

POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES OF SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

AN ASPECT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

W. A. WISWA WARNAPALA

The political development of the island has been examined largely from the point of view of the nature of the change in the arena of constitutional government. The characteristics of political participation form an integral aspect of the process of political modernisation. In the traditional societies, political participation usually becomes the concern of a limited elite. It was this elite which, in course of time, came to be associated with the changes in the constitutional structure of the island. The emphasis on this aspect of the political system by scholars resulted in the failure to examine the instruments of political participation. In other words, the political associations and parties which came into existence in close association with constitutional development need to be studied in order to properly comprehend the process of political development in the island. The aim of this essay is, therefore to examine the growth of political associations and parties with their relevance to the process of political modernisation.

Political participation in the developing countries takes many different forms, and the involvement of organisations is one aspect of the process. The association with a political organisation constitutes in itself a form of political participation. Such organisations have been formed primarily to influence government decision-making and it was this form of involvement which resulted in things affecting political modernisation. The involvement of the elite in the economic and political organisation of the island gave birth to political associations and parties. The growth of political aspirations in terms of the demands of various ethnic communities assisted in the emergence of special interest groups. The early descendents of the colonisers, with a view to maintain some exclusiveness, formed organisations as their own bases of political influence.

The struggle for independence became a source of inspiration for the emergence of certain types of associations. The examination of these structures will explain the extent to which they were influenced by local in-

interests; European interests and communal divisions in the country too played a significant role. The formation of the Ceylon Agricultural Society (1904) with Sir Henry Blake as its President was certainly a landmark in the field of agriculture in the island, and it, with a membership of 1500 and 50 branch societies, became an instrument through which an attempt was made to influence both the planting community and the rural population of the island. The inauguration of this society led to the establishment of the Department of Agriculture. The entry of Ceylonese members into the Legislative Council resulted in the creation of certain organisations and it was during this period that the Ceylon Reform Society, the Malay Young Progressive Union and the Sinhalese Young Mens Associations came into being.¹ The educated young, with their associations with professions, took an active interest in the formation of such societies; H. L. Dassanaike, Dr. G. Rockwood, Abdul Rahaman, K. Balasingham and C. H. De Mel, in fact, played the key role in providing leadership to these associations.

The need to protect the European interests, in direct association with the aspirations of the planter community, resulted in the emergence of such institutions as the European Association of Ceylon (1918) the Ceylon Association in London (1888) and the Chamber of Mines for Ceylon (1899). The Ceylon Association in London, in fact, displayed an explicit commitment to the protection of planting interests in the island. The Planters Labour Federation was formed in 1898 to check the growing expenses on the importation of plantation labour.

The minority interests, primarily those involving the Tamil, Muslim and Malay communities, in the context of a competition for limited political power in the changing constitutional structure, needed organisations to channel their grievances. In other words, the commitment to the advancement of group interests of the minority communities gave birth to a large variety of associations and societies. Some of them succeeded in getting themselves absorbed into the main political organisations whereas others, despite the demands on such institutions during the period of political struggle, maintained an identity of their own in the political system of the island. The Malay community, because of its acculturation into certain aspects of the colonial society, gave birth to a number of associations, some of which were of strictly political character. The Malay Political Association (1896) was the first of its kind and the other associations, committed to same aspirations, were All Ceylon Malay Association (1922) and the All Ceylon Malay Congress (1944). The former, in fact, came to be converted into to All Ceylon Malay Political Union in order to safeguard and protect the rights of the Malay community, including the demand to obtain special representation to Malays in the legislature. The immediate provocation for the creation of the All Ceylon Malay Congress was the opposition of the Muslim members in the State Council to the issue of special representation to the Malay community. The divisions within the community of Malays on political demands resulted in splits in the ranks of their associations and it was this development which led to the formation of Malay Progressive Union (1934). The associational activity of the Malays, though small a community, demonstrated the desire on the part of the educated Malays to participate in the political

