HISTORY

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The National Anthem of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka Matha

Apa Sri Lanka Namo Namo Namo Matha Sundara siri barinee, surendi athi sobamana Lanka Dhanya dhanaya neka mal palaturu piri jaya bhoomiya ramya Apa hata sepa siri setha sadana jeewanaye matha Piliganu mena apa bhakthi pooja Namo Namo Matha Apa Sri Lanka Namo Namo Namo Matha Oba we apa vidya Obamaya apa sathya Oba we apa shakthi Apa hada thula bhakthi Oba apa aloke Apage anuprane Oba apa jeevana we Apa mukthiya oba we Nava jeevana demine, nithina apa pubudukaran matha Gnana veerya vadawamina regena yanu mana jaya bhoomi kara Eka mavakage daru kela bevina Yamu yamu vee nopama Prema vada sema bheda durerada Namo, Namo Matha Apa Sri Lanka Namo Namo Namo Matha

Foreword

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These supplementary reading materials can be an excellent source of knowledge for those who sit for examinations and for the reading public who is interested in reading different academic books. I would like to compliment the subject experts and the staff of the Educational Publications Department who contributed to produce this book.

I would like to extend my thanks to you who justify the following saying by George R. R. Martin – "A person who reads books lives thousand lives before his death. Those who don't read have only one life".

P. N. Ilapperuma

Commissioner General of Educational Publications Educational Publications Department Isurupaya Battaramulla 26 - 06 - 2020

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CHAPTER

Industrial Revolution

Introduction

The broad change generated by man in the industrial and technological fields within a period of about six decades by producing goods with the help of machines instead of manual labour is termed as "the industrial revolution."

1.1 Beginning and Development of the Industrial Revolution

The industrial revolution began towards the latter part of the 18th century in Britain. It was limited to Britain for about another half century. Yet, by the 19th century, the influence of the industrial revolution spread to the other countries in Europe and the rest of the world.

Trade was the major reason for the emergence of the industrial revolution in Europe. When the situation of Europe in the 18th century is analyzed, it can be seen that France, Portugal and Spain other than Britain engaged themselves in colonization and extensive trade. Therefore, it is important to inquire into the reasons why such a revolution began in Britain.

* Reasons for the Emergence of the Industrial Revolution in Britain

Financial and commercial affairs started developing in Europe since the 16th century and by the 18th century, Britain had surpassed some of the other leading European countries such as Holland, France, Portugal and Spain. As a result a wealthy class who could invest money on industries was created in that country. At the same time, there was a rapid growth in the population of Britain which resulted in a high demand for goods and in turn producing goods to meet the increasing demand became a challenge. This led to a development in the industrial sector. Further, there was an expansion of the knowledge of science as a result of the Renaissance that took place in Europe in 14th and 15th centuries. This knowledge was used in producing new machinery. Minerals such as iron and steel that were necessary in producing machinery too were found in Britain. Not only that Britain easily found things like coal which played a major role in producing energy.

Though there was a heavy population in contemporary kingdoms such as France, the development of trade in those countries was limited in comparison to Britain. But, Britain had obstructed the commercial relationships of its colonies with other countries in the world by imposing several commercial laws. Thus, Britain was able to maintain a high demand for their productions in its own colonies because they had no other choice than importing those productions from Britain. Some of those products with high demand in Britain were suitable for the production using machines. One example is the high demand placed upon British cotton clothes by India. Though there was an increasing demand for British cotton clothes, they did not have the ability to increase the production within a short period with the existing production methods. Because of the high demand that existed for the British productions, there arose a need in increasing the production in a short period. It is as a solution to this challenge that there was a rapid development in the industrial field.

There were several changes in the agriculture field too in contemporary Britain. There, the rich landowners combined small pieces of land that belonged to poor farmers and made large farms. This is termed as the "encroaching movement." As a result of this, the farmers who lost their land migrated to cities in search of jobs. The extra labour that was generated as a result was able to be used for the industrial development.

Unlike in other countries, in Britain talented individuals had the opportunity to earn money irrespective of their social status. This free social environment in the attitudes supported the spread of novel ideas and it was conducive for the development of the industrial sector. Further, together with the development of the economy, the emergence of new banks and financial organizations that provided capital for the industries and businesses was seen.

The political stability that was prevailing in Britain too helped the industrial revolution. The parliament provided the freedom, tax relief and support to engage in business activities for the economic development.

Compared with the other countries in Europe, Britain had the most conducive environment for the industrial revolution. A number of features such as being a small island, ability to build a web of markets throughout the country, ability to charge high prices for productions and London city being a centre that distributed raw materials, capital and products; helped Britain to surpass other countries in the industrial production field.

1.2. Rise of the Industrial Revolution

The industrial revolution in Britain was based on three industries as given below.

- Textile industry
- Iron and steel industry
- Coal industry

The development that occurred in these fields resulted in the gradual progress in other fields such as transport, communication and agriculture.

▶ Textile Industry

Textile producers in Britain faced a challenge of increasing their textile products to meet the high demand that came from their own colonies. Weaving clothes became a little faster with the invention of the flying shuttle by John K. in 1733. But the slowness in preparing threads needed in weaving clothes still remained a problem. According to the situation that



Fig 1.1 – The Jenny machine produced by James Hargreaves for spinning cotton in 1764

was there at that time, threads produced by six thread makers per day were enough only for one weaver to work for one day. Therefore, there was some idea of increasing the pace of spinning. As a result of that enthusiasm, a person called James Hargreaves produced a machine called 'Jenny' in 1764 for cotton weaving. This machine was a manually operated one. Later in 1769, Richard Arkwright produced a more efficient, water powered spinning wheel. It was named as 'water turbine'. Arkwright's creation was an important production when compared to the other machines used for the same

purpose in the past. But it was difficult to be used in houses because it was very big in size. On the other hand, because a fast tide of water was needed to run the machine, it could be used only in such places where there was a continuous supply of water.



Fig 1.2 – The water powered spinning machine produced by Richard Arkwright

Samuel Crompton who used the functioning principles of Spinning Jenny and the Water Turbine produced a new machine called "Mule" around 1779. This helped to produce finer and stronger threads. Then around 1785, Edmund Cartwright found a way of running the 'Mule' by steam power. Thus, within a period of about 30 years new machines and novel technical methods were invented to make spinning cotton more efficient. Hence, there was a big revolution in the weaving industry during a short period of time.

$\bullet ACTIVITY 1$

- 1. Make short questions regarding the section on textile industry.
- 2. Explain the industrial development in textile sector under the following areas.
 - Reasons for industrialization in textile sector
 - New productions of textile sector and their advantages

Iron and Steel Industry

Ore deposits are found in abundance in Britain. British people produced iron and steel even before the industrial revolution to make weapons, agricultural equipment and household tools. They used firewood to smelt ore for this purpose. It was difficult to meet the huge demand for iron and steel needed for the production of machinery that emerged as a result of the industrial revolution using firewood.

Hence, alternative methods had to be looked for. In 1730 the method of smelting ore using coal was found by Abraham Darby. They produced molded iron in this method. In 1784 tempered iron could be produced with the invention of 'Roller' machine by Henri Cort. Henri Bessemer found a new method to produce steel by removing dirt from iron in 1856. The invention of open oven method in 1860, by developing the above mentioned method, enabled the production of high quality



steel. Steel could be produced cheaply and quickly in this method. Making an electric oven to smelt ore by Wilhelm Siemens in 1870 helped the improvement of iron and steel industry. These mew creations paved the way for a rapid improvement in iron and steel industry.

Fig 1.3 Henri Bessemer's oven for producing steel

↓ ACTIVITY 2

- 1. Prepare short questions from the section about iron and steel.
- 2. Explain the industrial development that took place in iron and steel industry under the following areas.
 - Reasons for the industrial development in iron and steel industry
 - New inventions in the above field and their advantages

Coal Industry

There are so many coal mines in Britain. South Wales, Yorkshire, Lancashire are some places where coal mines are situated. Coal was popular as a cheap and efficient fuel for smelting ore, running machines and household chores. Though the demand for coal increased with the industrial development, mining coal was difficult. Several new inventions were made in order to find solutions to the problems such as removing the water that gathered in the mine when it was dug deep, poisonous gases found in the depth, increasing heat and providing light to the depth.

Thomas Newcomen invented a steam engine in 1735 to pump water of the mines and artificially cool the air. Yet, it was inefficient and could not be used in other industries too. Therefore, James Watt developed this to a new steam engine in 1736. It was an efficient engine that could be used in many industries.



Fig 1.4 - A picture of the steam engine made by Thomas Newcomen



Fig 1.5 – Steam engine produced by James Watt

The problem of providing light to the mines too was solved when Humphry Davy produced the safety lamp in 1812. In 1839, a method was found to take coal out of the mines using iron cables instead of the old method of taking them out by women and children using copper cables.

The development of the coal industry resulted in several by products. Tar obtained by burning coal was used in road construction. Paints that were necessary in dyeing clothes too were made with the help of coal. It was further used to produce medicine, perfumes, oil and fertilizers.



Fig 1.6 – The way coal was taken out of mines by women and children

↓ *ACTIVITY 3*

Explain the development of the coal industry under the following headings.

1.Reasons for the industrial development in the coal industry.

2. Advantages of the new inventions of the coal industry.

Fig 1.7 – Safety lamp produced by Humphry Davy



Expansion of the Industrial Revolution

The industrial revolution that took place in the fields of textile, coal and iron industries in Britain soon spread into the other fields also. When the nature of this expansion is considered, two types of expansions can be identified as expansion of industrial revolution to other fields and expansion of industrial revolution to other fields and expansion of industrial revolution to other countries.

1. Expansion to other fields

The new knowledge that emerged in relation to industrial and technological fields as a result of industrial revolution did not limit itself to industries and productions. It spread to the other fields too. Fields like transport, communication and agriculture too had rapid development under the influence of the industrial revolution.

✤ Expansion of transportation

Many changes took place in the transport sector because of the influence of the industrial revolution. With the development of the industrial sector, a necessity of developing a road system arose for transporting raw materials to factories and transporting products to markets. Therefore in 1811, John McAdam introduced a new way of making roads. It is called "*the Macadam Method*."

Macadam Method

Macadam method means spreading small pieces of granite on a strong foundation of bigger stones and soil and making roads by pounding and levelling them.

Even the vehicles that carry heavy loads of goods and passengers could be driven fast and easily on these roads. Therefore, hundreds of miles of such roads were built in Britain and Scotland within a short period.

Machines and engines used for transport too developed with the development of roads. The production of the steam engine by George Stephenson in 1814 became a landmark in the industrial revolution. As a result, trains could be used to transport coal and other products. The time spent for transport could be minimized by transporting products from factories to markets and transportation cost was reduced by being able to transport heavy loads of goods at a time. It is believed that George Stephenson who invented the locomotive engine was not able to read and write till he was 17 years old.



Fig 1.8 George Stephenson



Fig 1.9 The steam engine invented by George Stephenson

The development that took place in land transport as a result of the industrial revolution, affected the naval and water transport too.

In 1807, an American called Robert Fulton produced the steamboat. Henry Bell produced the steam ship in 1811 for passenger transport. It used firewood as fuel at the beginning and later coal. The production of motor car in 1885 by the German, Daimler and the production of the aeroplane by Wright brothers in 1903, made a huge change in the transport system. Thus, as a result of the expansion of the industrial revolution, there was a rapid change in all forms of transport; land, water and air transport.



Fig 1.10 Daimler's motor car



Fig 1.11 Aeroplane produced by Wright brothers

Expansion of Communication Sector

There was a rapid development in communication sector too in parallel to the development in transport. The postal service that existed in Britain up to this was very costly. A need arose to exchange letters quickly for a cheaper price in a shorter time for business activities.



Fig 1.12 – Several experiments to develop communication between two distanced places using electronic methods were conducted from the beginning of the 19th century. As a result of this, an apparatus was produced to communicate using human voice, between two places through cables in 1876. It is called the 'telephone'. It was produced by Alexander Graham Bell.

A new postal service which was called 'Penny Postal Service' was started for this in 1840. A letter could be sent to any corner of the country by spending just a penny (pence) through this.

There arose another need for sending messages between two places more quickly than sending letters with the rapid development of industrial and transport sector. As a result of the experiments conducted for this, Samuel Morse was able to start telegraph service in 1844. Sending messages between two places through a cable was started in this method using symbols.

An immense change took place in the communication sector in 1895 when Guglielmo Marconi invented the method of sending messages through radio signals and then John Logie Baird invented the television. These two inventions supported not only the development of communication but also the development of trade and commerce including other economic activities.



Fig. 1.13 John Logie Baird and the television he invented



Fig 1.14 Marconi's radio

Expansion of Agriculture

There was a rapid development in agriculture in parallel to the industrial revolution. Several factors that affected this can be identified as;

- Beginning of mega farms
- Changing of crops
- Using new technology in animal husbandry
- Using new agricultural methods and equipment

The establishment of factories expanded with the industrialization attracting more people to cities. This left their land in villages uncultivated. The rest of the minor proprietors had to give up their lands due to various reasons. Such small lands given up thus and the lands taken over from other farmers were combined together to make mega farms. Agriculture developed as a result of cultivating these lands which came under the encroaching movement.

Change of crops in cultivation helped to reduce spreading of diseases and to increase productivity. Jethro Tull introduced the line sowing method with horse tethered ploughs. This method helped to reduce the number of seeds needed for sowing and increase productivity.



Fig 1.15 Cultivation using change of crops

At the same time, animal products increased due to the new technological methods used in animal husbandry. One example is the findings regarding breeding of sheep made by Robert Bakewell.

The invention of efficient equipment that came with the industrial revolution altered the field of agriculture completely. Machines were produced to clear forests, prepare the land and produce seeds. Further, paying attention on producing manure to achieve more productivity in agriculture is an important move. As a result of experiments done in this field, a type of manure called 'Guano Fertilizers' was produced in Africa for the first time in 1800. Then it was produced in America also. After some time chemical fertilizers and agro chemicals were produced.

Agricultural and animal products could be sold at a cheaper price because they could be produced with less expenditure owing to the store facilities and modern transport methods that came as a result of the industrial revolution. As a result, there was a high demand for agro products.

2. Expansion to other countries

The industrial revolution that began in Britain spread to the countries in the European continent also within a short period of time. Later it went to Asian, American and African continents also. There were several reasons for the spread of the industrial revolution to other countries in the 19th century.

- Increase in demand for goods that came as a result of rapid increase in world population
- Development of travel and transport in Europe
- Discovery of coal in France and Germany

As a result, other countries in the world too started to speed up their production using machines in the same way England did. Industrial centres emerged in areas that were situated close to markets and where raw materials were found in abundance in Germany and France. Germany that was able to mark an increased industrial development, had become a powerful country at the beginning of World War I. Then the industrial revolution spread to other European countries like France, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Prussia. The Austrian empire built roads to a length of 30000 miles and Belgium doubled the length of its roads at the same time. Then, every country started laying railways. The effects of the industrial revolution were felt in states in America that existed as colonies of Britain as well. There was a rapid industrial development after independence in that country.

Japan was an Asian country which had an enormous development in the industrial sector during the latter half of the 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th century. Japan has become a country that holds a competitive place among the countries that have obtained a rapid development in science and technological fields by following the western methods and models.

The influence of the industrial revolution was greatly felt in many Asian countries including China, India and Sri Lanka by the 20th century. Thus the world became a global village because of the industrial revolution that spread to the other countries in the world and the rapid development it created in transport and communication fields.

Results of the Industrial Revolution

Broad changes occurred in political, social and economic sectors in many countries due to the industrial revolution that took place everywhere in the world. These results had both good and bad characteristics.

Changes in the Political Field

The industrial revolution resulted in a wealthy class that invested money for profit and an underprivileged class that survived by selling labour. The rich exploited the labour of the underprivileged in their businesses and earned a huge profit. Yet the living conditions of the labourers who worked in factories were very poor. Because of this suppression there were many clashes between the rich and the poor including the emergence of labour unions, boycotts, struggles for rights, etc. This situation ended in the expansion of political beliefs such as socialism and liberalism.



Fig 1.16 - A struggle for rights by labourers

Adam Smith presented the concept called "laissez-faire" which led to the expansion of capitalism throughout the world. **Laissez-faire** means reducing the government involvement and giving more allowance for private sector involvement in the economic matters. At the same time, as the industrialization spread throughout Europe, there arose a need for getting raw materials for a cheaper price and selling the products at a higher prices. Therefore, the European countries had to compete for tightening their political grasp in the colonies. This new imperialism which came after 1850 is called neo-imperialism. This struggle of European countries to capture new colonies became a major factor that led to World War I.

