, 131, 135–6, 149, 150, 175, 176; and the vote, 101; areas, 38; candidates, 70; clergy, 176; constituencies, 163, 170, also 211–12, Appendix 3; in UF Cabinet, 181; laity, 176; vote, 136, 175–6
- Roman Catholic Mission House, Wennapuwa, 101
- rubber, 7, 12, 13, 14, 35
- rubber–rice agreement with China (1952), 14
- SLFP, 2, 4, 8, 9, 15, 17, 20, 21, 27, 28, 29, 31, 38, 59, 65, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 93, 96, 108, 113, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 160, 200; and its programme at inauguration (1951), 179–80; and election campaign, December 1964–March 1965, 28–9; and Common Programme, 39; economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 67, 72–4; selection of candidates, 68–71; age composition of candidates, 74; and May Day rally, 1970, 98; strategy at 1970 General Election, 161; candidate in the Northern province (Kopay constituency), 109; and the Muslims, 133–5; stabilises democratic system, 179; Right-wing and CP and LSSP relations in the post-1970 election phase, 192; in the Jaffna peninsula in the post-1970 election phase, 199; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election)
- SLFSP, 28, 29, 31, 32
- SMP, 69, 78, 81, 107–8, 130, 143, 153; economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 72–4; selection of candidates, 69–71; age composition of candidates, 74
- Sabbath question, the, 38, 135–6, 145, 176
- Sangha*, the, 24, 145
- Sanmugathasan, N., 108; attacks PLF, 196, the Soviet Union and USA, 196 and the parliamentary system, 196; detained, 196
- Schmidt, Herr, 158
- schools, nationalisation of, 22, 24, 36, 125, 135, 136
- Senanayake, Dharmasiri, 76
- Senanayake, D. S., 1, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, 57, 81, 98, 129; Cabinet of 1947, 18; Government, 138
- Senanayake, Dudley, 15, 27, 34, 40, 68, 80, 86, 107, 140, 141, 158, 195; first Government (May 1952–October 1953), 14–15, 21; minority administration, March 1960–July 1960, 25–6; leadership of electoral front of 'democratic forces', March 1965, 28–9; pact with FP, March 1965, *see* FP; understanding with the CWC, 31–2, 132; policies, 38–9; formation of 'National Government', March 1965, 32; 'seven-party coalition', 32, 37; Government (1965–70), 17, 22, 23, 36, 37, 83, 87, 97, 98, 110, 129, 134, 155; views on the UF's attitude to the Tamil language question, 99; warns Muslims of UF tactics, 134; reacts to results of the 1970 General Election, 162; hands over leadership of the opposition to J. R. Jayawardene, 196; differences with J. R. Jayawardene, 197–8, differences settled, 198; differences with R. Premadasa, 198; death of, 198
- Senanayake, Maithripala, 83, 84, 119, 143, 147, 169
- Senanayake, Robert, 76, 140
- Senanayake, R. G., 69, 78, 81, 107, 108, 130, 143, 153
- Senate, 38, 181; abolition of, 189–90
- Senior School Certificate (SSC), -qualified, 11; -unemployed, 21
- Shastri, 16, 28
- Shinya, K., 93