process. The Muslim community, despite its attachment to traditional ways of life, displayed no lethargy in relation to their participation in the limited political struggle of the period. The All Ceylon Moors Association, formed in 1921, seemed to have had 270 branch associations, and this, if true, demonstrated the fact that its activities were not confined to a tiny minority of the educated in the community. The next important association of the community to follow this was the All Ceylon Muslim League (1924) which declared its cooperation to achieve a stable government in the island. Another aim of this association was the promotion and the preservation of Muslim solidarity with a view to assist the realisation of communal harmony. The changes in the political system, primarily those related to the aspirations and demands of political parties interfered with the interests of the Muslim community, resulted in the formation of such associations as Ceylon Muslim Association and the Muslim Progressive Union. Indian Muslims, with a view to distinguish between the origins of the two Muslim communities, formed their own organisation called the Indian Muslim Association in 1928. These associations of the Muslim community, with the exception of such organisations as Ceylon Moslem Educational Society (1918), appeared in the political scene largely in the nature of organisations interested in constitutional reforms, and the involvement of this community in the political process could be attributed to these associations.

The Tamil community, in contrast to the Muslim community, was a conscious minority which exploited certain aspects of colonial rule to their own advantage. This was very conspicuous in areas such as education, the professions and the public bureaucracy. The growth of an educated elite, therefore, demanded certain associations for the purpose of political participation, without which aspirations of the community could not be realised. The participation of the Tamil community, from the very inception of politics of constitutional reform in the island, was in the area of political associations, which in course of time, came to be identified with certain national trends in the island's political scene. This trend was represented in the formation of the Ceylon National Congress in 1919, 'uniting the major Sinhalese and Tamil organisations'.² Jaffna Association (1905) Tamil Union (1905) Kandy Tamils Association (1909) Kurunegala Tamil Association, the All Ceylon Tamil Mahajana Sabha (1921) the Electoral Association for West Jaffna (1922) the Central Province Tamil Union (1923) Ghandi Sangam (1924) Tamil Sangam of Uva (1926) East Ceylon Labour Union (1927) and the Jaffna Depressed Tamil Service League (1927) were some of the associations which, as the names indicated, represented diverse interests, and they, in addition, were not totally confined to the Jaffna peninsula. The formation of the All Ceylon Tamil Mahajana Sabha was a turning point in the history of the nationalist movement in the country. Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, who functioned as the first President of the Ceylon National Congress, disagreed with the leadership of the Congress on the issue of the Colombo seat in the Legislative Council. Sir James Pieris was asked to contest this seat and the Ceylon National Congress opposed the creation of a special seat for Tamils in the Western Province. The failure to obtain a special communal seat for the Tamils in the Western Province led to Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam's departure from the Ceylon

National Congress, a constituent organisation of which was the Jaffna Association formed in 1905. It was in this background that the All Ceylon Tamil Mahajana Sabha came to be formed as 'an articulate organisation' which gave forceful expression to their demands as a minority community'.³ The Tamil Mahajana Sabha, concentrating its activities in Jaffna, openly advocated communal representation which became a vital issue in the competition for political power.