Changes in the Economic Sector

One change that took place in the industrial revolution is the expansion of industrial products and commercial activities taking the first place in the economy. Accordingly, a wealthy class that owned factories and a class of business people gradually developed. Farmers who owned small lands had to come to cities and join these factories as they could not carry on working in their farms. Because of that, the self-sufficient economy failed and emerged a working class that worked for a salary. Thus, the agro-economic system broke down and the import-export economy came forward. Agricultural production too became industrialized and a number of food types came to markets. As a result, both local and foreign businesses developed in European countries and Asian, African and Latin American countries which were the colonies of European countries. In the same way, the capitalist economic system too spread rapidly around the globe.

Private entrepreneurs could not afford to invest money on these expanded businesses individually. So, several entrepreneurs got together and formed combined business companies. These companies expanded their commercial activities into Asian, African and Latin American countries with the help of their governments to achieve their targets.

At first, these trade companies consisted of local businessmen only. Yet, towards the first part of the 19th century, these companies became multi-national companies. These companies that were engaged in production of goods and buying and selling simultaneously were engaged in monetary and banking activities. This made transactions and loan facilities easy for the entrepreneurs.

✤ Impact on the Society

The society was influenced both positively and negatively due to the industrial revolution. Many new cities were created as a result of the industrialization and the lives of people who lived there were greatly affected. People could afford to buy those items that were produced in bulk in the factories. At the same time these factories generated a lot of new job opportunities. As a result people could enjoy better living conditions.

The number of cities and the size of cities in Europe increased very fast as a result of the industrialization. The only outcome of them was that they became unbearably populated. Yet, the development of basic facilities of these cities came about very slowly. For an example, though in Vienna, within 20 years before 1847 the population increase is 20%, building houses increased in 11.5% only.

In many countries of the world new cities emerged as a result of the industrialization and villagers



Fig 1.17 – Child labourers who worked in factories during the industrial revolution

began to migrate to these cities. The increasing number of job opportunities in cities that emerged due to mega industries sped up the urbanization.

One major social outcome of the industrialization is the formation of a classed society. By the 20th century economic activities of all European countries were governed by the class of rich factory owners. This rich class consisted of two major fractions.

- Aristocrats who owned lands
- The other class consisted of middle class business owners, small scale traders, factory owners, bankers, contractors, engineers and lawyers, etc.

They employed labourers for less wages and earned heavy profit through that. People in the rich class developed comparatively better living conditions and spent more comfortable and enjoyable lives.

But, the living conditions of the working class people were in a very poor state. The husband and wife both in the same family had to work in order to survive and sometimes they had to send their children too to work. They had to suffer a lot in these factories working for 12 -14 hours and the jobs they had to do were really tormenting. Women and children had to work in factories where there were no facilities and protection. Labourers had to reside close to the factories in industrialized cities. They had to live in shanties or lined houses which did not have minimum sanitary facilities. All members of the family had to live in one room. Thus, what the underprivileged class which was the majority of the society received were unfavourable living conditions, poverty and a meagre salary. Under these adverse circumstances drunkenness and other abuses were inevitable.

Many countries paid their attention to resolving these social disparities by 18th and 19th centuries. At the same time labourers came together as unions and started struggling to get their salary increased, the number of working hours reduced and sanitary and other facilities increased. Therefore, every government had to impose laws for the social and economic welfare of the working class.



Fig 1.18 A factory emitting poisonous gases to the environment

Another bad effect of the industrial revolution is the environmental pollution. Water sources got contaminated due to the addition of waste materials to water sources by factories and the fumes released by factories became harmful for the health of the people. Further, the accumulation of poisonous gases in the atmosphere threatened the existence of human beings.

$\bullet ACTIVITY 4$

- 1. Conduct a debate on good and bad effects of the industrial revolution.
- 2. Give answers to the following questions.
 - I. Write three changes that took place in the political field due to the industrial revolution.
 - II. Write three changes that took place in the economic sector.
 - III. Write three changes that took place in the society.

1.3. Effects of the Industrial Revolution on Sri Lanka

How the industrial revolution that started in Britain spread throughout the world within a short time has been explained above. Although the industrialization that took place in Britain and other European countries did not take place in Sri Lanka in the 19th century, the effects of the industrial revolution could be identified from Sri Lanka too. The major reason for that is, Sri Lanka being a colony of Britain when industrial revolution started. British people came to Sri Lanka and started mega scale cultivations. Many factories were started in connection to thus started cultivations such as tea, coconut, rubber and machines were imported from Britain to be used in those factories.

Important incidents of this period:

- Starting of a mill to pound coffee by the governor, Fredric North in 1804 AD
- Using machines for activities of tea factories such as drying, grading and exporting
- Using machines to prepare rubber for exporting
- Introduction of Macadam method to build roads in 1885

There was a need for manpower for the estates and factories and the labour class was formed by the people who worked there for salary. Landowners and factory owners became the affluent class and they organized themselves separately as a wealthy, educated middle class. The capitalist economic system grew in Sri Lanka and import and export trade held a prominent place. The necessity of a banking system was felt in order to handle financial transactions between countries in import and export. So, banks were started in Sri Lanka. The transport system had to be developed in order to carry the estate products to trade centres and the harbour in Colombo and supply necessities to estates. Up to this time transportation was done by means of carts. Because it was not so efficient, roads and railways were introduced. The Colombo - Kandy road was constructed during the time of the governor, Edward Barns. Thereafter, roads to Kandy were built from Kurunegala and Dambulla. After that, the system of constructing roads using stones and tar was started. Further, the wood bridges that existed over water ways were replaced by iron bridges. The governor, Henry Ward started laying railways. The construction of the Kandy railway was started in 1858 and was completed in 1863. In August 1867, a train service was started from Colombo to Kandy for the first time. After that it was extended from Peradeniya to Nawalapitiya in 1871 and up to Bandarawela in 1899.

With the development of roads and transportation, trade centres were started and they expanded to cities. Gampola, Badulla, Ratnapura and Matale are such cities beyond Colombo that were populated during this time. Sending messages was done through a messenger up to this time. An official postal system had been started by 1815 connecting the cities like Colombo, Trincomalee, Galle, Kandy and Jaffna. This was carried out using chariots. Thus, running chariots was started for the first time in Asia, in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lanka's first postal stamp was issued in 1857. By 1903, 340 post offices had been opened around the country. The telegram service was started in 1858.

\checkmark ACTIVITY 5

Prepare an article on 'How Industrial Revolution affected Sri Lanka' discussing the following points.

- Expansion of estate cultivation and mega scale factories
- Wealthy class that owned estates and the working class
- Postal service and the printing industry
- Construction of roads

CHAPTER

Establishment of British Power in Sri Lanka

Introduction

You studied in grade 10, how the Portuguese came to Asia and how the Portuguese and the Dutch people occupied the coastal region of Sri Lanka. After those two nations, the next European nation that imposed its power on Sri Lanka was the British. They who spoke English language were called the English. This lesson explains how the English established their power in Sri Lanka and the struggles that arose against them in the first half of the 19th century.

2.1 Arrival of British in Asia

The English who noticed that the Portuguese and the Dutch people were earning a lot of profit from the trade activities in Asia, also paid their attention to Asia. As a result, a group of English businessmen established the East India Trade Company in December 1600, by a royal warrant obtained from Queen Elizabeth I to do trade activities in Asia. The first fleet of ships of this company had gone to Sumatra islands and started trade. Then, another fleet of ships came to India under William Hokins and conducted discussions about trade with the Mughal emperor, Jahangir.

At the beginning of their visits to Asia, the English tried to tighten their trade relations with Southeast Asian region.

There had been fights between the Portuguese and the Dutch to claim the trade power in Southeast Asia during the first two decades of the 17^{th} century. At certain occasions, the English have given their assistance to the Dutch against the Portuguese. The Dutch never expected to see the English developing a power in Southeast Asian islands where spices grew well, although they obtained the help of the English to fight their common enemy, the Portuguese. Because of this, in 1623, the Dutch attacked a fortress in a spices island, Ambon and killed a group of English people living there. As the English did not have sufficient power in the region to retaliate the Dutch attack, they withdrew themselves from the southeast asian region. It seems that they completely focused their attention on India after that.

It took more than 10 years for the English to establish trade relations with India though they tried it since 1607. As the English worked very tactfully in India, they were able to start trade centres in several areas such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras by the latter part of the 17th century. Yet, the English had to compete with the French other than the Dutch to protect their trade because from 1664, the French also came to India and established trade centres in places like Pondicherry, Karikal and Chadranagar. A political battle began between the British and the French by the 18th century to establish their power in India.

2.2 The British focusing their Attention on Sri Lanka

The English did not pay any attention to Sri Lanka for about a century after they came to India. The reasons for this are that the English had not yet firmly established their power in India and the Dutch had a strong fort system in the coastal line of the island followed by the Portuguese. The English began to pay more attention to Sri Lanka when they who were satisfied so far with trade power, started exercising political power on India in the first half of the 18th century because the Mughal empire in India started to decline. There were two major reasons for that special attention.

- 1. The location of Sri Lanka
- 2. Getting valuable trade items such as cinnamon from Sri Lanka

The English felt the importance of Sri Lanka owing to two reasons. They were; the location of Sri Lanka close to India and Sri Lanka being an excellent centre for the administration of naval and trade activities in the maritime zone around India including the Bay of Bengal. The English strongly felt the necessity of a harbour to repair the ships damaged due to enemy attacks in the fights between the British and the French around the Bay of Bengal. The English had a special interest in the Trincomalee harbour. Some reasons that made the English to pay attention to the Trincomalee harbour are given below.

- ✤ The location of Sri Lanka facing the Bay of Bengal
- It was important for the British to protect the naval power in the eastern coast of India
- The ability to use Tricomalee harbour to protect ships from monsoon winds that come from Northeastern region



Map 2.1 – Location of Sri Lanka and the Trincomalee harbour

The English knew that if the Trincomalee harbour which was an excellent centre for the security of India and for regulating the naval activities in the Indian Ocean fell into the hands of the French it would be a great loss for them. Hence, the importance of the geographical location of Sri Lanka and the great importance of the Trincomalee harbour became the major reasons to draw the attention of the English to Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka was a famous country for spices like cinnamon even by that time. The English knew that Sri Lanka produced high quality cinnamon which had a good demand in the European market and the Dutch earned a great profit by selling cinnamon. Therefore, the English wanted to take the sole authority of selling cinnamon into their hands. Other than cinnamon; pepper, cardamom, cloves, pearls, gems and ivory were some other items that had a good market. The English wanted to establish the political power in this country because of the above mentioned reasons.

$\bullet ACTIVITY 1$

Discuss the factors that drew the attention of the English to Sri Lanka under the following headings.

- Location of Sri Lanka
- Ability to obtain spices such as cinnamon

Diplomatic Relationships between the English and the Kandyan Kingdom

In the same way that they sought the assistance of the Dutch to chase the Portuguese away from Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan kings thought of seeking the assistance of some other nation to drive away the Dutch too. Therefore, King Keerthi Sri Rajasinghe sent messengers to both the English who were in India and the French. That paved the way for the English messengers to reach the kingdom of Kandy. Three English messengers had visited the Kandyan kingdom several times before they captured the hill country.

- In 1762, John Pybus came to the hill country
- In 1782, Hugh Boyd came to the hill country
- ▶ In 1795, Robert Andrews came to the hill country

King Keerthi Sri Rajasinghe was the ruler of the upcountry when John Pybus came there. The other two messengers came during the reign of King Rajadhirajasinghe. The English intended to establish trade relationships with Sri Lanka through the visits of John Pybus and Hugh Boyd. The English and the Dutch stopped their fighting during these visits and used the Trincomalee harbour in mutual understanding when it was needed. As a result the English were reluctant to help the king against the Dutch. The kings of the hill country were not interested in creating bonds with a nation that was not ready to help them defeat the Dutch. Therefore, the first two diplomatic visits were not successful.

After the English navy captured the Trincomalee harbour which was in the hands of the Dutch, in 1795, Robert Andrews visited the hill country and met King Rajadhirajasinghe. The purpose of his visit was to discuss with the king how they could get the assistance of the kingdom of Kandy in the fights to conquer the areas governed by the Dutch. The king agreed to support the English forces. Yet, the English, after capturing the Dutch fortresses, understood that the battle against the Dutch was not as hard as they anticipated. Therefore, the English did not like to share with the Sinhala kings, the profits they would receive by capturing the Dutch held areas. As a result, the English did not wish to agree to the conditions of the king and establish long lasting relationships with the king of the hill country.

↓ ACTIVITY 2

Complete the following table with the information about the diplomatic visits by the English to the hill country.

Year	Name of the messenger	Purpose of the visit	Result
	·		

2.3. Establishment of British Power

Three distinguished stages can be seen in the colonization of Sri Lanka by the British.

- The English East India Trade Company capturing the coastal areas of the island in 1796.
- Turning the coastal areas governed under the East India Trade Company into a colony of the British crown.
- Capturing the hill country by the British in 1815.

Establishment of British Power in the Coastal Areas of Sri Lanka

The new political situation that emerged in Europe after the French revolution in 1789, affected the colonization in Asia by the Europeans. The army of the newly formed French government after the French revolution invaded Holland in 1794. King William V who was the Stadtholder of Holland escaped to Britain. Holland, the country of the Dutch fell into the hands of the French. As a result there was the danger of the Sri Lankan coastal areas governed by the Dutch, falling into the hands of the French. The English, who very well knew the value of Sri Lanka, used this opportunity to capture Sri Lanka. The English made the Stadtholder of Holland who was seeking refuge in Britain due to the French attack, send a letter to their advantage to the Dutch governor of Sri Lanka.

Because the Stadtholder sent the letter from the Kew palace of Britain, it is known as the **Kew letter**. The letter said that the English troops should be allowed into the Dutch held areas of Sri Lanka in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch governor of the island, Funn Englebeck received the letter in February 1795. Yet, he was reluctant to let the English troops into his fortresses. Because of that the English attacked the Dutch held Trincomalee in 1795. The Dutch surrendered to the English with no conditions.



Fig 2.1 – The Dutch stadtholder , William V



Fig 2.2 – The Kew Palace in England

After Trincomalee fell into the hands of the British many other fortresses such as; Batticaloa, Mullathivu, Point Pedro, Jaffna, Mannar soon surrendered to the English. Because both Colombo and Galle surrendered to the English, all areas that were under the Dutch fell into the hands of the English. A treaty was signed between the Dutch and the English, allowing the Dutch to leave the country peacefully, avoiding a further loss for them. This was signed on February 16th. With that the coastal areas which were in the hands of the Dutch fell into the hands of the English.

✤ Governance of the Coastal Areas under the East Indian Trade Company

When the Portuguese and the Dutch ruled the coastal belt of Sri Lanka, they had organized the administration well using native officers as much as possible. Yet, the English Trade Company did not understand this. Therefore the English hired

officers from the Madras government and governed the parts they captured under Madras rulers. This lasted from 1796 to 1798.

A Resident was appointed to Sri Lanka under the Madras administration to rule the coastal areas of Sri Lanka. A group of assistant supervisors was appointed under the Resident to collect income and they were named as collectors. Their service centre was named as Kachcheri. That was how the Kachcheri system was started in Sri Lanka. Another group of officers was appointed in assistance to the collectors who were called as Avumildars. More officers were there to help the Avumildars and all these groups were engaged in collecting income under the supervision of collectors.

The local officers like Mudliers were ignored in the English administration. People were brought from Madras for the above posts and those who came from Madras did not have any knowledge about the local languages, culture and traditions. The relationship between the general public and the administrative officers became distanced because such a group of officers was appointed for the civil administration, legal system and income collection.

The India Trade Company had spent a lot of money in capturing the coastal belt of Sri Lanka. Another significant feature of the British administration is their attempts to cover the above mentioned cost and to achieve fast profits. They imposed several new taxes in the coastal areas to meet the above target. People in the coastal areas were in trouble when they had to pay those taxes in cash. One such example is the newly introduced 'tax on coconut trees.' Thus, someone who owned more than 10 coconut trees had to pay a tax of one silver panam (six cents) for each coconut tree. People were irritated because the tax was charged without considering the nature of the harvest and they had to pay it in cash. This soon became an insurgency due to the repugnance of the general public towards the new administration. This rebellion that began in 1797 against the India Trade Company extended to all coastal areas quickly. This was suppressed after much effort by the British. This insurgency gave evidence to the fact that there was much resistance to the English administration at its very beginning. Therefore, a commission was appointed to look into the situation of the coastal areas and suggest changes. This commission was named as Meuron commission after the name of Brigadier General De Meuron who headed the commission.