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**238 Index**

- Shri Sharma, 150
siam nikaya, 24
Sihumina, 140, 143, 144, 148, 205, 207
 'Silva, Shelly', 125
 Singapore, 3, 182; Commonwealth Conference (1971), 183
 Sinhala Bhasa Peramuna (Sinhalese Language Front), 21
Sinhala Jatiya (Sinhalese Nation), 10
 Sinhala Maha Sabha, 9
 Sinhala Only Act, *see* Official Language Act
Sinhale, 158
 Sinhalese, 7, 8, 16, 19, 29, 78, 100, 115, 131, 132, 133, 153; and representation, 45, 46, 47, 49, 53, 55; Buddhist electorates, 162–3; interests, 96, 100; Kandyan, 8, 16, 38, 133, and representation, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55; Low Country, 8, and electorates, 169–70, and representation, 48, 55; majority, 46; race, 28, 29, 88, 107
 Sinhalese artists, 20; dancers, 11; musicians, 20; native physicians, 11, 13, 20; novelists, 20; peasantry, 11; petty shopkeepers, 11, 20; petty traders, 20; public servants, 37, 153; rural middle classes, 11; school teachers, 11, 20, 21; small and middle-rung traders, 22
 Sinhalese, as the only official language, 19, 21, 23, 24–5, 26, 37; language, 29, 88, 107, 123, 179; language and culture, 16, 20, 21, 107, 152; language under Republican Constitution, 191
 Sinhalese, 'domination', 45; -oriented governments, 137; language movement, 19; majority extremism, 7; militants, 40; nationalism, 107; nationalist elements, 104
 Sinhalese, -educated, 11; -educated rural and urban classes, 20; -educated unemployed youth, 21
 Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages, 23
 Sinhalese Buddhist, cause, 113; chauvinism, 9, 23; ethos, 7; forces, 8–9, 21, 153; orientation, 14; -oriented Leftist socialism, 11–2; nationalism, 8
 Sinhalese Buddhist–Muslim riots, 1915, 10
 Sinhalese Buddhists, 7, 10, 14, 26, 76, 89, 130, 131
 Sinhalese Students' Association, 122
 Sinhalese–Tamil problem, 25
 Sinna Lebbe, A., Latiff, 134
 Sinhalese–Tamil riots, 25, 200
Sirilaka, 103, 105, 145, 158
 Sirima–Shastri Pact, *see* Indo-Ceylon Agreement of October, 1964
 Sirisena, Piyadasa, 10
 Sivasithamparam, N., 112, 177
 Sivasithamparam, T., 177
 six-year plan (1947–8–1953–4), 14
Siyarata, 158
 'socialist democracy' of UF, 108, 179, 189, 190, 191, 198
 Socialist Study Circle, 39–40
 socio-economic survey, 1969–70, 13
 Soulbury Commission, 46, 47, 48, 56; commissioners, 47, 55, 56; Report (1945), 46
 Soulbury, Viscount, 129
 South Africa, Republic of, 182
 Soviet Union, 135, 183, 196; differences between CP, and SLFP and LSSP on invasion of Czechoslovakia, 194–5; military aid to crush PLF insurrection from, 182
 Speaker, the, 178
 Sri Siddhartha, the Venerable Valave, 10
 Sri Sobhita, the Venerable Rambukwelle, 89
 State Council, 20, 45, 48
 state of emergency, April 1961, 26; 1966, 37, 95, 125
 State Steel Corporation, 146
 sterling balances, 14
 Subasinghe, T. B., 84, 117, 119, 121, 128, 129, 142, 181
 Sumanatissa, the Venerable Medagoda, 89
Sun, the, 88, 103, 105, 106, 145, 152, 153, 154, 155; and the FP, 154; and the TC and TSRP, 154; antipathy to the UNP, 152–5
 Suntheralingam, C., 77
 Supreme Court, the, 65; issues restraining order on UNP from proceeding against J. R. Jayawardene, 198
 Suriyapperuma, J. R. P., 76
Suthanthiran, 150, 158
swabasha, educated, 11; graduates, 11; layers, 9; school teachers, 13
 TC, 18, 28, 31, 32, 40, 58, 60, 77, 81, 85, 86, 139, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 156, 188; economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 67, 72–4; selection of candidates, 69–71; age composition of candidates, 74; and the contest in the Tamil-speaking areas, 109–11, 112; supports UNP in Tamil-speaking constituencies (Mannar and Trincomalee), 110; impact on Ceylon Tamil electors, 114; accusations against FP, 137–8; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election); MPs join UF Government Parliamentary Group, 199, and are expelled by their party, 199
 TSRP, 69, note *a*, Table 10, 109, 148, 154, 177
 TUF, 114; formation of, 188; activities of, 188; intentions of agitating for a separate state etc., 199
 Taiwan, 185

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)