Though no political party of importance came to be organised around the interests of the Indian Tamil community, series of organisations committed to the welfare of the community came into being. The Indian Association of Ceylon (1912) the Ceylon Indian Association (1916) Indian Electoral Association (1923) the Ceylon Rural Indian Association (1923) the All Ceylon Indian Youth League (1932) and the Ceylon Indian Congress (1939) constituted the organisational base from which the community made an attempt to integrate itself into the political life of the country. The Indian Association of Ceylon was first known as South Indian United Association of Ceylon. The Ceylon Indian Congress, which became the most important vehicle of Indian interests, derived support from the other organisations of the community and they, in the context of the emergence of this, disappeared from the scene. The Ceylon Indian Congress was formed on the 26th July, 1939 by Jawaharlal Nehru who succeeded in bringing together a group of leading Indians for the purpose of establishing an organisation representative of all sections of the Indian community. It stood for 'Purna Swaraj' (complete independence) for India and Ceylon and advocated political, social and economic amelioration of the Indian community. The first formal session of the Congress was held at Gampola in 1940 and V. V. Giri attended this session with messages from the Indian National Congress.⁴ The Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union, at its 10th sessions held at Metale in 1950, decided to call itself the Ceylon Workers Congress, and its basic platform constituted the protection of the rights of the Indian workers in the plantation areas in the hill country of the island and the promotion of the civic interests of the working class. The emergence of trade union activity as the most prominent aspect of its work generated fissures within the ranks of the Ceylon workers Congress, a section of which led by A. Azeez, who functioned as its Secretary, broke away in 1955 to form the Ceylon Democratic Workers Congress. Though both these organisations are committed to the protection of the interests of the Indian working class community in the plantation sector and derived support from the same base to legitimise their role in the political system of the country, they operate primarily in the nature of a trade union cum political party. This trend became visible in the sixties and the entry of the Ceylon Workers Congress into the Coalition Government of Dudley Senanayake in 1965 partially demonstrated the lines of their political behaviour in the future. The two organisations, therefore, have acted more in the form of two pressure groups in associating themselves with the two major political parties of the island, and this by experience, has given them the status of a component of the political system with their own methods of political legitimisation.

The Burghers—the descendents of the Dutch colonists—who, according to the Soulbury Report, 'formed a necessary and valuable link' between the

British and the natives, played a leading role in the social and political development of the island.⁶ Though the involvement of natives in the political process diminished the importance of the Burgher community, they maintained an identity on the basis of organisation-derived participation in the political process. The Dutch Burghers Union of Ceylon (1907) the Burgher political Association of Ceylon (1938) Burgher Electoral Association, Burgher Association of Ceylon and the Ceylon Burgher Association (1960), though formed primarily to promote the interests of the community, did not develop into action-oriented organisations in the field of politics. They, despite the small numbers and its urban character, maintained the profile of a pressure group, the involvement of which in the national issues had been very limited. The involvement of this community in constitutional issues, on the other hand, was prominent.

The Kandyan Sinhalese, though displayed characteristics of social and economic backwardness largely as a result of the impact of colonial rule, demonstrated no inclination to be modernised and this in fact affected their participation in the early political life of the country. The domination of the nationalist movement by the low country Sinhalese could be partially attributed to the position of the Kandyans, and the realisation that they need their own organisations to channel the grievances led to the formation of several political associations.⁶ The breakaway of the Tamil organisations affiliated to the Ceylon National Congress encouraged the Kandyans to take a similar step and the issue, like in the case of the Tamils, was the question of separate representation for Kandyans. The growth of the Ceylon National Congress as a political organisation dominated by the low country Sinhalese oligarchy conditioned the attitude of the Kandyans who now thought in terms of their own political organisation. The Kandyan National Assembly, an organisation communal in character, was formed in 1925, and its main demand was self-government of the Kandyan provinces.⁷ According to the Donough more Commissioners, the Kandyan National Assembly expressed 'the views and apprehensions mainly of the feudal chiefs and headmen.'⁸ The attitude of the Ceylon National Congress to the role of the Kandyan National Assembly and the development of political competition between the two organisations resulted in the growth of a variety of political associations in the Kandyan provinces.⁹ The associations formed in the Kandyan provinces could be divided into two types: (1) the organisations formed by the Kandyans and (2) those formed by the low country Sinhalese resident in the Kandyan provinces. The latter, in large measure, derived inspiration from the organisations in the low country areas. The Mahajana Sabhas, which formed the local constituent organisations of the Ceylon National Congress, were formed at the initiative of F. R. Senanayake, who in fact organised the Lanka Mahajana Sabha in 1919. The aim, it could be surmised, would have been to organise a political machine around his personality. Such organisations, as noted by L. A. Wickremaratne, sprang up in the Kandyan areas and they displayed no genuine Kandyan characteristics.¹⁰ The Kandy Mahajana Sabha, founded by George E. de Silva, represented an important example. Similar organisations have been formed in Tumpane, Pata Hewaheta, Uda Dumbara, Pata Dumbara and Dandegamuwa. Polgahawela Mahajana Sabha was formed in 1924 by a low countryman