Some proposals of the Meuron Commission;

• Replacing the madras tax collecting officers with local officers.

- Removal of new taxes including the tax on coconut trees.
- Appointing officers for legal affairs and income collection separately.
- Re-establishment of the Dutch court system.

A change occurred in the English administration of the coastal areas of this country since October, 1798. Thus, the British government appointed a governor for the administrative and political affairs. That is how the governor, Fredric North came to Sri Lanka. Still, it was the Trade Company that was in charge of collecting income to cover up the expenditure incurred by the English Trade Company, in capturing the coastal areas of Sri Lanka. The governor is responsible for the British crown and should follow the instructions of the board of directors of the Trade company.

This system of administration was known as 'dual administration.' This system continued from 1798 to 1802. The officers of the Trade Company in Sri Lanka did not give enough support to the governor, North. Due to such failures in the dual administration system, it was discontinued in 1802 and the coastal regions of Sri Lanka were declared a colony of the British crown. After that all parts that belonged to the British were directly governed by the British government.

\checkmark ACTIVITY 3

Build short questions and answers under the topic, "Conquering the Coastal Parts of Sri Lanka by the British."

Conquering the Hill Country by the British



Fig 2.3 – Kandy, a natural place of security
There were two Nayakkar princes who were heirs to the throne by the time King Rajadhirajasinghe died in 1798. One was Kannasami and the other was Muththusami. According to a plan of Pilimathalawe who was the 'Maha Adikaram' of the hill country kingdom, prince Kannasami was coronated as 'Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe.' Then, prince Muththusami escaped to the English for protection.



Fig 2.4 – King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe

The British, soon after establishing their power in the coastal regions of the country, eyed on the hill country kingdom also. The policy of the governor, Fredric North is very significant here. He tried to get the consent of the hill country king to a treaty which was more advantageous to the British. He sent envoys to the hill country headed by Commander MacDowell in 1800. He strengthened the convoy with 1164 soldiers and 8 cannons in order to display their military power and get the king's consent to a treaty which was more beneficial for them. Yet, King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe denied the permission of allowing such a massive army and cannons entering the upcountry. As a result the envoys had to enter the kingdom alone leaving the soldiers and cannons

outside the upcountry. Though MacDowell had discussions with the king and the other aristocrats, the king did not agree to the conditions of the British. So, this mission became a complete failure.

North was distressed because he could not get the sanction of the king. He considered the independent government of the upcountry as a threat to their power in the coastal regions. Because the British had to employ a massive army for the security of the coastal areas and the protection of the inland territories, they were forced to bear a huge cost. Another problem they faced was that the general public of the coastal areas still accepted the upcountry king as their king too and when there were insurgencies the upcountry king helped the rebels. The British further knew that if the upcountry king happened to request the support of the French who were the enemies of the British, that would be an added threat to their administration. On the other hand, the English wanted to have contact with Trincomalee which was their main naval centre from the administration centre of Colombo via land. They had to cross the territories of the upcountry in order to keep contact between Colombo and Trincomalee. The English wanted to build a road between these two cities. Owing to the above reasons, the British paid their attention to either conquering the upcountry or winning their good will.

Invasion of the Hill Country in 1803

When MacDowell's mission failed to give the expected results, the governor, North decided to invade the hill country. So, North sent two troops of soldiers to the hill country from Trincomalee and Colombo in January and February, 1803. In this invasion, which was headed by MacDowell, the British troops entered the hill country on 21st of February. King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe and the citizens vacated the city as a security measure and started organizing themselves. The British named prince Muttusami who had been brought to the upcountry with them as the king. But, the people of upcountry started to get together with king Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe and prepared for the war ignoring Muttusami.

The British had to face unexpected difficulties with the beginning of the rainy season because epidemics started spreading among the British troops. At the same time, as a result of the upcountry people blocking all supply means, the English suffered due to lack of food and difficulty of communication with Colombo. The English troops suffered heavy losses under the timely attacks of the upcountry people. Happening to let their puppet ruler, prince Muttusami to be captured by the upcountry people, provides evidence to the seriousness of the defeat the British experienced.

Before this attack, the governor North did not have a clear understanding about the hill country. Yet, when his invasion ended in defeat, he understood that the upcountry kingdom is strong and it cannot be overpowered by such attacks. Hence, the British moved into a highly tactful policy regarding the hill country after the invasion of 1803.

Invasion of the Hill Country in 1815

Thomas Maitland was appointed the governor of Sri Lanka at the end of the governor North's session of duty in 1805. Unlike North, he did not hasten to invade the hill country; instead moved into a strategic policy and started carefully laying the platform for a future invasion. He employed an efficient civil servant named John D'Oyly for this.

John D'Oyly

John D'Oyly was a graduate of the Cambridge University. He tried to understand the local culture after coming to Sri Lanka unlike the others who looked down upon it. He engaged himself in studies under the Buddhist monks like Rev. Korathota Dhammarama and Rev. Morathota Dhammakkandha. The folklore says that D'Oyly was capable of composing poems in contest to Gajaman Nona. D'Oyly who had an excellent knowledge about local customs was in the habit of chewing betel also. As a result he was capable of winning the hearts of not only the general public but also the aristocrats of the hill country. D'Oyly completed his duty successfully using his sharp intelligence and talents.



Fig 2.5 – John D'Oyly with the hill country aristocrats

John D'Oyly worked hard to cultivate secret connections with the upcountry aristocrats and tried to win them towards the English people. Further, he took steps to send spies in the disguise of sellers and palm readers and got them to gather all information about the internal affairs of the kingdom. As a result he was able to find out information about the internal security of the hill country, which all other Europeans were ignorant of. It was Robert Brownrigg that became the governor of Sri Lanka after Maitland who took the advantage of the conditions created by Maitland and D'Oyly and took further steps to capture the hill country.

It was not only the strategies of the British that paved the way to the falling of the hill country to the hands of the British. A number of other situations that accelerated the downfall of the hill country had been created during the reign of King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe. The king who was very young and inexperienced seemed to have taken decisions following the advice of his Nayakkar relations. The last two Maha Adhikarams of the hill country had had disagreements with the king. Pilimathalawwe Maha Adhikaram who worked to offer the throne to the king too was sentenced to death by the king as a result of the problems they had with each other. There were incongruities between Ehalepola Adhikaram who was the successor of Pilimathalawwe Maha Adhikaram and the king.

During the reign of King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, disparities among the aristocrats increased. As a result, the majority of the aristocrats worked against the king. They

were the group that acted as the leaders in organizing the general public to protect the king and the kingdom during the early invasions of the Europeans.

The relationship between the king and the monks had also been broken because several monks had been killed during that time. The bond between the king and the people had also been broken due to some decisions the king made during the last few years of his reign. The king prohibited staying in the city at night for the people who had come from regions like Sabaragamuwa, Sath Korala and Sathara Korala for the services like extending the Bogambara tank, building the 'Paththirippu' (the octagon) and renovations of the Kandy city. Therefore, they faced a number of difficulties.

Though the rebellion against the king that arose in Sabaragamuwa could have been, easily suppressed more than 100 individuals were killed in it. History says that the king ordered to brutally massacre the wife and the children of Ehalepola because he could not be arrested after the rebellion. These inhuman acts of the king had created a wide gap between the king and the people of the country by 1815.

Whenever the Europeans invaded the upcountry, the aristocrats and the general public sacrificed their lives to protect the king. The same human shield that guarded the upcountry kingdom turned against the king because of his own deeds. As a result the king was at danger in his own kingdom and this became an advantage to the British. The governor, Brownrigg took advantage of this situation and when he invaded the upcountry in January 1815, people did not come forward to protect the king. The governor had spread messages among the upcountry people saying that their real enemy was not the British people but the king himself and the invasion is really for the sake of the upcountry people.

King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe gave up the Kandy city and escaped to a secure place as the British invaded the upcountry. The upcountry people themselves surrounded the place where the king was hiding which was in '*Medamahanuwara*.' They captured the king and the queens and handed them over to the British on the 18th of February, 1815. The British were able to record a victory that any other European nation could not record in the hill country with this arrest of the king. But, the British did not think that they captured the whole upcountry just because they caught the king. They could arrest the king because they were supported by the aristocrats. Therefore, the British took steps to sign a treaty with the aristocrats and complete the process of capturing the whole of the upcountry.



Fig 2.6 – The monument established in Medamahanuwara, at the place where King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe was arrested

Upcountry Treaty – 1815

On the 2nd of March, 1815 a treaty was signed between the aristocrats representing the upcountry people and the governor, Brownrigg representing the British government at the royal courts (*Magul Maduwa*), about the yielding of upcountry kingdom. This is known as the upcountry treaty.



Fig 2.7 – The moment when Rev. Wariyapola Sri Sumangala thero hoisted the Sri Lankan national flag dragging down the English flag

There is a belief that Rev. Wariyapola Sri Sumangala thero dragged down the English flag and hoisted the Sri Lankan flag when some Englishman hoisted their flag before the treaty was signed after the statements of the treaty were read and explained on the 2nd of March in the royal courts. Some records say that the governor, Brownrigg and some aristocrats signed the treaty on the 10th of March.

The upcountry treaty is an important historical document that officially accepted the surrendering of the upcountry kingdom to the British. From the first three statements of the treaty King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe and his relations were stripped off of their rights to the upcountry kingdom. The fourth statement declared that the upcountry kingdom surrendered to the English government and further informed that they would govern the country in such a way that the rights and privileges of the traditional aristocrats of the upcountry are protected. The fifth statement promised the continuation of Buddhism and Devagam and the protection of monks, temples and devalas. The other statements explained how they expected to conduct the judiciary system of the upcountry.

With this treaty Sri Lanka completely lost its sovereignty which lasted unbroken for more than 2000 years and became a colony of a foreign country. The British started enjoying the power vested upon them by the treaty and appointed John D'oyly as a residential representative of the governor for regional affairs. His office was opened in Kandy and a group of officers was appointed to assist him. The English government offered positions for the aristocrats who agreed to serve under the British administration. Thus the people of the upcountry who used to enjoy an independent ruling system for more than three centuries had to live under an administration system run by a group of foreign rulers.

$\checkmark ACTIVITY \ 4$

Prepare a book of short questions for the following headings.

- The background of the British arrival to Asia
- The British paying attention to Sri Lanka
- The British establishing power in Sri Lanka

2.4. Protests against Foreign Domination

Although the people of the upcountry could escape the obstinate ruling of King Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe with the arrival of the British to the hill country in 1815, they did not have any partiality to the administration system that continued thereafter. They, in no time understood that they had lost the independence that they protected by fighting and sacrificing their lives against the European invaders like the Portuguese and the Dutch. Therefore, they rose against the English in 1818 and 1848 using their traditional ways of attack. The natives called them as attempts to win the lost independence back by chasing the foreigners away from the hill country whereas the British interpreted them as rebellions against the government. Therefore they became the first freedom struggles that arose against the British administration. Let's now discuss the struggle of 1818.

The Struggle for Freedom in 1818

The armed insurgencies against the English government that existed from September, 1817 to October 1818 in the hill country were called as the Struggle for Freedom in 1818. The aristocrats and the general public moved to such a struggle even before three years after the English administration started because of the dissatisfaction they had about the ruling system. This proves that there had been several reasons that encouraged the hill country people for the 1818 struggle.

Reasons for the 1818 Struggle

• The regret of the loss of a king and the freedom.

It is clear that the people of the upcountry had grievances over the loss of freedom they enjoyed under a ruling system of their own even during the times when the low country was governed by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Even though it was announced after the colonization that the king of Britain was the king of the upcountry also; the people of the hill country had never seen the so called king. They wanted a king who lived in their capital city, who could listen to their grievances and give solutions to them instead of a never seen king who lived in a country thousands of miles away. Because they could not see a king they tend to believe that the country was throneless. The following two poems believed to be composed by a monk who lived those days displaying the distress they had because they did not have a king.

Oh! Dear ants you have a king what can we do this is our destiny

when will we have a king to celebrate with milk rice respect with pageants chant with "sadu sadu"



Fig 2.8 – The throne of King Sri Wikrama Rajasinghe

• Emergence of Problems about Religion and Culture

The people of the hill country did not believe that a set of foreigners who are not Buddhists would give the same protection that would be given by a Buddhist king although the English had promised in the 5th statement of the upcountry treaty to protect Buddhism. This is evident in the statements such as, conducting pageants and chanting 'sadu, sadu'. Another example for this is the support of monks for the struggle.

The people of the hill country suspected that their traditions and culture would be destroyed in the hands of foreigners. Under a traditional ruling system a king's major duty was to protect the customs. There were a number of traditions regarding the palace, courts and administration matters. Uniforms were designed for each post under the old administration in a way that they were honoured and respected. But, the English soldiers who came to the Kandy city did not follow those traditions. As a result, a gap was created between the British and the people of the hill country religiously as well as culturally. This generated a desire for freedom in the hearts of the upcountry people.

• Attacks on the Upcountry Aristocrats

Although the British continued with the traditional upcountry posts according to the 1815 treaty, the social status and the power of the aristocrats were not stable. They had complained to D'oyly that the British soldiers did not respect them. The traditional earnings of the aristocrats too were challenged. One example for this is the loss of income the aristocrats suffered because the English cancelled the tax called "kadwath badda". The British could change the traditional posts of the aristocrats as well. There was a tradition to always appoint a Sinhalese to the post of 'Madihe Mohandiram' who was in charge of upcountry transport. But the British breaking this tradition, appointed a Muslim called 'Hajji Marikkar' to this post. This created a distress among the aristocrats of Uva Wellassa. They tend to lead the struggle because their privilege, status and earnings were attacked in many ways.

Nature of the Struggle

While there was a growing displeasure about the British administration among the upcountry people, a person called Doresami emerged from Wellassa who claimed to be an heir to the throne. The Badulla agent Douglas Wilson, came to know that he was gathering forces to regain the kingdom with the help of the local elite like 'Kohu Kumbure Rate Rala'. Hence, Douglas Wilson sent a platoon with Hajji Muhandiram to arrest Doresami. Yet, he was killed by the rebels. Then Douglas

Wilson too was killed by an archer when he set out to arrest Doresami. When the government noticed that the people of Wellassa were gathering around Doresami, they sent Kappetipola who was in charge of Uva to control the situation. Nevertheless, Keppetipola returned the English troops that came with him and joined the rebels. This resulted in the fights spreading to many parts of the upcountry. Among the aristocrats, only Molligoda and Eknaligoda Disawe did not join the fights.

Doresami was declared the upcountry king by the rebels under the guidance of Kappetipola. Kappetipola Disawe was appointed the Mahaadikaram of the new king. Another problem the British faced was the Tooth Relic which was believed to be the symbol of the kingship falling into the hands of rebels. Ehelepola too was suspected by the British because of the close kinship he had with the other aristocrats who were leading the struggle though he did not join the fights. Because of that he was arrested and brought to Colombo by the British.

The British were too vicious in suppressing the battle. The governor imposed martial law to the upcountry in February, 1818. The British troops that were there in the coastal regions were summoned to the upcountry. They followed a land sweeping policy to wipe out the rebels. Setting fire to villages, arresting as many men as possible and prosecuting under martial law were some strategies they used. The upcountry people could not persist with the battle in the face of the harsh retaliation of the British. So, the British were able to arrest several leaders of the battle. Some of those arrested were Maththamagoda, Kobbekaduwa, Dambawinna Disawe and Galagedara Mohottala, Basnayaka Nilame of Katharagama, Butawe Rate Rala and Ehelepola Adikaram.

The English spread news saying that the one who said to be the king in the battle



Fig 2.9 – Kappetipola Disawe

was not the real Doresami and he was not the real heir to the throne. There were disputes among the main leaders of the struggle such as Kappetipola, Madugalle

and Pilimathalawe. By August and September of 1818, the battle had died down a lot. The English were able to arrest Kappetipola and Madugalle in October. They were sentenced to death by the court martial. They were executed by the British on the 26th of November, 1818.

✤ Failure of the 1818 Battle and Its Effects

The rebellion spread fast within a few months after the beginning. When the British forces chased away the rebels from one area by destroying property, the battle started in another place. Yet, the upcountry people failed to launch a combined attack when the English started a heavy retaliation with extra forces. They had an advantage when it became possible for them to keep contact with Colombo via Sathara Korala because the in-charge of that area, Molligoda Nilame was partial to the British. Thus, there were several reasons for the loss of the battle. Some of them can be summarized as follows.