Index 239

- Tamil Language, 19, 98, 99; as a language of administration, 31; official recognition for, 109, 138; 'reasonable use' of the, 19; rights, 111; under the Republican Constitution, 191
- Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act (1958), 25, 36, 37, 95, 96, 132
- Tamil Regulations (1966), 36, 37, 40, 95, 96, 101, 110, 131, 146, 154
- Tamil Resistance Front, 69, Table 10, note *a*
- Tamil-speaking areas, *see under* Ceylon
- Tamil(s)
- Tamil-speaking people, 86, 156
- Tampoe, Bala, 108
- tea, 7, 12, 13, 35, 87, 155, 168; trade with the Republic of South Africa, 182
- teenage vote, 106, 161; and general election of 1965, 98; and general election of 1970, 98; and UNP, 98, 161; and UF victory, 186
- Temple of the Sacred Tooth of the Buddha, 94
- 'Temple Trees' (the Prime Minister's official residence in Colombo), 129
- ten-year plan, 22
- Thambirasa, S. U., 78
- thattumaru* system, 171
- Themis, M. S., 89
- Thimakaran*, 148
- Thondaman, S., 32, 132, 138, 156, 169
- Tillekeratne, Stanley, 93
- Times Group, the, 140, 141, Table 18, 148–52, 160
- Times of Ceylon, The*, 149, 151; report of UF–FP talks and denials, 151
- Tiruchelvam, M., 151
- Torrington, Viscount, 131
- tourism, 121
- trade union, movement, 16, 20, 23; workers, 13
- Trade Union (Amendment) Act (1948), 15
- trade unionists, 70
- trade union(s), 14, 23, 27, 39, 98, 100; among Indian workers with Left-wing orientations, 169; and UF election campaign, 91, 92; and UNP election campaign, 91–2; MEP (Philip Gunawardena), 91, 92; of CP and LSSP, 174, 192; rights, 96; rivalry between CP and LSSP, 194
- 'traditional homelands of the Tamil-speaking peoples', 8, 18; colonisation of, 86
- Trincomalee town, 25, 77, 154
- Trotskyist(s), 11; groups, 14; rivals, 18
- 'twenty one demands', the, *see* ULF
- UF, 4, 39, 40, 40–1, 67, 68, 72, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 94, 96, 100, 106, 107, 108, 138, 149, 150, 151, 152, 160, 179, 200; Government (the envisaged), 84, 96, 130, 142, 146; and first phase of election campaign, 88–92; advantages in election campaign, 113–14; and Muslims, 134–5; and the Roman Catholics, 135–6; and Lake House, 126, 127, 140, 141–8, 202–8; and the press, 126–7; and people's committees, 127–9; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election); Government of 1970, 180, and Cabinet, 181, allocation of portfolios to CP and LSSP and Left-wing socialists, Centrists, and Right-wingers in SLFP and to social groupings, 181; Government's economic policies, 183–5; Government and domestic instability, 186–9; *vis-à-vis* CP and LSSP in the post-1970 election phase, 192–5
- ULF, 27, 105, 124; and 'twenty-one demands', 27, 124, 126
- U.N. General Assembly, 183
- UNP, 1, 2, 3, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19–20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, Table 1, 32, 40, 57, 58, 59, 65, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 85, 86, 94, 96, 100, 106, 107, 108, 138, 139, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 160, 179, 180, 200; Government(s), 17, 146; leadership, 19; return of the (1965), 28–9; -led coalition government, *see* Senanayake, Dudley, government (1965–70); ministers, 17, 83, 88; politicians, 84; record, 1965–70, 81; economic, educational, professional and social background of candidates, 67, 71–4; selection of candidates, 68–71; age composition of candidates, 74; philosophy, 97; strategy at 1970 General Election, 161; and first phase of election campaign, 88–92; candidate in the Northern province (Mannar constituency), 109; unwilling to assist TC and thereby to antagonise the FP in the latter's election campaign, 110; defends policies on communal question, 131–2; and Indian Tamils, 132–3; and Muslims, 133–5; and the Roman Catholics, 135–6; and links with Lake House, 140, 141–8; drive against traditional Marxists, 102, 161; attacks on people's committees, 127–8; shortcomings in election campaign, 112–13; and the results, *see* results (1970 General Election); in post-1970 election phase, 196–9; special committee to revamp policies, 196; J. R. Jayawardene's differences with, 197–8, as the new leader, 199; R. Premadasa's differences with, 198, addresses citizens' fronts organised to criticise policies, 198; constitution revised, 198; effects of death of Dudley Senanayake, 198; fears of UF Government encroaching on democratic freedoms, 188
- 'UNP–FP Government', 32
- 'UNP–FP Secret Pact', 153