and the Rambukkana Mahajana Sabha, formed around this period, had a committee of forty members. The Mahajana Sabhas represented an attempt by the low country elements in the Kandyan areas to politically mobilise their own kith and kin while the Sangamayas, which came to be formed during this period, articulated the interests of certain depressed communities in the Kandyan region.¹¹ Udarata Jatika Sangamaya of N. H. Keerthiratna, the Madhyama Lanka Mahajana Sangamaya and Lanka Sinhala Jatika Sangamaya were some of the notable examples. The Wahumpura caste community formed a number of such societies. The genuine Kandyan elements, those directly related to the Kandyan aristocracy, formed associations for the purpose of obtaining means of political participation, and the Kandyan Association, established in 1906, was the first of its kind, followed by such associations as Kandy Association (1917), the Kandyan Electoral Association (1923) and the Kandyan political Association (1924). There were regional associations committed to the interests of the Kandyans; three examples were the Gampola Progressive Union (1923) the Kandyan Association of Uva (1924) and the Matale Kandyan Association.¹² The Kandy Congress Constituent Association, the Udarata Mahajana Mandalaya, the Kandyan Union of Colombo (1924) the Sabaragamawa Association, the Udarata Mandalaya of Uda Dumbara of M. B. Galagoda, and the Udarata Sinhala Mahajana Samitiya of L. B. Ranareja, which had its branches in all the Kandyan provinces, were the other important political associations. Matale Udarata Mandalaya of T. B. Aluvihare and the Kurunegala Kandyan Association of G. E. Madawala (1920) too fell into this category of associations dominated by the Kandyans. The Kandyan Youth League appeared in the scene in the thirties and it published a weekly called 'Udarata Tharunaya' from September, 1934. The other Kandyan political association to publish a weekly was the Mahanuvara Udarata Mandalaya, which started the weekly 'Rajadhaniya' in 1927.¹³ The Udarata Sinhala Mahajana Mandalaya started publishing a monthly newspaper called 'Udarata' in February, 1925, and it was edited by H. B. Kirimetiya.¹⁴ All this indicated that the parochialism of the Kandyan Sinhalese influenced the nature and organisation of the political activities of the group. It was this character which prevented the growth of a national political association with a preponderance of Kandyan interests. The Report of the Kandyan Peasantry commission referred to a Kandyan People and Peasants Progressive Party and this, though appeared before the Commission to give evidence, was an unknown political organisation. A loose combination of moderate socialists, nationalists and liberals in Kandy, at the initiative of T. B. Ilangaratne and H. Sri Nissanka formed the United Socialist Front (1949) which, in its initial stages, remained the platform of the leftist parties in Kandy. The Udarata Peramuna, born out of the remnants of the Kandyan Youth League, appeared in the political scene in 1959 under the leadership of T. B. Godamune, who wanted to create a Kandyan bloc. These developments in the politics of the Kandyans indicated their efforts to get themselves integrated into the national political associations and the process came to be almost completed with the appearance of national political parties. The delay in their involvement was due to the slow process of socialisation, and their late entry into the bureaucracy was yet another reason. The political participation of the Kandyans, as explained by the political associations was primarily organisa-

tion-derived participation with a strong commitment to a form of Kandyan nationalism.