***** Reasons for the failure of the 1818 Battle:

- The heavy retaliation launched by the British
- Shortage experienced by the upcountry people, of weapons and other resources that are needed for a long battle
- Disorganized nature of the battle
- The exposure of the real identity of the person who claimed to be the heir to the throne.

As a result of the battle for freedom, leaders like Ehelepola, Kappitipola, Madugalle had to sacrifice their lives for the independence of the country. Property of some more aristocrats were confiscated. Some leaders who supported the battle were banished from the country. Those who went against the government were punished thus whereas the other aristocrats like Molligoda, Eknaligoda who were partial to the English were rewarded.

The British were able to strengthen their grip of the upcountry region because the 1818 battle was lost. The governor, Brownrigg issued a special announcement strengthening his power in the upcountry on the 21st of November, 1818. This long document which consisted of 56 statements curtailed the power of the aristocrats. Steps were taken to establish the English legal system in the upcountry reducing the legal power enjoyed by the aristocrats. It seems that the 1818 November document made the British power in the upcountry complete.

Struggle for Independence in 1848

In about 30 years following the failure of the 1818 struggle, there was another battle against the British government. This struggle which tried for the second time to reestablish the imperial system the upcountry people used to have, can be named as the second armed battle for the independence. There were several reasons that led to the emergence of such a battle which began in 1848.

Causes of the Battle

There were two major factors that led to the 1848 struggle as the effects of the Colebrooke reforms and the new tax policy of the government.

Effects of the Colebrooke Reforms

• Land Policy of the Government

The government launched a policy of selling lands under the Colebrooke reforms which were started in 1833. The government land policy was problematic for the general public of the area because the land in the upcountry was rich and the environment was conducive for coffee cultivation. According to the Barron Land Act imposed in 1840, uncultivated lands that could not be proven of their continual ownership for 30 years were confiscated. There were no legal documents to prove the ownership of lands of the upcountry people that came to them from their descent.

As a result, many of their Chena lands were taken back to the government. The government sold these lands for very cheaper prices to the foreigners. Because the people lost their lands and the cultivation was disturbed thus, they were distressed about the government.

Discontinuation of "Gam Sabha"

The existence of 'Gam Sabha' was challenged because the compulsory service system and the duty labour system were banned by the Colebrooke Commission. The building and maintenance of lakes, bunds, canals and dams of each area were done by the *Gam Sabha* (village council). The major method the Gam Sabha got labour was the system called "duty labour". Yet, when this method was cancelled, the Gam Sabha found it difficult to get necessary labour forces. The *Gam Sabha* did a good service by solving the minor problems in the area. But, they lost their judiciary power due to the reforms in 1833. The villagers had to suffer due to such reasons.

New Judiciary System

Villagers had to go to courts even for a small matter according to Cameron's legal reforms. Earlier, they could get such matters resolved in their villages. They were not aware either of the English language or the rules and regulations that were in function in the new courts. Some other problems the villagers had to face were that they had to pay all lawyers' charges, stamp fees in cash and had to spend days in the court when they went for legal matters. As a result, their agricultural work including the protection of their cultivations was neglected.

• Distancing Relationship between the People and the Government

The decisions to reduce the number of civil service posts and allowing the civil servants to engage themselves in estate cultivation following the Colebrooke recommendations, made the local administration inefficient. As a result, the area of the administration officer expanded and they found it difficult to supervise such a big area. Because some officers were more attentive on cultivation, they did not have enough time to attend to the needs of the people. As a result, the problems of the general public were not properly informed to the government and it affected to widen the relationship between the people and the government.

▶ The New Tax Policy of the Government

The closest reason for the struggle was the decision of the governor, Sir Torrington to impose new taxes in 1848. Because the government income had gone down, the governor made a tax reform with the purpose of earning a considerable sum from the people. A stamp fee, cart and catamaran tax, tax on shops, tax on guns, body tax, and tax on dogs were those new taxes. People opposed all those taxes; especially the protest against the taxes on guns, body and dogs was significant.

The villagers used guns to protect their cultivations. They had to pay two shillings and a half every year for the tax on guns. The villagers had to go to government offices for this and to fill in the forms in English language. They had to pay extra charges in addition to the time spent. Charges they had to pay for the guns sometimes exceeded the real value of the guns. There was a resistance for the tax on guns because of the above reasons.

Every grown up male had to work in building roads for six days every year and if they failed to do so they had to pay three shillings as a tax on their body. There was opposition for this tax also. People had to pay taxes for dogs in 1848. This was an unwise decision and there was an elevated resistance against this tax also. The government conducted a survey for the collection of statistics called the 'Blue Book' at the same time when new taxes were imposed. The people suspected this move too as a way of imposing more taxes.

Nature of the 1848 Struggle

Fights began between the government and the people when people gathered to oppose the tax policy of the government. People gathered in major cities such as Colombo, Galle, Kandy and Badulla and they protested against the English civil servants in these rallies. Some farmers that gathered in Badulla smashed their guns on the ground in front of the government agents to show their displeasure. Around 4000 people gathered in front of the Kandy Kachcheri and protested against these taxes. Armed forces had to be summoned because the police could not control those crowds. The protests that began in Colombo and Kandy spread to areas like Matale, Dambulla, Wariyapola and Kurunegala.

People in areas like Matale, Wariyapola and Kurunegala organized themselves with arms and attacked the government buildings like courts. As the people were under high pressure due to the tax policy of the government, leaders like Gongalegoda Banda, Puran Appu, Dingirala and Diyes emerged from people and led the battle. A group of rebels gathered in the Dambulla temple and coronated Gongalegoda Banda as the king with the help of the chief incumbent.

Matale was the centre of the battle in 1848. In addition to this, fights spread to some parts of the Kandy and Kurunegala districts. But, the English using their experience of the 1818 battle overpowered the insurgency soon. The struggle soon broke down due to the suppression launched by the governor, Torrington employing the armed forces. As a result, the British were able to arrest many of the leaders within two months of the battle. Gongalegoda Banda, who was arrested so, was trialed, whipped and exiled from the country. Puran Appu was sentenced to death and he faced death bravely. Some other fighters were imprisoned. At the same time, there was a strong indignation against the government because the arrested Rev. Kadahapola Thero was shot and killed after a very short trial without taking proper legal actions.

✤ Failure of the Battle

The major reason for the failure of the struggle was its disorganized nature similar to the 1818 battle. The majority of the rebels were from the general public who did not have any armed training or proper weapons. The British had good knowledge about

the roads in the hill country by that time and the rebels could not fight against the military power, strategies and the weapons of the British. The British could retaliate the battle easily because it was limited to several areas of the upcountry.

The English government appointed a special committee to probe into the situation of this country because the governor, Torrington's conduct in 1848 battle was highly criticized. As a result he was summoned back to England. Taxes that generated public displeasure were given up. Accordingly, the trade shop tax and dog tax were abolished. The rest of the taxes were revised and reformed. More attention was paid on Buddhism because there was displeasure among the people about the way the British treated it. A special attention was paid to solving the problems of farmers though no proper steps were taken for that before 1850.

$\checkmark ACTIVITY 5$

Complete the following table using information about the rebellions of 1818 and 1848.

Year	Reasons for the battle	Leaders of the battle	Results of the battle
		<u>.</u>	

CHAPTER

National Renaissance in Sri Lanka

Introduction

The era in which Sri Lanka tried to win independence after the fights in 1848, is divided into two periods as national and religious renaissance and then the time of political agitation.

From 1850 to 1915 the campaign on national and religious renaissance was prominent whereas from 1915 to 1948 people gave more prominence to political agitations.

There were impediments to the existence of the culture and traditional religions after the British conquered the hill country in 1815. As a result Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims of the country were religiously and nationally aroused towards the end of the 19th century. That situation is explained as national renaissance in this lesson.

3.1 Background of the National Renaissance

The Europeans tried to spread their religion and culture in the areas they conquered in Asia in order that they have a loyal group of people in those countries. When the Portuguese and the Dutch governed the coastal regions of the country, they had to restrict their religious and cultural activities to the areas they governed, because there was an independent kingdom in the upcountry. Doors opened for the western culture to spread under the British reign throughout the country, with the submission of the upcountry.

✤ Activities of Missionary Organizations

Several foreign organizations that came to Sri Lanka during the British reign started spreading Catholicism in the country. They are called as missionary organizations. Given below are some such missionary organizations that came to this country from 1804 to 1818.

Missionary Organization	Year they came to Sri Lanka	
London Missionary Organization	1804	
Baptist Missionary Organization	1812	
Wesleyan Missionary Organization	1814 - 1815	
American Missionary Organization	1816	
Church Missionary Organization	1818	

These missionary group members engaged themselves in activities of spreading religion in different areas of the country. Baptists functioned from Colombo. Wesleyans worked in the North and the East. The American missionary organization worked in the North including Jaffna. Church missionaries functioned in Colombo, Galle, Kalpitiya, Mannar and Kandy. They used the three methods; writing, preaching and education in spreading their religions.

Using the Written Medium

The missionary organizations that came to Sri Lanka possessed funds and organizational ability to establish publishers for printing of books and magazines. The missionary priests studied the native languages such as Sinhalese and Tamil to overcome a major problem they had, i. e. inability to use native languages. Later, they started to translate the Bible into Sinhalese and print and distribute books, newspapers and magazines. Some such publications were;

Year of printing	Name of the Publication	Organization
1832	Masika Thegga	Church Missionary
	(Monthly Gift)	Organization
1840	Lanka Nidhanaya	Religious Book Club
	(Treasure of Lanka)	
1842	Uragala	Baptist Organization

Preaching and Education

The missionary priests did preaching in temples and public places for the perpetuation of their religions. At the same time they dedicated to starting and conducting schools. In schools maintained by the missionaries a prominent place was given to spread the religion. The government assistance was given to missionary education. English knowledge was necessary to get a government post during the English reign. Therefore, the Sinhalese and Tamil children had to attend the missionary schools to get English knowledge.

3.2 Buddhist Renaissance

There was a necessity of replying to what the missionaries said about traditional religions. They criticized some Buddhist and Hindu traditions in their preaching and publications saying that worshipping statues was futile. Another need arose of lifting up the education of native languages because there was no government assistance for the education of native languages such as Sinhalese and Tamil. The Buddhist monks became the pioneers to find solutions to these problems. A landmark in Buddhist education field was the establishment of the Parama Dhamma Chethiya Pirivena in Rathmalana by Rev. Walane Siddhartha thero. This pirivena produced a group of both lay and ordained pundits who studied languages like Sinhalese, Pali and Sanscrit and those who valued the indigenous culture. Rev. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala thero who was among them started the Vidyodaya Pirivena at Maligakanda in 1873. Rev. Ratmalane Dhammaloka thero establishment of pirivena system, more educated people were created and it became a blessing for the Buddhist renaissance.

* Establishment of Publishers

Rev. Bulathgama Dhammalankara Siri Sumanathissa thero took steps to open a press which many Buddhists longed to have for a long time. The thero worked to get financial assistance from the King of Thailand (Siam) because the funds collected from Sri Lankan philanthropists were not enough for the purpose. Another significant landmark in Buddhist renaissance is the establishment of 'Lankopakara Printers' using the money collected thus in 1862 at Galle. After that, several presses were established in several places of the country by the Buddhists. Some such Buddhist publishers were;

- Lankabinawa Vishratha printers
- Kawatakathika printers
- Sudarshana printers
- Sarasavi Sandaresa Printers 43 -

Buddhists were able to publish a lot of magazines and newspapers since a number of publishers were there after 1862.

Some such Buddhist publications were;

- Lakmini Pahana
- Lankalokaya
- Sarasavi Sandaresa
- Sinhala Jathiya
- Sinhala Bauddhaya

Engagement in Public Debates

Public debates give evidence to how the Buddhists used the mode of preaching in reply to the preaching of missionaries for the perpetuation of their religion.

Buddhist monks were the forerunners in conducting such debates with missionary priests. Rev. Migettuwaththe Gunananda thero was a prominent character among them. He who resided in Kotahena Deepaduththaramaya rendered a yeoman service for the Buddhist renaissance. Educated monks like Rev. Hikkaduve Sumangala thero, Rev. Waskaduwe Subuthi thero, Rev. Pothuwila Indrajothi thero and Rev. Rathmalane Dhammaloka thero extended their support to Rev. Migettuwaththe Gunananda thero in the debates held with Christians. Five such debates are termed as 'Five Great Debates' (*Pancha Maha Wadha*).



Fig 3.1 – Rev. Hikkaduwe Sumangala thero

The Five Great Debates

Baddegama wadaya	1865
Waragoda wadaya	1865
Udanwita wadaya	1866
Gampola wadaya	1871
Panadura wadaya	1873



Fig 3.2 – Rev. Migettuwaththe Gunananda thero

Among these debates *Panadura Wadaya* received international fame. Henry Steel Olcott who was impressed by reading a book about the arguments between Rev. Migettuwaththe Gunananda thero and the Christians that took place in Panadura wadaya came to Sri Lanka.

Establishment of Buddhist Schools

Although the Buddhists had developed a lot in preaching and written medium, they could not establish a Buddhist school system to compete with the missionary education system. Buddhists did not have sufficient funds and organizational ability to establish and run schools. After Sir Olcott came to Sri Lanka Buddhists also found this opportunity. Sir Henry Steel Olcott came to Sri Lanka, became a Buddhist and pioneered to start Buddhist schools although he was a foreigner.

Sir Henry Steel Olcott

Sir Olcott gave guidance in starting the 'Colombo Parama Vignanartha Movement' in June 1880. It was an organization in which both lay and ordained could work together. Then, it branched out to some major cities like Galle, Kandy and Ratnapura. One of the major achievements of the movement was the establishment of Buddhist schools for Buddhist students. A fund was set under the guidance of Sir Olcott for the above purpose. An enthusiasm was generated among the Buddhists to start new schools because Sir Olcott went from village to village with monks to collect funds. Names of some individuals who were active in the process of establishing schools;

- Sir Henry Steel Olcott
- Rev. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala thero
- Rev. Rathmalane Sri Dhammaloka thero
- Rev. Waskaduwe Sri Subuthi thero
- Rev. Migettuwaththe Gunananda thero
- Mr. Don Karolis Hewawitharana
- Mr. Amaris De Silva Batuwanthudawe
- Mr. Don Spater Senanayake
- Anagarika Dharmapala
- Mr. Jeremiyes Diyes



Fig 3.3 – Sir Henry Steel Olcott

All the above mentioned philanthropists gave financial assistance in opening Buddhist schools. Because of this dedication they were able to start Buddhist schools in several cities of Sri Lanka. Some of those schools are;

- Ananda Vidyalaya Colombo
- Dharmaraja Vidyalaya Kandy
- Mahinda Vidyalaya Galle
- Vijaya Vidyalaya Matale
- Jinaraja Vidyalaya Gampola
- Anurudhdha Vidyalaya Nawalapitiya

There was a development in printing sector because of the Buddhist renaissance and this led people to develop their intelligence by reading various books, magazines and newspapers. Because of this motivation for education, their literacy was improved. Missionary organizations worked to develop the English education. Other important incidents that took place during the Buddhist renaissance were the getting the

government to declare the Vesak full moon poya day as a holiday and the introduction of the Buddhist flag which is in use even today.

Because of the establishment of Buddhist schools and pirivens, a religious younger generation that understood the value of the culture emerged. Among those youths, there were true sons of the motherland and a group of national writers who highlighted the greatness of the indigenous culture. The leaders like Anagarika Dharmapala, Walisinghe Harischandra, Piyadasa Sirisena and John De Silva among those youths used different types of media to arouse patriotism and nationalism



Fig 3.4 – Walisinghe Harishchandra

among the natives. As a result, by the on set of the 20th century, a movement to kindle patriotism among the natives, a movement to protect Buddhist religious places and a non-alcoholic movement had been started through the Buddhist renaissance.

Movement to upgrade Patriotism and Nationalism

The prime intention of this movement was to create countrymen who love their country by encouraging them to value the indigenous culture because during the British reign people started imitating the western culture due to the influence of the fast spreading western culture in the country.

Anagarika Dharmapala presented a new vision elucidating the importance of past civilization and the value of harmonious living as Buddhists. He worked for this target by preaching in public and writing to the publications like '*Sinhala Bauddhaya*' and the magazine '*Mahabodhi*.'



Mr. Piyadasa Sirisena criticized the tendency of Sri Lankans to embrace the western culture unscrupulously, through his novels and the newspapers like "*Sinhala Jathiya*." Other than them, a number of Buddhist monks and lay scholars started briefing the citizens on appreciating the indigenous culture.