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-15311-9 - Electoral Politics in an Emergent State: The Ceylon General Election of May 1970

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

Index

[More information](#)**240 Index**

- UNP in Opposition, The* (J. R. Jayawardene), 197
- U. S., 33, 182, 196; aid, 28, 33; companies, 33; concerns in Ceylon, 184; Government, 27; military aid to crush PLF insurrection, 182
- Uda Walawe, irrigation scheme, 146
- Udaya*, 155–6
- Udugama, Major-General Richard, 153
- Ukkuwela town, 116
- unemployed, 13, 95–6; graduates, 35, 89, 90, 96, 97, 183, 184, and PLF insurrection, 187; youths, 90, 97, 186
- unemployment, 35, 38, 81, 97, 120–1, 142; according to age, 186; among the Ceylon Tamils, 137; and the UF Government, 183, 184; in the Kandyan Sinhalese areas, 168; in the rural areas, 166–7; in the urban areas, 173
- United Arab Republic, 134, 183
- United Front of the CP and VLSSP, 17–18
- United Kingdom, 182; military aid to crush PLF insurrection, 182
- United Malay National Organisation (Malaysia), 1, 3
- universal suffrage, 11, 29, 45, 55, 161, 178; and Republican Constitution, 189
- universities, 35, 107, 122, 187, 188; rally in electorate of ‘National Government’s’ Minister of Education, 106; restructuring of, 187; statement by academic staff condemning policies of the ‘National Government’, 106
- university students and election campaign, 89–90
- Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, 44
- VLSSP, 18, 21
- Vidyalankara, Pirivena, 23
- Vidyodaya, Pirivena, 23
- Vietnam, 28; Democratic Republic of, 96
- village communities ordinance (1889), 44
- Virakesari*, 141, Table 18, 156
- vote, Christian, *see* Christian; conservative, 165; female, 161–2; Left-wing, 167; *lumpen*, 170; Muslim, *see* Muslim; Roman Catholic, *see* Roman Catholic; rural, 165–8, also 166–8, Tables 21 and 22; urban, 172–4, also 174, Table 24; youth, 167, 177
- voting abuses, 55–6
- voting symbols, 56, 57, 58–9, 60, 64
- Wajirabuddhi, the Venerable Yatideriye, 89
- Warnasuriya, Gunadasa, 91
- Water Resources Board, 171
- water tax as an election issue between UNP and UF, 119, 168
- Weeraketiya (broadcasting station), 158
- Weerasekera, Dhanapala, 144
- Weerawardena, I. D. S., 57
- welfare, services, 13, 116, 180, 185, 194; state, 12–13
- West, 21, 22, 23, 33, 34, 122, 152, 180, 182, 193
- Western, bloc, 183; capitalism, 28; colonialism, 182; countries, 27, 180, 182; outlook, 201; states, 201
- Westerners, 10
- Westernisation, 7
- Westminster model, 7, 15
- Why Lake House Seeks to Destroy the Coalition* (Dr N. M. Perera), 102
- Wickremanayake (Mrs) Soma, 89
- Wickremasinghe, Esmond, 155, 156
- Wickremasinghe, Percy, 89
- Wickremasinghe, Dr S. A., 102; differences with Keuneman wing of CP, 195; expelled from UF, 195
- Wijesundera, P. B., 89
- Wijewardena, Ranjith, 140
- Wijeweera, Rohana, 186, 196
- William, Senator D. G., 117
- women’s organisations, and UF election campaign, 90–1; and UNP election campaign, 91
- workers, 11–12, 96, 97, 112, 170; rights, charter of, 193
- workers’ councils, *see* employees’ councils
- World Bank, *see* IBRD
- Young Men’s Buddhist Association, 20
- Zahira College, 134