The political activities of the Low Country Sinhalese were confined to 'periodic campaigns on behalf of aspirants to nomination to the Sinhalese seat in the Legislative Council'.¹⁸ The need to protect the Ceylonese planting interests motivated the Sinhalese entrepreneurs to form the Ceylon Agricultural Association in 1882, and it became the Ceylon National Association in 1888. The next important political organisation, though of a regional character, was the Chilaw Association (1896) which displayed certain characteristics of political articulation. The Temperance Movement, which became an agent of political mobilisation in the first decade of this century, gave birth to such associations as Colombo Total Abstinence Union (1912) and the Kandy Temperance League (1919). The rapid growth of temperance societies was viewed with suspicion by the Government because they constituted a form of political participation. The ineffectiveness of the Ceylon National Association and the need for an effective political organisation capable of using the mobilisation process occurred under the temperance movement led to the Ceylon Reform League in 1917, and this, as noted by Professor K. M. de Silva, was not a complete national political organisation.¹⁹ The Ceylon Reform League and the Ceylon National Association organised a joint political conference in 1918, from which emerged the most significant political association of the English educated elite—the Ceylon National Congress in 1919. The Chilaw Association became one of the important components of this national political organisation which dominated the organisation-oriented political participation process till the arrival of political parties. The political bases of the Ceylon National Congress came to be strengthened with the formation of the Mahajana Sabhas and the Political Associations in different towns of the island. There were Mahajana Sabhas in places such as Matare, Moratuwa, Lunugala, Panadura (1923) Gampola, Dodanduwa, Polgahawela, Rambukkana, Ragama (1923), Kalutara, Kandy (1923) Kotagoda, Negombo and Dehiwala (1923). The political associations included Kurunegala Political Association (1920), Ratgama Association (1928) Ambalangoda Association of P. de S. Kularatne (1920), the Anuradhapura Association of P. B. Bulankulame, which constituted the mobilisation process to which the Ceylon National Congress gave leadership. The Ceylon National Congress existed as a political organisation till 1947; George E. de Silva functioned as its President and the joint secretaries were J. R. Jayawardene and Jayantha Weerasesera. The expansion in the political involvement of the elite led to the formation of associations such as the political Study Circle (1927) the All Ceylon Liberal League, the All Ceylon Youth Congress, the Sinhala National Association (1921) and the Young Lanka League (1920), which in course of time, formed the sources of recruitment for certain moderate and radical political parties.

The development of political organisations among the educated women need to be examined in order to assess their political participation. The women political associations appeared largely on the eve of the Donoughmore Commission and they, in effect, gave expression to the demand for adult

suffrage. The Ceylon Women Citizens Association (1929), the Ceylon Women Federation and Ceylon Women Association emerged largely as Colombo-based associations.¹⁷ The Ceylon Women Franchise Union (1927) which later became the Women Political Union of Ceylon, included the wives of the leaders of the nationalist movement.¹⁸ There was another association called the Ceylon Women Political Union (1927) and its Presidents included Mrs. F. B. de Mel, Mrs. M. S. Rockwood, Mrs. Alice Kotalawala and Mrs. A. F. Molamure. The activities of the women associations, because of the need to obtain a consensus on the question of franchise, were extended to other towns and such associations as the Kandy Women Franchise Association (1928) and the Kalutara Women Political Association came into being. The former was subsequently transformed into the Kandy Women League. The introduction of the adult franchise, though expected an increased involvement of women in the political process, gave birth to no special political organisations of the women and it was partly due to the emergence of national political organisations. The women's associations, therefore, invested their energies on social welfare activities. The most important political association of the women in the mid forties was the Socialist Women Organisation committed to the promotion of the aims of socialism among the women of Ceylon.¹⁹ The political involvement of the women, though began in a very limited form, vitally affected the process of political development in the island.