Fig 3.5 – Anagarika Dharmapala

* Protection of Buddhist Religious Places

People were enthusiastic to restore and protect the Buddhist monuments situated in the ancient cities like Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa which were in decay covered by forests after the downfall of those kingdoms. The knowledge of general public about ancient culture and the national heritage expanded when the European scholars like George Turner, Riis David, H.C.P. Bell and Henri Parker uncovered elements of ancient culture through research, excavations and exploration of historical sources and when the local scholars wrote books in parallel to those of the above mentioned European scholars. In the same atmosphere, Walisingha Harischandra dedicated for a movement to protect the religious places in Anuradhapura. Anagarika Dharmapala fought hard to protect the religious places like Buddhagaya in India. At the same time, the renovations of Ruwanweli Seya also commenced around 1870.

↓ ACTIVITY 1

Prepare an article about the beginning of the Buddhist renaissance movement in Sri Lanka, including details about the following points.

- Establishment of presses
- Conducting debates
- Establishment of Buddhist schools
- Movements to upgrade patriotism and nationalism
- Protection of Buddhist religious places

✤ Temperance Movement

The spreading of alcoholism in the island under the British administration became a social problem. Therefore, the leaders of the Buddhist renaissance movement enlightened the people against alcohol consumption. Buddhist monks played a major role in this regard and the leaders like Anagarika Dharmapala, Piyadasa Sirisena, and John De Silva briefed people using different media. Anagarika Dharmapala engaged himself in this process through public preaching and newspapers. Piyadasa Sirisena used the dialogues between the characters of his novels to teach the people about the bad effects of alcohol. John De Silva explained the harmful nature of alcohol through his drama. In the 'Sura Act' of his drama, '*Sinhala Parabhawa*' dangers of alcohol consumption was clearly depicted.

3.3 Hindu Religious Renaissance

There was a religious and a cultural renaissance among the Hindus of this country due to the challenge created to Hinduism as a result of the perpetuation of missionaries. This Hindu renaissance movement was led by Arumuga Navalar. He had good understanding about missionary activities because he had got his primary education in a missionary school and had served under a priest of the Methodist assembly. Therefore, he worked to establish schools for Hindus and establish presses, brief Hindus by printed leaflets, books and public preaching.

✤ Arumuga Navalar



A press was started in Wannaponei, Jaffna under the guidance of Navalar and the people were briefed in written medium. He began a newspaper called 'Udayabhanu'. Another excellent service rendered by him is the composition of a textbook in three volumes for the Tamil students. At the same time he translated and published several prose and poetry books. Periya Puranam and Skandha Puranam were two of them.

Fig 3.6 – Arumuga Navalar

Arumuga Navalar pioneered to start the Wannaponai Shaiwa Prakasha College in 1849, for the Tamil students in order to give them education which is appropriate to the Hindu culture. Establishing of Hindu schools was continued by the later founded assembly of Shaiwa Administration and the assembly for Hindu Education. The Shiwangala school was started in 1872 in Jaffna for the purpose of giving English education to Tamil students later became the Hindu Vidyalaya in Jaffna.



Fig 3.7 – Ponnabalam Ramanadan



Fig 3.8 – Ponnambalam Arunachalam

After the death of Arumaga Navalar, Sir Ponnabalam Ramanadan and Ponnambalam Arunachalam worked in dedication to continue the Hindu Renaissance movement. These two leaders were respected not only by the Tamils but also by the Sinhalese. Mr. Ponnambalam Ramanadan voiced for the Buddhists when the government imposed martial law to repress them in 1915. Mr. Ponnambalam Arunachalam pioneered to found "Sri Lanka National Congress" with the Sinhalese leaders to gain political power for Sinhalese in 1919.

3.4 Islamic Renaissance

In parallel to the Buddhist and Hindu renaissance there was an Islamic renaissance among the Muslims too. In the same way Arumuga Navalar led the Hindu renaissance, M.C. Siddhi Lebbe took leadership in generating enthusiasm in the minds of Muslims to protect the Islamic religion and culture. He who was an Islamic devotee that came to Sri Lanka from Egypt in 1883, dedicated to make the Arabic Islamic renaissance a success.

Mr. Siddhi Lebbe



Fig 3.9 – Mr. Siddhi Lebbe

Mr Siddhi Lebbe's prime goal was to create an interest among Muslims for education and encourage them to study English and Arabic languages. A newspaper called 'Muslim Nevisian" was started in 1882 under his guidance. Then, the Colombo Zahira College was established for Muslim children under Mr. Siddhi Lebbe's guidance. Then he started an organization called "Muslim Academic Club" for the continuation of the education of Muslim people. Islamic schools called "Madrasa" were restructured to meet the new needs of

education.

After Mr. Siddhi Lebbe, Mr. T.B. Jayah dedicated to continue the interest of Muslims for education. As the principal of Colombo Sahira College, he developed the school a lot. He rendered a yeomen service as a politician and by pioneering to start schools for Muslims around the country too.



Fig 3.10 – Mr. T. B. Jayah

$\checkmark ACTIVITY 2$

- Prepare a portfolio about the leaders of Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic renaissance movement.

CHAPTER

Political Changes in Sri Lanka under the British

Introduction

The British governed the entire island for 133 years from 1815 when the upcountry surrendered to the British until Sri Lanka was granted independence in 1948. The British introduced several constitutional reforms to the country from time to time. Sri Lankans, who were not contented with those reforms, engaged themselves in continuous protests demanding more power to be enjoyed in administration. As a result of these protests, they were able to win the administrative power back in 1948 for themselves. The details of the constitutional reforms introduced to the island by the British and the protests of the Sri Lankans are discussed in this lesson.

4.1 Colebrooke Reforms of 1833

When the British governors ruled the country after 1815, the expenditure exceeded the income of the government. As a result, the governors of Sri Lanka had to request for money from the British government to cover the expenditure of the country. Spending money for the functioning of colonies was not the policy of Britain. Therefore, the secretary to the colonies appointed W.H.G. Colebrooke (William Mac Bean George Colebrooke) to probe into the situation of Sri Lanka and make recommendations. In1829, he came to Sri Lanka and his duty was to investigate into the political and economic situation of the country. Charles Hae Cameron was appointed by the secretary to the colonies to probe into the existing situation in the legal system and courts and give recommendations. He came to Sri Lanka in 1830 following this appointment. A constitutional reform was introduced to the country based on the suggestions of the Colebrooke Commission in 1833. It is named as the Colebrooke reforms. According to the recommendations of Cameron, the judicial system was also reformed.

Distinguished Features of those Reforms

Several reforms that widely changed the political and economic systems of the country were introduced under the Colebrooke reforms. Some of the distinguished features among them were;

- Establishment of the executive and legislative councils.
- Introduction of a ruling system which combined both upcountry and low country.
- Dividing the island into five provinces.
- Repealing compulsory service system.
- Discontinuation of the trade monopoly of the government.

A special feature of the Colebrooke Commission is the establishment of a legislative council and an executive council. The governor was exercising an immense power when the Colebrooke Commission came to Sri Lanka. The commission which considered the above mentioned fact as an obstacle to the freedom of the general public proposed to reduce the power of the governor by establishing these councils.

There were 15 members in the legislative council appointed in 1833. Nine of them were official members or those who were appointed in their position. The other 06 were unofficial members. Three of them were selected to represent Europeans and one member each for the other three ethnicities; Sinhala, Tamil and Burger. The governor exercised the power of appointing these 06 members.





Map 4.1 How Sri Lanka was divided into 5 provinces according to the Colebrooke Reforms

Appointing unofficial members to the legislative council according to their ethnicity is called the nationalist representative system. This nationalist representative system produced harmful results to the country in the future.

The unofficial members who represented the general public could not exercise their power because the majority of the council was official members. The governor could appoint members who were loyal to him because it was he who exercised the power of appointing the unofficial members. As a result, the legislative council was loyal to the governor.

Colebrooke had recommended appointing a group including the secretary of the colony, treasurer, accountant, head surveyor, cashier of the Colombo customs department to the executive council which was appointed in 1833. The purpose of appointing this council was to limit the excessive power exercised by the governor in financial matters. Hence the governor was ordered to discuss all matters regarding income and expenditure with the executive council. Though the governor was not bound to follow the advice of the executive council, he was required to seek the approval of the secretary to the colonies in such a situation.

Struggles of Europeans

It was a group of European businessmen that first launched a struggle to get certain areas of the Colebrooke reforms amended. There were three unofficial members in the legislative council to represent the Europeans who were living in the country. Those Europeans who were engaged in estate cultivation in the country wanted to get roads, railways and other infrastructure that was necessary for estate cultivation developed. Yet, it was difficult to get financial allocations for the above mentioned sections because at the beginning, administrative power was not vested upon the legislative council. At the same time, they were not happy of the fact that the number of unofficial members in the legislative council was the minority. They further opposed to the fact that they were appointed by the governor without using franchise for that. They started a limited struggle demanding the above changes. Their methods of struggle were; asking questions in the legislative council, making proposals, publishing articles in newspapers, establishing organizations for struggle etc. One such organization was Lanka Congress established in 1865 and headed by George Wall. The number of unofficial members in the legislative council was increased to 08 because of these protests. The two new members were selected for the upcountry Sinhalese and Muslims. Though the objective of Europeans' struggle was not to give administration power to Sri Lankans, those Sri Lankans took these struggles as examples.

4.2 The 1910 Reforms and their Background

Demands of the Sri Lankan Middle Class

During the 19th century a significant change occurred in the economy and the society due to the Colebrooke reforms. As a result of this, the old elite class faded out paving the way to a new Sri Lankan middle class to appear by the beginning of the 20th century. In parallel to the changes that took place in the economy and the society during the 70 years after 1833, no change occurred in the political system. As the Sri Lankan middle class was unhappy about this, they began to demand for a constitutional reform during the period between 1908 - 1909.

Mr.James Pieris presented a formal petition for the first time to the secretary of the colonies requesting a constitutional reform in December 1908. After that, several other organizations had followed Mr. James Pieris. Low Country Production Club, Chilaw Club, Jaffna Club are some of them.

Several of the major demands made by the Sri Lankans are given below.

- Increasing the number of unofficial members in the legislative council
- Discontinuation of the nationalist representative system
- Electing members from provinces according to the provincial representative system
- Increasing the power of the legislative committee



Fig. 4.1 Mr. James Pieris

The governor of Sri Lanka that time, Henry McCallum opposed to these proposals. He argued that those who had presented petitions did not represent the general public. But, the colonial office could not ignore the logical arguments put forward for constitutional reforms. Even the colonial officers agreed to the fact that a constitutional reform is necessary because 75 years had passed after the Colebrooke reforms were implemented. Thus, in November 1910, the secretary of the colonies exclaimed that a constitutional reform would be made. The new constitution designed by the secretary of the colonies, Lord Crew according to the recommendations of then governor; Henry McCallum is called the "Crew – McCallum Constitution".

Crew – McCallum Constitution 1910

This constitution which came into effect from 1912 had increased the number of legislative council members to 21. Out of them, 11 were official members and 10 were unofficial members. Out of the 10 unofficial members, 06 were nominated according to the nationalist representative system. The other 04 were appointed selecting 02 for Europeans, 01 for Burgers and 01 for educated Sri Lankans on the basis of limited franchise.



Distinguished characteristics of the Crew -McCallum reforms

- Opportunity of appointing members to the legislative council using franchise for the first time
- A member to represent the educated Sri Lankans
- Still the majority of the council was the official members

A distinguished feature of this reform is the ability to exercise franchise in appointing members to the legislative council. Yet, the franchise was limited because there were special requirements to be fulfilled to become a voter. Mr. Ponnambalam Ramanadan was elected as the educated Sri Lankan in 1912.

Temperance Movement 1912 - 1915

Sri Lankans' demands were not fully met in the 1910 reforms. The middle class was not happy about those reforms. A temperance movement was started in protest to

the decision of the government to impose a new excise ordinance in 1912 giving permission to open new toddy bars.

How a temperance movement emerged through the religious renaissance in protest to the increasing alcohol consumption during the British reign was explained in Unit Three. The purpose of this temperance movement was to make people aware of the harmful effects of alcohol consumption and help them give up the bad habit. But, protests were staged against the new excise policy of the government in 1912. The pioneers of this protest were the middle class people who could not win their demands from 1910 reforms. As a result, these protests in 1912 had a political inclination. Some distinguished features of these protests were;

- attempting to create a public opinion against the excise policy of the government
- unison of the middle class English educated and the activists of the religious renaissance
- building up of a network of non-alcoholic associations around the country based on the central non-alcoholic council in Colombo
- criticizing the government activities in the non-alcoholic protests

Because of the protests in 1912, some taverns were closed and it became difficult to find places to open new ones. The government was seeking an opportunity to abate the temperance movement because the activities of the movement were successful with people gathering around the associations and the government activities were condemned in their protests. When the situation was thus, there arose riots between the Sinhalese and the Muslims in Kandy in 1915. It is known as the Sinhalese- Muslim riots. The government ignored the riots till the situation became extremely tensed and then took undue advantage of it and tried to suppress the temperance movement. There, the government arrested a majority of the non-alcoholic leaders and banned some Sinhala newspapers. On the face of this suppression, the activities of the temperance movement were badly affected. Nevertheless, some leaders who entered politics through non-alcoholic activities; like F. R. Senanayake, D. S. Senanayake and Sir D. B. Jayathilaka later became national leaders.

✤ Influence of the Indian Nationalist Movement

The British power had spread into both Sri Lanka and India by the 19th century. There emerged a powerful nationalist movement in India which was a British colony by the beginning of the 20th century. They staged a strong protest in 1885. Because of these protests, in 1885 British rulers had to make strong constitutional changes in India than what they did in Sri Lanka. The leaders like Surendranath

Banerjee, Bal Gangadhar, Thilak, Mahathma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru obtained the participation of the general public in protests against the British and launched strong struggles to win the independence which they called, 'Swarajya.' The leaders like Mahathma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru came to Sri Lanka and addressed the citizens of the country. Mahathma Gandhi came to Sri lanka in 1927 and spent several days in the country.



Fig. 4.2 Mahathma Gandhi

The impact of the India's independence struggle was felt in Sri Lanka also. The leaders of this country understood that presenting petitions and conducting discussions with the secretary of the colonies were not going to be sufficient in winning important political reforms. Hence, the leaders of this country started to conduct protests in a more organized manner after 1915.

Ceylon National Congress



Fig. 4.3 D.B. Jayathilaka

Sri Lankans felt the necessity of getting more power in administrative matters when the government imposed martial law and suppressed the people in 1915 during Sinhala-Muslim riots. Yet, there was no any common organization to organize political protests even by 1919. Though there were several small organizations they did not have a strong voice. Therefore, all these small organizations, came together in December 1919 and Ceylon National Congress was formed. Mr. Ponnabalam Arunachalam who was a distinguished leader in the political protests after 1915 was appointed the first president in the congress. The prime objective

of establishing the Ceylon National Congress by this time was to organize a strong struggle in demand of political power, combining all those small organizations interested in politics. The unison of different ethnic groups such as Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims for a common target under the Ceylon National Congress was an important incident in the history of Sri Lanka.

Manning Constitutional Reforms -1920

Sri Lankans were able to win these reforms in 1920 through their continuous struggles because they were not satisfied with the Crew-McCallum constitution. The number of the members of the Legislative Council was increased to 37 by this reform. Among them 14 were official members and 23 were unofficial members. Seven of the unofficial members were nominated by the governor. The other 16 were selected through limited franchise under the provincial representative system. Though the number of the unofficial members was the majority, in critical situations the 7 members nominated by the governor tend to join the 14 official members. This created a majority to the side which is partial to the governor.

Reforms



Some important characteristics of 1920 constitution:

- Unofficial members became the majority for the first time
- Introduction of the provincial representative system
- Continuation of the ethnic representation

Even in these reforms the power of the governor was not reduced. The demand of the Ceylon National Congress had been neglected. So, the Sri Lankan leaders continued to protest. The Ceylon National Congress had an idea to refuse these reforms at the beginning. As a result, the governor, William Manning promised to introduce another reform within a short time. There was another constitutional reform in 1924 following this. It was named as 'Manning – Devonshire Reforms.'

\checkmark ACTIVITY

Explain the reasons for the formation of the Ceylon Lanka National Congress.