A large variety of functional political groups constituted the process of political modernisation and it was in the context of this phenomenon that the political party, which, according to David E. Apter, has become an instrument of modernisation in the developing areas, appeared in the political landscape of the island.²⁰ The political party, though appeared as an agent of political development under the parliamentary system of government, appeared in the political scene nearly two decades before 1947. The Unionist Association of Ceylon (1927) came to be converted into the Unionist Party the aim of which was to train the people of the country in the science and practice of responsible government. They were of the view that an enlarged Legislative Council will provide the opportunity for the gradual evolution of a system of party government. The Unionist Association of Ceylon, which had as its President Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, and H. Marcus Fernando and Felix Dias as its Vice-Presidents, advocated extension of the communal principle in order to provide special representation for the christian community of Ceylon. The Unionist Party, in fact, contested one seat at the 1931 elections to the State Council.²¹ The party organisations, though existed during this period, operated more in the nature of loose organisations and they, therefore, deviated from the characteristics of the modern political party. In fact, the candidates were not nominated and the leaders did not restrict support to members of their own political organisations. Several members of the party contested the same constituency and this, in effect demonstrated the extent to which they were loose organisations without the discipline of the modern political party.

The All Ceylon Liberal League, the Ceylon Labour Party (1928) the Independent Labour Party, the Progressive Nationalist Party (1923) of

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the Socialist Party of Ceylon of P. Givendra-singhe existed before the introduction of the Donoughmore Constitution. Both the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party contested the 1931 elections and succeeded in obtaining three seats and one seat respectively in the State Council. The growth of a number of labour organisations, for instance, the Ceylon Labour Union (1923) Ceylon Workers Federation (1921) All Ceylon Trade Union Congress (1928) and the Kandy Labour Union, provided an impetus to the development of these political parties. These parties, along with the loose political associations which assumed the role of political parties, constituted the instruments of political participation in the context of a constitution, the vital aspect of which was the adult suffrage. The introduction of the adult suffrage, though envisaged an increased political participation, did not immediately result in the establishment of political parties. There was a complete absence of political parties at the 1936 elections to the State Council, and even the existed ill-defined party lines were obliterated.²² The same loose nature of the party organisation was demonstrated by instances where 'party chiefs threw in their weight against members of their own party'.²³ All this indicated that the associations still remained the instruments of political participation, and it was only with the next stage of the constitutional development that political parties came to be formed as agents of political modernisation.

It was during this period that 'the coalition stage in the development of political parties' of Ceylon came to be established. The main political parties emerged largely as coalitions of political associations and this feature dominated the political system in the period since independence. The United National Party, which was formed in 1946, was a coalition of political organisations with different ideological orientations. The Ceylon National Congress, the Moors Association, the Ceylon Muslim League and the Sinhala Maha Sabha entered the party as separate organisations which, even after the formation of the United National Party, were allowed to retain their individual identity. The Sinhala Maha Sabha (1934) was organised by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike with a 'view to unite the Sinhalese and to work in cooperation with the other communities'. The failure of the Progressive Nationalist Party (1927) to make headway influenced the formation of this association. Language, religion and culture stood at the forefront of its platform, and it, in this form, functioned as the political rival of the Ceylon National Congress. The Sinhala Maha Sabha, though entered the United National Party in 1946, maintained an individual identity, the legitimisation of which was achieved with its nationalist platform. The commitment to the same platform resulted in the formation of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1951. The Sinhala Maha Sabha, displaying its ability to transform itself into a political party, appointed a National Committee in 1941 consisting of delegates of various political associations and the same base was used when it got itself converted into a political party. The All Ceylon Village Committees Conference (1928), the Urban District Councils of Ceylon Association (1932) and the Ayurveda Sammelanaya (1933), which were associated with the Sinhala Maha Sabha, constituted an important source of political mobilisation for the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike functioned as the President of the All Ceylon Village Committees Conference,

and this, in his capacity as the Minister of Local Government, afforded him the opportunity to provide leadership for a significant segment of the politically motivated people.²⁴ 'The Young Ceylon' protested very strongly at the inauguration of the Sinhala Maha Sabha which, it described, as 'the latest attempt of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike to find for himself a pedestal from which to air his queer views on religion, politics and himself'.²⁵ It saw no justification for the Sinhala Maha Sabha in the context of a situation where there were organisations such as the Ceylon National Congress, which was predominantly Sinhalese and with the Lanka Mahajana Sabha (1919) with an essentially Sinhalese outlook.²⁶ The formation of the United National Party in 1946, Sir Ivor Jennings pointed out, reduced the political importance of the Sinhala Maha Sabha.²⁷ The opposite of this was proved by the establishment of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1951 and it could not be denied that the base of the Sinhala Maha Sabha was used to establish legitimacy for the new political party.

The consensus of this base, which came to be solidified in the period 1951—56, began to disintegrate in the first decade after 1956. Sinhala Nationalism took a more explicitly ideological form and the impact of which was seen in the nature of political mobilisation. The division in the ranks of the nationalists, originated as a result of the attitude of the 1956 regime to its own forms of legitimisation, led to the establishment of organisations such as the Sri Lanka Jatika Peramuna, Udarata Peramuna, the Sinhala Jatika Sangamaya, the Samajavadi Mahajana Peramuna, Bosat Bandaranaike Peramuna, the Dharma Samaja Party and the Jatika Vimukti Peramuna. They were formed by the same personalities who joined the nationalist platform of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1956.²⁸ This indicated how the mobilisation process, in the context of nationalism, underwent an expansion during this period. They, though assumed the nature of political parties, were primarily pressure groups which operated with a very limited clientele. The political uncertainty that followed the assassination of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the diffusion in the nationalist forces allowed the emergence of a large number of political parties. The Commissioner of Elections, in terms of election law, recognised eight parties and eighteen new parties applied for recognition.²⁹ The growth in the number of parties, though with limited electoral appeal, demonstrated the extent to which political participation had improved in the context of a national upsurge.

The groups 'mutually antagonistic' to these manifestations of Sinhala Nationalism influenced the establishment of similar organisations among the minorities. The section, which broke away from the Ceylon Tamil Congress, formed the Federal Party in December, 1949, and these two political organisations, though dominated politics in the Tamil speaking areas, could not prevent the emergence of certain other organisations. The All Ceylon Tamil Conference, the Tamil Speaking Front, Elathamilar Ottumai Munani (C. Sundaralingam's Tamil Front), the Fundamental Rights Democratic Front, the Tamil Resistance Front, the Ilankai Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (DMK of Sri Lanka), the Ceylon Human Rights Party and the International

Tamil League appeared as organisations committed to the defence of the rights of the Tamil community. Some of these groups—the Tamil Speaking Front and the Tamil Resistance Front—contested parliamentary elections in 1960. Such groups, on the basis of the communal loyalties mobilised the support of the Tamil community and articulated political demands which hitherto remained within the ranks of the main political organisations. The impact of this development was the adjustment of political demands to the changing forms of political organisation.

It has been already mentioned that the main parties emerged in response to the demands in the constitutional structure. In other words, it was at this stage that such political parties made an attempt to 'integrate the different types of political organisations' into a party system.³⁰ The failure of this attempt could be illustrated by an examination of the different political organisations which appeared in 1946 and after the inauguration of the Soulbury Constitution. The Ceylon National Congress Party (1941), for instance, legitimised its formation by claiming that it stood for the attainment of Dominion Status for the island within the Commonwealth of Nations. C. E. C. Bulathsinhala formed the Swaraj Party (1945) and the independents who were returned at the 1947 elections, formed the Lanka Swadhina Party (1947) with a view to operate as a solid bloc in the House of Representatives. The existence of parties such as the United Lanka Congress (1945), Lanka Republican Party (1952) the Republican Party (1952) of Wilmot Perera, the Mahajana Peramuna and the Radical Democratic Party demonstrated the failure to integrate the political forces into two major coalition systems. The role of the Marxist parties interfered with this process of integration of the political organisations.³¹ The appearance of minor parties, though continued as a trend in the island's political system, represented yet another aspect of political participation.