Constitutional Reforms in 1924

The number of the legislative council members was increased up to 49 by this reform. There were 12 official members and 37 unofficial members. Out of these 37, 8 were nominated by the governor and 29 were elected. The most important feature of this reform was that the number of elected members was the majority even though the 12 unofficial members and the nominated 8 made 29 in unison. The functioning of the government was still the responsibility of the governor. Nevertheless, the power of decision making was in the hands of the members elected by the people because the governor did not enjoy a majority which was loyal to him. Hence, there were disturbances to the smooth functioning of the government because it became a constitution that divided the power and the responsibility into two. Hue Clifford, the governor who was appointed after William Manning informed this situation to the colonial office and the Donoughmore Commission was appointed to examine the situation and make recommendations.

4.3 Donoughmore Constitution – 1931

The Donoughmore Commission which was headed by Lord Donoughmore came to Sri Lanka in 1927 and got the views of the Sri Lankans. The constitution proposed based on this came into effect from 1931. It is known as the Donoughmore Constitution. It is important as Donoughmore reforms entrusted a considerable amount of political responsibility to Sri Lankans among various constitutional reforms that existed so far. It can be considered as an important juncture in the journey towards winning the independence.

Some special characteristics of the Donoughmore Constitution:

A legislative council of 61 members was appointed in this constitution. It was named as 'State Council.' The members were selected as follows to the council.



A speaker elected by the members of the council was the chair of the council.

Universal Franchise

There was limited franchise to elect the members to the Legislative Council since 1912. At the beginning, if one wanted to be a voter they should possess a considerable wealth. Therefore, the poor general public could not enjoy franchise. As a result, the percentage of franchise holders was just 4% of the population as late as 1924. Females too did not enjoy this franchise. The Donoughmore Commission explained the fact that the politicians did not pay enough attention to the problems of the people with low income because those who enjoyed franchise were only the wealthy class. At the same time, they pointed out the fact that the general public paid no attention to political issues because they did not enjoy franchise. Therefore, the commission recommended that all males and females who were above 21 years were granted franchise irrespective of their wealth and educational qualifications. As a result of this, Sri Lankans got the universal franchise in 1931. That was a great victory the general public got.

✤ Executive Committee System

The relationship between the legislature and the executive was limited before the Donoughmore reforms. The State Council received power on both legislative and executive matters under these reforms. After an election, the State Council was divided into 7 committees. Following are the subjects of those committees.

- Home affairs
- Agriculture
- Local administration
- Health
- Education
- Transport and common work
- Labour industry and commerce

The chairperson of each committee became the minister of each subject. Thus, the Donoughmore reforms gifted Sri Lanka with 7 ministers. The ministers could run the ministry according to the necessities of the people. During the era of the State Council, the cabinet could launch several projects which were beneficial for the lives of people. Some of such projects were; setting up of agricultural villages and the introduction of free education.

Governor and the Government Officials

The governor's power was reduced to a greater extent when compared with the previous constitutions. The governor had to work in unison with the State Council and the cabinet of ministers. A weakness noticed in the Donoughmore constitution is, leaving the portfolios of state security, financial matters and legal affairs still in the hands of the three state officials.

4.4 Protests for Independence

Though the Sri Lankans could enjoy some power in Donoughmore constitution, still the state officials held the power over a major area of administration. As a result, from 1931 protests were started requesting a curtailment of the power of the governor and handing over of the portfolios given to state officials to the Sri Lankan ministers. In these activities, the State Council and the ministers took the lead in making requests.

Sunflower (Suriyamal) Movement

In addition to the protests staged by the cabinet of ministers, the State Council and the Ceylon National Congress in order to get the administrative power to the Sri Lankans by changing the Donoughmore constitution, Marxists of the country too launched a struggle for independence. Communist leaders like Dr. N.M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. De Silva who formed the Lanka Sama Samaja Party used the
Suriyamal movement' as a mode of providing publicity to the protests they staged requesting independence.



Fig. 4.4 Dr. Colvin R. De Silva

The Suriyamal movement was started against the 'Poppy movement'. Selling poppy flowers was started in order to collect funds in aid of the families of soldiers who were disabled in World War I. November 11th is considered the day of ending wars and poppy flowers are sold on that day every year. In addition to that, parades and festivals were conducted to show the loyalty of Sri Lanka to the British Empire. The money collected by selling poppy flowers was started by

the emancipated soldiers' guild on the same day when poppy flowers were sold. Later, the leftist leaders joined the '*Suriyamal* movement'. The money collected by selling sunflowers was spent for the betterment of the poor of this country. The Communists announced that buying poppy flowers is being loyal to imperialism

because the money collected by selling poppy flowers was sent to Britain and wearing sunflowers is a way of taking part in the struggle for independence. The British policies were criticized by the propagations that said poppy flowers were a symbol of slavery and sunflowers were a symbol of independence. Thus, "*Suriyamal* movement" became a publicity campaign of the protests for independence.



Fig.4.5 Dr. N.M.Perera

Cabinet of Ministers and the National Congress

The British needed the support of the Sri Lankans when the World War II began in 1939. Though the cabinet of ministers agreed to give support to Britain, it was under the condition that a new constitutional reform is granted at the end of the war. A special defence bureau was appointed during the war to maintain security in Sri Lanka and the then minister of agriculture, Mr. D. S. Senanayake was also appointed to that bureau. The governor and the other high officials were impressed with the support extended to them by the cabinet of ministers and requested Britain to propose a new constitution for Sri Lanka which would meet the demands of the Sri Lankans at the end of the war. As a result of that, the cabinet of ministers was permitted to draft a new constitution suitable for Sri Lanka under certain



Fig. 4.6 D.S. Senanayake

restrictions. In the constitution drafted in 1944 by the cabinet of ministers, they had proposed a parliamentary system in which the complete authority of internal affairs would lie in the hands of the Sri Lankans.

The Ceylon National Congress too started struggles making independence of Sri Lanka their prime objective. They worked in unison with the cabinet of ministers during this period.

Soulbury Constitution

The Soulbury Commission was appointed in 1944 to give proposals for a new constitution considering the draft of the cabinet of ministers and the demands of the Sri Lankans. The report which was published in 1945 had proposed a parliamentary system.

This report was much similar to that of the cabinet of ministers. The approval of the Soulbury constitution by the State Council in November, 1945 with a majority of votes was an important incident. You can learn more about the nature of the Soulbury constitution and the independence of Sri Lanka in Unit Six.

$\mathbf{\Psi}$ ACTIVITY

Write short notes on the following topics.

- State Council
- Executive Councils
- Universal Franchise

CHAPTER

Social Changes in Sri Lanka under the British

Introduction

There were a long continued ruling system, social economic system and a culture in Sri Lanka when it was captured by the British. Yet, there were drastic changes in all those areas by the time Sri Lanka won the independence in 1948. These changes show the effect of the British rule in Sri Lanka. The previous lesson explained how the traditional imperial system changed to a parliamentary system during the British reign. This lesson focuses on the changes that occurred in socio – economic and cultural aspects of the country during the British rule.

5.1. Economic Changes

The foundation of Sri Lanka's traditional social, economic and cultural systems runs back to the Anuradapura era. That socio - economic system which was built on the doctrine of Buddhism from the rule of king Devanampiyatissa began to experience change after the arrival of Portuguese in the 16th century. The agricultural activities in Portuguese held areas suffered drawbacks because they paid more attention to trade during their rule. When the Dutch was in power in the coastal areas, they grew cinnamon and pepper, etc. targeting export. Furthermore, a group of labourers started to emerge because the Dutch started some minor industries and a payment system for the work covered daily. These Europeans failed to make a significant change in the traditional socio – economic system because the major part of the island was still under the power of the Kandyan kingdom during the time in which the coastal areas were governed by the Dutch and the Portuguese.

There existed a social system which was based on the traditional socio-economic activities when Sri Lanka was captured by the British. There was an elite group in that society but they were a small minority. The country was mostly governed by the aristocrats. The greater majority of the country were the general public and they lived on agriculture.

The traditional life style of this country was based on the village. It was named as a local self–sufficient economic system because the people of the village produced their food in the village itself. There was mutual support and harmony in the village. There was no working for wages those days. Agriculture was continued, taking help from each other on daily basis which was called 'Aththama'. As a result, the use of money was minimum in that society.

The 'Gamsabha '(Village Council) settled the minor complaints about minor issues between villagers. The Gamsabha played a major role in community work such as building canal bunds, maintenance of lakes, building up of pagodas and roads before the Kandyan kingdom. The Gamsabha could get the necessary labour for the above mentioned duties under the traditional duty service system. By the time of the Kandyan Kingdom 'Gamsabha' had become a minor court in the village.

The labour needed for the government was received through the duty service system by the administration under the ruling system before 1815. There were two ways of providing service as compulsory service system and duty, based on land occupancy.

In the past, those who supplied compulsory service to the king were awarded land for their existence. Those who cultivated these lands which were called as service patrimony lands provided necessary services to the king. Officials who received these lands gave them to the general public for cultivation and they had to repay it by providing services through labour. It was called as duty of occupancy.

All adult males of the country had to serve the king for no salary for a decided number of days every year. This was conducted under the heads of the village and the Gamsabha . Often, the labour necessary for the common activities of the village was taken from this compulsory service system.

Economic Reforms in Colebrooke Commission

The major reason for sending the Colebrooke Commission to Sri Lanka was the expenditure of the government exceeded the income of the government. Colebrooke tried to introduce several economic reforms to Sri Lanka because he wanted to establish an economic system that met the objectives of the English. The government

wanted to invest money on profitable business in order to avoid financial difficulties the government faced. The objective of the Colebrooke Commission was to build a situation in which the private entrepreneurs could invest money because the government could not afford it.

Colebrooke recommended that the government should move into a policy of selling lands because the existing traditional land tenure system was an obstacle for the private entrepreneurship. Thus, both the locals and foreigners had the opportunity to buy land as much as they wanted. The civil servants too got the opportunity of buying government lands because Colebrooke recommended that all civil servants are permitted to engage themselves in estate cultivation.

The investors who bought lands wanted labour to cultivate those lands. According to the traditional compulsory service system, people were forced to work for the government with no wages. Colebrooke noticed that they were not suitable for the private entrepreneurship and it was an obstacle for the freedom of the people. Therefore, he thought of abolishing the compulsory service. As a result, labour became something that could be bought and that was the beginning of a labour class that worked for wages in Sri Lanka.

When Colebrooke came to Sri Lanka, cinnamon and salt trade was a government monopoly. Continuing a government monopoly does not match with the private entrepreneurship. Therefore it was suggested to break the monopoly on cinnamon and salt trade and allow the private sector too join that trade. The taxes that were the government income those days were the levies on fish, land and alcohol and they were charged directly. For an example, a portion of the fish caught had to be submitted as tax. The right to earn taxes was auctioned and the fishermen had to pay the tax in fish to those who had bought the tax right. This direct tax was proposed to transfer into an indirect tax by issuing permits for boats. Tax on land was also a direct tax. The authority of tax collection was auctioned and those who bought it collected taxes from the products of lands. Colebrooke banished it and recommended to collect an equal amount in cash from all lands.

Colebrooke further recommended the establishment of a savings bank in the island. The purpose of establishing a bank was to allow the entrepreneurs who invest money on estate cultivation obtain money to a reasonable interest.

✤ Development of Plantation

There was a broad change in the economy of Sri Lanka after Colebrooke recommendations came into effect in 1833. Foreign investors could buy thousands of acres of land in Sri Lanka because there were no rich people among locals who could invest in mega scales though Colebrooke wanted to encourage private entrepreneurship. This was not a secret to Colebrooke too.

Foreigners invested money on trade based agriculture which was profitable in the foreign market. As a result, there was rapid expansion in plantation sector in the 19th century.

Plantation of Coffee

Though coffee plantation began during the Dutch period in small scale in coastal areas, because a prominent place was given to cinnamon plantation, coffee plantation did not develop. When the English came to Kandy, coffee plantation had been done in several places as a home cultivation. It developed into a plantation during the reign of the British. Several factors were there that affected the development of the coffee plantation in the 19th century.



Factors that helped the development of the coffee plantation:

- More investment on coffee plantation by foreigners after the Colebrooke reforms in 1833.
- Increasing demand for coffee in the European market.

- High profit drawn through coffee plantation.
- Ability to get cheap labour from the Indian labourers in the plantation sector.

Some other reasons for the expansion of coffee cultivation were the reduction of export tax for coffee and releasing of the labourers who worked in coffee plantation from compulsory service system during the time of the governor Edward Barnes (from 1824 – 1831).

Coffee plantation was expanding fast in the upcountry region during the period of 1837 -1847. Even the government officers started growing coffee because it was very profitable. Reports say that there were about 500 acres of coffee plantation in the hill county by 1845. Thus, the coffee plantation was successful in areas such as Dumbara valley, Gampola, Peradeniya, Matale, Badulla and many areas of the Central Province. The amount of coffee export in 1844, was five times bigger than that of 1834. But after 1844 Sri Lanka had to face a huge challenge in the Landon market because of the free trade policy of Britain. Furthermore, the downfall of the global market too affected badly on the coffee plantation of Sri Lanka. Because of these reasons the demand for coffee decreased and the value of the coffee lands went down in 1848. But this situation reached normalcy again after 1850 with the reduction of production cost through efficient estate management and the high demand for coffee in Europe. The major reason for the downfall of coffee plantation in Sri Lanka was the leaf disease that spread since 1869. The fungus which was called "Hemileia Vastatrix" spread fast destroying the coffee plantation.

Cinchona and Cocoa

When the coffee cultivation began to deteriorate, some planters started growing cinchona and cocoa. Yet cinchona became successful in areas with very high altitude only. Cinchona was a plant that was used in the production of the medicine called quinine and it had a limited demand. Therefore, it was not successful as an alternative to the coffee plantation.

When the coffee plantation began to deteriorate, the government encouraged the cocoa plantation. Anyway, the planters had to bear an additional expenditure because cocoa needed shade in order to grow well. Even during the period when cocoa had become a successful plantation. It was not spread more than 1200 acres. It was successful only in Matale district. Cocoa too failed to provide an alternative to coffee.

Tea Plantation



Other crops were tried in the upcountry areas because of the fluctuation of coffee price in the world market. Several such experiments were made on tea plantation also. The Planters' Association sent a group of estate workers to Assam to study further about tea plantation in 1867. At the same time, James Tailor too experimented growing tea in several areas of Lulkandura estate. Tea plantation spread to about 500 acres by 1875 as a result of the above mentioned experiments. Tea plantation began to expand quickly because many planters took to tea plantation due to the destruction of coffee cultivation. By 1894 the amount of tea planted area had reached upto 400,000 acres. Tea plantation spread to the Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces because it could be grown in any area with more than 6000 feet of altitude except in the dry zone of the country. Later it was spread to the Southern and Western provinces too. It is reported that there had been 1200 acres of tea in average size and bigger tea estates in the country by 1930.

With this expansion of tea plantation, tea became one of the major export products in our country. Though the income from tea went down in certain situations due to the excessive tea product after the World War I and the world economic demise in 1929, later it reached to normalcy.

Factors that helped the development of the tea plantation:

- High demand in the world market for Sri Lankan tea
- Conducive environment for tea in many parts of the country except in the dry zone
- Ability to produce good quality tea with the help of modern factories and machines
- Development of transport with the development of roads
- Cheap labour received from south Indian labourers



Coconut Plantation

Coconut is a home crop that existed in Sri Lanka from the past. There was an increasing interest on coconut plantation by 1850 due to the fall of coffee prices. A significant characteristic was the enthusiasm shown by the natives than the foreigners in the coconut plantation. By 1880, 65% of coconut estate owners were Sri Lankans.



Coconut plantation expanded more in broad flat lands than in the hill country. Areas like Kurunegala, Chilaw and Gampaha were prominent among them. By 1920, 27% of the foreign earnings came from coconut products. A coconut research institution was established in Lunuwila to develop coconut plantation when the coconut plantation started to expand. It is clear that coconut plantation did not aim at export like the other cultivations, owing to the fact that half of the production was utilized for local consumption. Just as roads and railways developed in the hill country due to tea and coffee plantation, roads in the other parts of the country were developed to support the coconut plantation.



Rubber Plantation

Though rubber was introduced to Sri Lanka around 1877, it did not show quick expansion because many cultivators during this period were more focused on tea plantation. By the beginning of the 20th century, rubber plantation expanded because rubber price increased due to the expansion of the motor vehicle indutry, suitable rubber species were found for Sri Lanka together with the development of production techniques and temporary fall of tea prices. Rubber plantation which was limited to Kalutara district at the beginning later expanded to the Western, Sabaragamuwa, Southern provinces and some parts of the Central Province. By 1920, 30% of the export income was received from rubber products.