The political organisations, which emerged during the colonial period were primarily pressure groups interested in the constitutional advancement of the country. They were not well defined pressure groups and their interest were not expressed in a stable manner. The issues affecting their interests articulated these political associations and thereby they constituted the main form of political participation. The conversion of these associations into the political parties changed the basic pattern and the process of both articulation and participation underwent an expansion. This pattern of development demonstrated the different levels of articulation and participation in the political system of Sri Lanka.

1. See Abeysooriya, Samson. *Whos' Who of Ceylon*. Gerard's Press, Colombo.
2. Arsaratnam, S. *Ceylon*. Prentice—Hall, 1964, p. 167.
3. De Silva, K. M. *History of Ceylon* Vol. III. University of Ceylon Press Board, 1973, p. 406.
4. It was stated that the Ceylon Indian Congress had a membership of 104, 948. Vide *Fergusons Directory*, Colombo, 1948.

5. Tambiah, S. J. 'Ethnic Representation in Ceylon's Higher Administrative Services, 1870—1946' in *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 2 & 3, 1955, p. 113.
6. See Wickremaratne, L.A. 'Kandyans and Nationalism in Sri Lanka', in *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. V. Nos. I & 2 June—Dec 1975, pp 49—67 for a discussion of Kandyan associations.
7. Report of the Special Commission on the Constitution (Donoughmore Report) Colombo, 1928, p. 103.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
9. Wickremaratne L. A. *op.cit.*, pp. 56—59.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
12. The names of the Kandyans who were associated with these organisations were as follows: T. B. Yatawara, M.B. Navaratna, T. B. Kadurugamuwa, J. C. Rambukpotha, W. M. S. Hapugoda and W. B. Talagahagoda.
13. Pannasekera, Kalukondiyawe. *Sinhala Puwath Path Ithihasaya (Sinhala)* Vol. III, Gunasena, 1971, p. 322
14. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
15. De Silva, K. M. *op. cit.*; p. 260.
16. 'The Formation and Character of the Ceylon National Congress 1917—1919', on *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* Vol. 10, Nos. I & 2, 1967, p. 82.
17. The names associated with these organisations were Mrs. Lionel de Fonseka, Mrs. D. M. Gunasekera and Lady Dias Bandaranaike.
18. The wives of almost all the leaders were included in this organisation.
19. Mrs. Edith Ludowyke, Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene, Mrs. P. Kandiah and Mrs. H. Gunasekera were associated with this organisation.
20. Apter, David E. *The Politics of Modernisation*. Chicago, 1965, p. 179.
21. Ceylon State Council, 1931. Daily News Publication, p. 5.
22. *State Council of Ceylon*, 1936. Ceylon Daily News, 1936, p. 13.
23. *Ibid.*; p. 13.
24. *Young Ceylon*. Vol. VII, No. I, 1938, p. 6.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 6 and also see 'Bandaranaike and the Sinhala Maha Sabha' by Spectator, in *Young Ceylon* Vol. VII, No. 5, 1938, pp. 74—75.

27. Jennings, Ivor. 'Constitution After One Year' in *Independent Ceylon (First Year)*. Independence Day Souvenir. Department of Information, 1949, p. 1.
28. They included Somaweera Chandrasiri, I. M. I. R. A. Iriyagolla, S. D. Bandaranaike, C. R. Beligammana, P. B. Godamune, L. H. Mettananda and K. M. P. Rajaratna; they were language enthusiasts.
29. Report of the Sixth Parliamentary General Election of Ceylon. Sessional Paper XX, 1966, p. 20.
30. Lapalombara, J. ed. *Bureaucracy and Political Development*. Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 103.
31. The Marxist parties have not been discussed because their relationship with the process of development merits a separate study.