Later a rubber research institution was started in Agalawatta to develop the rubber plantation.





↓ *ACTIVITY 3*

Answer the following questions.

- I. Write three economic reforms of the Colebrooke Commission.
- II. Name four commercial crops introduced by the British to this country.
- III. Explain two steps taken to expand plantation in Sri Lanka.
- IV. Mention two advantages and disadvantages each, resulted in the economy of the country due to plantation.

5.2 Social Change

Emergence of a Middle Class

A significant social change that took place in Sri Lanka during the British

administration is the deterioration of the aristocrats and the emergence of a new middle class. The old aristocrats had higher economic, social and political status than the rest of the community. They were able to hold positions in the government by being loyal to the existing administration and had good income because they possessed more lands.



A government agent and the Kandyan leaders



They were respected and honoured by the others in the society because of the positions they held. These traditional aristocrats were called as elites.

A group of new middle class people

The Colebrooke reforms paved the way to a capitalist economic system in Sri Lanka opening several new ways of earning money instead of the traditional earning methods. Among those methods, working as contractors who supplied facilities to the plantation sector, production and distribution of arrack, graphite mining, whole sale and retail sale transportation and coconut plantation were the areas in which locals could invest money on. Thus, at the onset of the 20th century, there was a local wealthy class that earned money by investing money on the above mentioned industries. They spent money to give a good education to their sons and daughters locally as well as internationally. New job opportunities such as lawyers, engineers, surveyors, clerks and civil servants had emerged by this time. People could demand a high recognition and better living conditions by getting these jobs through English education. As a result, it became another open door to enter, the middle class.

There emerged a group of entrepreneurs that manipulated the new earning ways which were opened during the British reign as well as an educated group that got posts in the government through English education. They were named as the middle class because they became prominent among the others because they enjoyed a higher economic status. With the emergence of this new middle class at the beginning of the 20th century, the traditional aristocratic group began to fade away.

The educated group in the new middle class became politically active. They pioneered the political struggles in the 20th century. This group which was named as educated middle class was those who earned recognition through western education. As a result they became a group of rich city dwellers who followed the western culture.

Emergence of a Labour Class

Another significant feature of the British reign is the emergence of a labour class because of the economic reforms that were made. In the traditional administration system, labour was taken under the compulsory service system for the common activities of the government, leaving no necessity of working for wages. Yet because during the British reign plantation was started in the hill country, labourers were needed to work in estates. Since India too was a colony of Britain by this time, bringing labourers from Southern India for a meagre salary was more profitable. Therefore, the estate owners brought labourers from India in thousands. As a result a labour community started to grow in the hill country.

New labourers were needed for duties such as loading and unloading goods in cities like Colombo, Galle and Kandy, washing clothes, transporting goods by carts,

constructing roads and railways because of the new trends of the economy. As a result, a local group of labourers emerged in the city areas in addition to the south Indian labourers.

They received a meagre salary at the beginning. The number of hours they worked was not set. There were no labour insurance, compensation or other labour welfare activities. As a result, the city labourers started to gather and establish workers' unions in order to win their rights. They started to strike in order to get their status developed as they could feel a growing unity among them. Some examples for labour strikes that took place at the beginning of the 20th century are the strike of printers, strike of the Colombo launderers and the carters' strike.

By the third decade of the 20th century the labourers began to organize themselves in better ways. Mr. E.A. Gunasinghe is a leader who tried to organize the urban labour community in a better way. He became the most renowned leader of labourers from 1922 to 1935. He pioneered to establish the 'Ceylon Workers Congress' marking a landmark in the history of trade unions in Sri Lanka. The leaders of 'Lanka Sama Samaja Party' led labour struggles establishing trade unions. Mr. Natesa Aiiar led the establishment of trade unions among the estate labourers.

Changes in the Culture

The Sri Lankan culture experienced heavy changes during the British reign parallel to the changes in the society. The most significant change was the spreading of western culture in the country. The western education and studying of English language began to spread fast in the country after the Colebrooke reforms. It was the foreigners that prepared the curricula and conducted teaching in missionary schools and state aided schools. These schools too paved the way for the spreading of western culture in the country. Some aspects of the western culture invaded Sri Lanka through the behaviour of those who went to western countries for education.

More Europeans were attracted to Sri Lanka during the 19th century because of the expansion of plantations, development of trade and the improvements of transport and communication that took place in the country. As a result their clubs, holiday resorts started to mushroom in the country accelerating the spreading of western culture. As a result of these western dresses, customs and traditions, greetings, western architecture and their food started to mix into the culture of Sri Lanka.

$\checkmark ACTIVITY 3$

List out the new things that entered the Sri Lankan culture during the British reign.

5.3 Advantages of the British Reign

When Sri Lanka was a colony of British, its political and economic activities were handled in a way that all benefits went to colonists. Thus, Sri Lanka had been exploited for 133 years by the British. During this time they earned a vast wealth from the island to take to their country and used all resources of the island for their well being. Even under such conditions, there were certain benefits that the island could enjoy. Some examples are;

- Spreading of English language in the island which was an international language
- Development of transport and communication
- Introduction of export plantation
- Good effects of industrial revolution
- Parliamentary system

5.4 Disadvantages

Though there were some advantages of being a colony of British there were many problems by the time Sri Lanka received independence after being exploited for 133 years by a foreign empire. Although some citizens became wealthy during this period the majority of the people were touching the depth of poverty when independence was won. Thus, there was a vast disparity in distribution of income and an immediate need had arisen to increase public service and welfare. Some more disadvantages of staying a colony are;

- spreading of western culture and deterioration of indigenous culture
- spreading of alcohol consumption
- emergence of a landless social group
- downfall of self sufficient economic system and losing of indigenous knowledge
- destruction of useful institutions such as village councils (Gamsabha)

CHAPTER

Receiving of Independence to Sri Lanka

Introduction

Receiving of independence to Sri Lanka in 1948 is a historical landmark in our country. At the same time Sri Lanka got the parliamentary system allowing its people to join politics through the representative democracy. New changes occurred in the political system with the introduction of new constitutions in 1972 and 1978. This lesson focuses on the special features of the political system and the trends in the social and economic systems during the few decades after independence.

6.1 Soulbury Reforms and Independence

The members of the Soulbury Commission that was appointed to investigate into Sri Lanka's constitutional reforms and give proposals came to Sri Lanka in December 1944. They published their report in September, 1945 and a constitution that would give all powers of internal affairs to the Sri Lankans had been suggested in it. Britain issued the royal order of the Soulbury Constitution in May, 1946 after the State Council passed the white paper which included the proposals of the Soulbury Commission report. Though the first election to be held under the Soulbury constitution was scheduled in mid 1947, Britain was reluctant to issue any statement about Sri Lanka's independence. Because of that the Sri Lankan leaders like D.S. Senanayake logically presented their views on the right of Sri Lankans for independence, to the British. As a result, the secretary of colonies made an announcement two months before the election, declaring independence for Sri Lanka within the Commonwealth Nations. By this time, the United National Party had been established by Mr. D.S. Senanayake. The results of the 1947 parliamentary election are given below.

Results of the 1947 Parliamentary Election

Political party	No. of seats secured
United National party	42
Lanka Sama Samaja Party	10
Tamil Congress	07
Lanka Indian Congress	06
Bolshevik Lenin Party	05
Lanka Communist Party	03
Labour Party	01
Independent Candidates	21
Total	95

Mr. D.S. Senanayake who was able to win the support of many independent members was able to establish the government because the United National Party won the majority of the seats. Though the British government was willing to hand over the responsibility of internal affairs to the Sri Lankans, they tried to keep foreign affairs in the hands of the British continuously. The reason for that was because they did not like to break the connection with the island as its geographical location was very important in military and security purposes. The new Prime Minister, D.S. Senanayake understood this intention and signed two agreements on security and external affairs with the British government in November, 1947.

Under the defence convention, it was agreed that the British could use Sri Lankan territory for naval, air and other military purposes when necessary. Under the external affairs convention, the British agreed to provide Sri Lanka with necessary assistance in building relationships with other countries as an independent country. After that the Independence Act of Sri Lanka was passed in the British parliament including the statements to grant independence to Sri Lanka. The royal order on the independence of Sri Lanka including statements to put the act into operation was issued on the 19th of December 1947. Sri Lanka received independence again on the 4th of February, 1948 with those formalities coming into function. With that the power the British enjoyed to impose laws and to govern the country ended and those powers were handed over to the Sri Lankan government. The new parliament

was ceremonially opened by the Prime Minister, Mr. D.S. Senanayake and then he hoisted the Sri Lankan flag after lowering the English flag on the 10th of February 1948. Thus, 4th of February became the independence day of Sri Lanka.

Soulbury Constitution

The Soulbury constitution came into action after the Donoughmore constitution that functioned from 1931-1947. It lasted till the Republican constitution of 1972 came into action. The Soulbury constitution introduced four institutions for the functioning of the government as, the governor general and the cabinet of ministers headed by the prime minister, the parliament and the judiciary.

The Governor General

The post of governor which existed up to 1947 was discontinued and a governor general was appointed to represent the British throne even under the new constitution, the queen of Britain was accepted as the ruler of Sri Lanka and the governor general acted as the local representative of the queen. The post of the governor general was completely a nominal executive post and had to take advice of the prime minister in all situations.

The Parliament

Under the Soulbury constitution, there was a legislature which consisted of a senate and a court of members of parliament. The court of members or the representative members consisted of 101 members. Out of them 95 were elected from the electorate system and the other 6 were appointed by the governor with the advice of the prime minister to represent the minorities who are not represented in the parliament. The duration of the parliament was 5 years.

There were 30 members to the second court of members which was called the senate. The representative court appointed 15 of them and the other 15 were appointed by the governor general according to the advice of the prime minister.

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet

The prime minister was the head of the cabinet. The governor general appointed

the member who could win the support of the majority of the members in the representative court of the parliament as the prime minister. The cabinet of ministers held the executive powers in this constitution. Defence and foreign affairs were under the prime minister. The cabinet of ministers was appointed by the governor general according to the advice of the prime minister.

The minister of justice and one more portfolio should be given to the senate. According to the Westminster System, the cabinet of ministers was collectively responsible to the parliament.

The Judiciary

According to the Soulbury Constitution, the judiciary was functioned by courts including the Supreme Court. The governor general appointed the Chief Justice and other Supreme Court judges. The administration of court judges were done by the Judiciary Service Commission headed by the Chief Justice.

Political Party System in Sri Lanka

Political party system can be seen in all countries where the parliamentary democracy exists. There were only two major parties in countries like England and America at the beginning. This is called as dual-party system. In European countries such as France, Germany as well as the Asian countries such as India, Sri Lanka several political parties can be seen. This system is called as the multi-party system.

Because of the political party system, it has become easy to organize people under the principles of each party and to pass their opinion among people. The party system is necessary to build the relationship between politicians and voters because the parliamentary system is an administration in which a country is governed by the representatives of people.

The political party system in Sri Lanka began during the British reign. Though the universal franchise was given to Sri Lanka in 1937, until 1947, the political party system was not considered in elections. The political party system came into action in Sri Lanka in the election of 1947. By that election, political parties such as Lanka Sama Samaja Party, United National Party, Lanka Communist Party and Tamil Congress were functioning.

Lanka Sama Samaja Party

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party is considered as one of the oldest parties in Sri Lanka. The leaders like Dr. N.M. Perera, Dr. Kolvin R. de Silva, Mr. Philip Gunawardana who went abroad for education learnt about leftist politics in those countries and established the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in Sri Lanka in 1935 to implement such politics in a way suitable to Sri Lanka. The prime objective of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was to create a communist society in Sri Lanka according to the doctrine of leftist political points of view. Later a fraction of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party headed by Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe established the Lanka Communist Party in 1943.

United National Party

Though by 1946, there were several leftist parties and minority parties, there was no party for the politicians who had neutral ideas. The United National Party was started in 1946 under the leadership of Mr. D.S. Senanayake because the first parliamentary election was scheduled in 1947. The majority of the members of the Lanka National Congress and the Sinhala Maha Sabha headed by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake joined the United National Party. As a result, it became a powerful political party from the beginning. They were able to win 42 seats by presenting 95 contesters. They were able to establish a government in1952 by winning 54 seats in the second parliamentary election.

Sri Lanka Freedom Party

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake broke away from the United National Party and established Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1951. This party paid more attention on the necessities of general public than the UNP and was able to win the support of the vernacular scholars, monks and those who valued nationalism. The party that won only 9 seats in the 1951 parliamentary election contested as the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna by aligning with several other parties and was able to establish the government in 1956 election by securing 51 seats. Mr. Bandaranayake was the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1956 to 1959. After the assassination of Mr. Bandaranayake, his wife Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranayake became the leader of the party.

Other Political Parties

Other than the above parties that presented candidates around the country in elections, there were several parties which were in function. The Labour Party pioneered by Mr. A. E. Gunasinghe and the Tamil Congress started by Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam are some examples for such parties. Among them the Tamil Congress held a significant place until the 1956 election. They who paid special attention on the rights of the Tamil people in this country were able to secure 07 seats in the 1947 election. It seems that the Tamil Congress lost its public support when Mr. J. V. Chelvanayagam started the Federal Party in 1949.

According to the political party system that exists in Sri Lanka there are a number of minor parties other than the two major parties like United National Party and Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Because of that, there can be situations in which no party can claim a majority in an election. As a result several parties have to come together and make political aligns to establish a coalitional government.

✤ 1956 Election and the Social Change

The United National Party which was in power continuously after the independence was defeated in 1956 and a new government was established under the leadership of S.W. R.D. Bandaranayake. It is believed that a social revolution was made by that government because several new forces were rallied round Mr. Bandaranayake to follow a policy of valuing the native language, religion and culture and to attempt to solve some unresolved social and economic problems.

Because Mr. D.S. Senanayake who became the Prime Minister in the 1947 election died in March, 1952, his son Dudley Senanayake became the Prime Minister. He became the Prime Minister again in 1952 because the United National Party won that election too. But he resigned from his portfolio in 1953 because of the remonstrations that were staged by the leftist parties in protest of rising price of rice and other food items. Then, another senior member of United National Party, Mr. John Kothalawala became the Prime Minister. Though the next parliamentary election was scheduled in May 1957, the Governor General dissolved the parliament in February 1956 as instructed by the Prime Minister, Mr. John Kothalawala. As a result there was another election in the country.

In the 1956 election, the United National Party contested as a single party where

as Sri Lanka Freedom party contested as Mahajana Eksath Peramuna aligning in with several other parties. The Sri Lanka Freedom party, Revolutionary Socialist Party headed by Mr. Philip Gunawardane, Mr. Vijayananda Dahanayake's Language Congress and several independent candidates including Mr. I. M. R. A. Eeriyagolla came together in forming the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna. The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna had entered into a no contest agreement with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and it became advantageous for both the parties.

The major issue discussed in the 1956 election stage was the policy of making Sinhala the official language. Even after obtaining independence, English language held a special position and it became problematic for the vernacular scholars. Because of that, those who rallied round the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna had already accepted Sinhala naming as the state language as a policy. The United National Party too agreed with this policy when the election came at hand.

The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna won the election easily because of the support of the *Pancha Maha Balavega*; monks, doctors, teachers, farmers and labourers were with them. At the same time, fighting as an align signing a no contest agreement with the leftist parties further helped them to win. They secured 51 seats and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party got 14 seats. The United National Party won 8 parliamentary seats only. The Federal Party won 10 seats.

With the victory of Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake became the Prime Minister. His time marked significant changes in the country. Some of his policies and introduced reforms are;

- Making Sinhala the state language
- Discontinuation of the defence and external affairs conventions signed in 1947 with the British
- A non-alliance foreign affairs policy
- Peoplizing the harbour and transport (buses)
- Development of local industries and agriculture
- Upgrading the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara pirivenas to universities with a view of developing the higher education



Fig 6.1 The Cabinet of Ministers of Mr. Bandaranayake

Mr. Bandaranayake's campaign paved the way for many leaders who emerged from the general public of the country to enter the parliament. During his administration, the policy that valued the nationality and the attempt to solve the unsolved problems of the general public were significant landmarks.

Sri Lanka becoming a Republic in 1972

The Soulbury constitution continued from 1948–1972 in the country. The independence Sri Lanka received under this constitution was not complete because still the queen of Britain was considered the leader of the country and there were certain restrictions for the parliament to follow in imposing laws. As a result, the necessity of a new constitution was felt during the time of the Soulbury Commission. A successful attempt was made for that with the 1970 election.

A united align had been established to face the 1970 election by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja party and the Communist Party. They signed a treaty of understanding to contest in the election. They had requested a people's verdict for the winners to work as a constitutional council to design a new constitution. The Samagi Peramuna (United Alliance) that won the majority of seats in the election established a new government. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike became the Prime Minister. They introduced a new constitution on 22nd May 1972 working according to the people's verdict. It's named as the 1972 Constitution. Basic characteristics of the 1972 constitution

- The name 'Ceylon' was changed to ' Sri Lanka
- Discontinuation of the constitutional bond that existed with Britain with territorial integrity
- Acceptance of Sri Lanka as a unitary republic
- Protection of basic human rights

Fundmental Rights

The statement 18 of the 1972 constitution mentions the following as some basic human rights and the comprehensive freedom.

- Functioning of law , the protection of law and other legal affairs should be completely impartial.
- A person's life, freedom or protection should not be harmed if otherwise the law.
- Every person has the right to enjoy free thinking, conscience and religion.
- Citizens have freedom for peaceful gathering and expressing their opinions.

Acceptance of basic human rights in the constitution was a special characteristic.

The President

Instead of the post of governor general of the Soulbury Commission, the new constitution introduced the post of nominal executive president. The prime minister enjoyed the power of appointing the president. The president had the same power enjoyed by the governor general. The then Governor General, Mr. William Gopallawa became the first nominal executive president of Sri Lanka.



Fig 6.2 Mr. William Gopallawa, the first nominal executive president of Sri Lanka

National State Council

The legislature named as the parliament before 1972 was named as the National State Council in the new constitution. It consisted of members elected through the universal franchise. This council functioned the people's legislative power. The

entire power of imposing law was vested upon the National State Council which had a duration of power of 6 years.

***** The Prime Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers

The functioning of the executive power was vested upon the cabinet of ministers in the new constitution. The chief of the cabinet was the prime minister. The president appointed the prime minister and under his guidance the president appointed the rest of the cabinet.

Judiciary

A new judiciary system was proposed for the purpose of determining justice under the 1972 constitution.

Supreme Court High Court District Court Magistrate's Court Constitutional Court

The two major institutions in the judiciary were the Supreme Court and the High Court. The district courts were responsible in solving the cases in the particular district. The magistrate's court took the criminal cases. A judiciary service consultancy board and a judiciary service disciplinary board were established to protect the sovereignty of the judiciary. The labour courts functioned under these boards.

The Constitutional court had been established to settle the problems about constitution and to observe whether the bills presented to parliament agree with the constitution.

New Constitution in 1978

The United National Party was able to win 140 out of 168 seats of the National State Council in the election held in 1977. The Tamil Liberation Front secured 18 seats in this election where as the Sri Lanka Freedom Party could win only 8 seats. In addition, the Ceylon Workers' Congress and an independent party won a seat. As the United National Party could obtain more than a two third majority, its leader, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was able to design a new constitution with an executive presidency as he expected for a long time. This constitution came into effect since 1978.



Fig 6.3 Mr. J. R. Jayewardene

Sri Lanka was named as the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka in the new constitution and it was declared a unitary state. The constitution mentions about the people's supremacy at its very beginning. The people's constitutional power is put into function by the elected members and by the people themselves in referendums.

The executive power of the people is put into function by the president elected by the people.

The judicial power of the people is put into application by the judiciary system established according to the constitution.

Some distinguished features of this constitution are;

Executive Presidency

According to the 30th statement of the 1978 constitution, the president of the Republic of Sri Lanka is the head of the government, head of the executive, head of the parliament and the chief commander of the military forces. Thus, the president became the highest executive in the government enjoying comprehensive executive powers. According to this constitution, the president is elected by the people in an election. The duration of the president is six years.

Powers of the President

The president enjoys the power of summoning a parliamentary session, declaration of the end of a session, chairing the first meeting of a parliament after an election, presenting the policies of the government, and dissolving the parliament. Thus, even though the president is not a member of the parliament, he or she could enjoy some powers with regard to the legislature. The president works as the head of the cabinet by appointing the prime minister and ministers and by deciding the portfolios of the ministers. Thus, the president is the head of the executive.

The president enjoys some powers related to the judiciary such as ; appointing the judges of the supreme court and appeal court including the chief justice, pardoning a convict sentenced by a court and reducing punishments.

The president enjoys some more powers as the head of the state. Declaration of war and peace, chairing state functions, representing the republic in international events, being the custodian of the state frank are some examples of such powers.

A very special privilege held by the president is that he / she cannot be taken to any court for any deed rendered as the president, according to the constitution.

✤ The Prime Minister and the Cabinet

- The president enjoys the power of appointing the cabinet of ministers from the members of the parliament.
- The power enjoyed by the prime minister in the 1972 constitution was transformed to the president, who is the head of the cabinet according to the new constitution.
- The cabinet has a collective responsibility for the parliament.
- The cabinet has its own specific duties.

e.g:

- (i) Functioning of imposed laws by the parliament.
- (ii) Preparation of budget estimates and interim bills of the ministries.

(iii) Being in charge of the allocated subjects.

The Parliament

This constitution established the parliament instead of the legislature which was called as the National State Council in the 1972 constitution. The parliament consists of 225 members. 196 members are elected following the proportionate representative system and based on the proportions of votes received by each party 29 members are selected from the national list. Some of the powers of the parliament are;

- Imposing laws
- Financial administration
- Preparation of budget
- Preparation of development plans

✤ Judiciary

An independent judiciary was introduced in the 1978 constitution. Given below is how it is structured.

- Supreme Court
- Appeal Court
- High Court
- District Court
- Family Court
- Magistrate's Court
- Primary Court

According to the judiciary the highest court in the country is the Supreme Court. The chief of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice and other judges of both Supreme Court and Appeal Court are appointed by the president. Taking the fundamental right cases, considering the impeachment motions that are presented to the parliament, trialing the cases of violation of parliamentary privileges, conducting court procedures about election petitions are some of the Supreme Court responsibilities. The appeal court has the power to consider the appeals that are made against the decisions of the lower courts.



Fig 6.4 Supreme Court

The Judiciary Service Commission was appointed to protect the freedom of the judiciary and to protect the impartiality of judges. The Chief Justice is the head of the commission including two more judges of the Supreme Court as members. The Judiciary Service Commission is responsible about the transfers of high court judges, training of judiciary officers, promotions and discipline of them.

Fundamental Rights

The third chapter of the 1978 constitution explains the fundamental rights. This constitution broadly and in detail explains the fundamental rights than the 1972 constitution did.

Among the fundamental rights mentioned in the constitution, equal rights for judiciary procedures, freedom of speech and opinion, right of being free of harassment, freedom of religion and freedom of profession are included.

The 1978 constitution goes beyond the 1972 constitution to mention in its statement 129 that a person can forward a petition to the Supreme Court within three months of such violation of fundamental rights or comprehensive freedom. If such violations are true, the supreme court gives judgments about it.

The constitution includes provisions for a person to make a complaint to the parliamentary commissioner or the ombudsman when the rights of a person who works in the government or cooperation are limited or obstructed.

Types of elections mentioned in the 1978 constitution;

Presidential Election

Sri Lanka becomes one whole electorate in the presidential election. The candidate who can obtain a 50% majority or a definite majority is declared the winner.

Mr. J. R. Jayewardene who was the Prime Minister in 1978 was nominated the first executive president in Sri Lanka. Then a presidential election was held in 1982. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was elected the president again in this election. The second amendment to the 1978 constitution declared that the president could go for an election requesting power for a second session once four years out of six have already passed. After Mr. J. R. Jayewardene; Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, Mr.

D. B. Vijethunga (not from an election), Mrs. Chandrika Kumaranathunge , Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksha and Mr. Maithreepala Sirisena held the executive presidency consecutively.

Proportionate Representative System

Another novel feature of the 1978 constitution is the proportionate representative system. This method is used in all elections including parliamentary, provincial council and the other local government elections.

Candidates face this type of elections in groups. The number of members elected for each electorate is announced before the election and the voters have to first vote for the party and mark the preferences for the candidates. The number of seats for each party is determined according to the proportion of votes they take and candidates are selected following the number of preference votes they get.

✤ Referendum

Referendum is a way of getting the people's opinion directly on matters with national importance. The concept of referendum was first introduced in 1978 constitution.

Here, the people's discretion is marked by answering a "yes or no" question. The only referendum of the history of Sri Lanka was held in 1982. It was held to get the period of existing parliament extended.

There should be more than 50% of the cast votes to declare that the people have given their consent to the matter on discussion.

6.2 Development after Independence

After the independence in 1948 politicians of this country had the responsibility of handling the economy of the country that had been used for the benefit of the British colonists for the betterment of the people. During the four decades after the independence , the two major parties of Sri Lanka , the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party were in power and they tried to develop the economy of Sri Lanka. They had tried several ways to develop the agriculture , industries and the education of the country.

Development of Agriculture

The food needed for the people was produced within the country because Sri Lanka had been an agricultural country from the past. Yet, the British administration that lasted for 133 years paid attention to state plantation and did not pay enough attention to the local agriculture. The English imported the necessary food items to Sri Lanka during their reign. As a result, by the time Sri Lanka got the independence, a need had arisen to develop the production of food items within the country. Hence, every government had to take steps to develop paddy cultivation.

Development of Paddy Cultivation

Towards the latter part of the British reign in Sri Lanka, they had to pay attention to developing the agriculture in Sri Lanka because of the difficulty of exporting food due to the World War 1 and increasing food prices due to the economic demise in 1929. Yet the most productive attempt was made during the period of the State Council (1931–1947). The reasons for the development of the paddy cultivation during that era were appointing a Sri Lankan minister for the ministry of agriculture under the Donoughmore constitution and Mr. D. S. Senanayake who had an interest to develop the agriculture becoming the Minister of Agriculture.

The flat and rich soil that was more suitable for paddy cultivation exists in the dry zone of the country and therefore, that area should be used for paddy cultivation again. Therefore Mr. D. S. Senanayake started establishing farming settlements in the dry zone.

Establishment of Farming Settlements

Objectives of establishing farming settlements:

- Reducing the increasing population and unemployment in the wet zone.
- Improving the food production of the country.
- Using the land of the dry zone for economic development by repairing the old lakes and irrigations of the dry zone.
- Providing a solution to the competition for the land in wet zone and creating a satisfied landed farming community.

Sri Lanka became self – sufficient with paddy because a vast era of the dry zone was used for paddy cultivation. As a solution to the major problem that arose in the area, lack of water, our ancestors built a network of lakes and irrigations. But , after the invasion of Kalinga Magha people had immigrated to the wet zone from the dry zone. Using thus given up dry zone again for paddy cultivation after 700 years was a landmark of the development of paddy cultivation in Sri Lanka.

Challenges the government faced in establishing new farming settlements:

- Selecting people from the wet zone and making them settle in houses in the dry zone.
- Supporting people to turn the lands that had been forests for a long time into farm land and supplying irrigation facilities.
- Providing the settlers with financial assistance till they get their first harvest.
- Arranging health and education facilities for people.
- Establishment of sales promotion programmes for the sale of products.

Several farming settlements could be started even before independence because there were effective plans to lay out necessary rules to overcome the difficulties. Some examples for such settlements were Kagama, Minneriya, Nachchaduwa, Beragama, Minipe, Parakrama Samudraya, Ridi Bedi Ella, Sangili Kanadarawa and Onichchei. After independence till about 1953, 15 more farming settlements were established. Bathmadika, Deva Huwa, Girithale, Paniyankadawala, Iranamadu, Gal Oya, Kantale, Soraborawewa were such settlements.

With these new farming settlements there was great enthusiasm in the country to reconstruct lakes and building of irrigation. Galoya project is an example for that. It is the first multi-purpose development project started in Sri Lanka.

Mahaweli Project

The Mahaweli project takes an important place among the projects launched targeting the economic development of the country after the independence. The Mahaweli river that is fed by several tributaries begins in the western part of the central hills , flows across the Dumbara valley and joins sea at Trincomalee. The Mahawali development project was launched with a view of using this web of rivers for the economic development of the country.



Map 6.1 Farming Settlements

Some objectives of the Mahaweli project:

- Continuous water supply to the dry zone farm lands for productive agricultural work.
- Production of electricity to cover the increasing demand for electricity.
- Creating more settlements through water supply and the expansion of cultivation of food by providing the landless people with lands.

Other than these main objectives there were other objectives such as generating jobs and agricultural opportunities, controlling flood, breeding fresh water fish etc. Thus, the Mahaweli project became a multi-purpose project.

The first stage of the Mahaweli project was to build a dam at Pollgolla across the Mahaweli river to take water to Sudu Ganga and take that water to the dry zone via Bovathenna reservoir. There were further plans to take water from this part to Kala Wewa, Nachchaduwa Wewa, Nuwara Wewa, Thisa wewa and several other lakes.



This project was started in 1970 and the expected work was covered by 1977. Several other reservoirs, dams and canals had been planned to be built under the Mahaweli The project. first plan was to complete them in 30 years.

Fig 6.5 Polgolla dam

Mr. J.R. Jayewardene's government which came into power in 1977 decided to complete this in 6 years and prepared an speedy plan of work. Therefore , instead of the Mahaweli Development Board that existed, the Ministry of Mahaweli Development was established in 1978 and Mr. Gamini Dissanayake was appointed the minister. The Mahaweli authority was established in 1979 because the necessity of an authority with high power was felt for the functioning of the Mahaweli project.

Steps were taken to build reservoirs such as Kothmale, Victoria, Randenigala, Rantambe, Ulhitiya, Rathkinda, Madru Oya; dams such as Minipe and some water turning centres.

Victoria Reservoir

This vast reservoir was made by building a dam, a little lower to the Polgolla dam. One of the main objectives of building this dam was generating hydro–electricity. The British government provided aids for this project.





Kothmale Reservoir

The Kothmale reservoir was made by building a dam at Kadadora across Kothmale Oya which is one of the main tributaries of the Mahaweli river. The Sweden government provided aids for this.

Randenigala Reservoir

The Randenigala reservoir was built a little lower to the Victoria reservoir and above the Minipe dam. The production of electricity and supplying water for irrigations were the expected outcomes. West Germany provided financial aids for this.




Map 6.2 Water supply projects under the express Mahaweli Development Project

By storing Mahaweli water in reservoirs, The production of hydro – electricity, supplying water for both cultivated and yet to cultivate lands in the dry zone became possible. In addition to the production of electricity and providing water for agriculture, it made settlement of people, building of new cities and roads possible under this project.

Other steps that that were taken to develop paddy cultivation:

- Introduction of a certified price for paddy in 1948
- Establishment of paddy research institution and introduction of new paddy species. An example is Bathalegoda paddy breeding centre.
- Establishment of farming service centres (Govijana Sewa Centres)
- Giving loans to farmers through state banks.

Cultivation for Commercial Purpose

The products that were related to the traditional coconut plantation, tea and rubber introduced by the British existed as the major export products for about three decades after obtaining independence. Several steps have been taken for the development of those crops after 1948. Some such steps were;

• Declaring a limited area of land that can be kept in possession of one person by the land rehabilitation law of 1972. Thus, the area of land that can be kept for one person were 10 hectares (25 acres) for paddy cultivation and 20 hectares (50 acres) for other cultivations.

• The lands of the commercial plantation companies were peopolized by the 1975 land reforms. Because of these reforms about 62% of the land that belonged to those mega scale plantation companies was given to the government. As 10% of the state lands were distributed among farmers as small pieces of land, a group of small scale land owners was created.

The ownership of mega scale lands shifted from the private sector to the government by the 1975 land reforms.

Several institutions were established after gaining independence for the management of state lands.

- State Plantation Cooperation established in 1958.
- Upcountry Estate Development Bureau established in 1976.
- People's Estate Development Bureau established in 1976.

Sri Lanka could export rubber products to China as a result of the bilateral convention signed between the two countries in 1952. So there was a stable market for rubber products of the country.

The government started a new project of giving aids to the landowners for replantation of rubber in 1977. There, rubber plants and fertilizers were given. Later, this was extended to tea plantation too.

A special feature is the emergence of a group of small scale landowners as a result of the distribution of land continued by the government after gaining independence. As a result, a group of landowners who owned lands between 1-10 acres of tea and rubber emerged in the Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa provinces. With this the income of villagers in relation to major export crops increased.

Development of Small Scale Export Crops

Steps were taken after gaining independence to develop the small scale export crops such as; coffee, cocoa, cardamom, cloves, nutmeg, pepper, cinnamon in addition to the major crops such as tea, rubber and coconut.

In 1968, according to the Tea Commission reports cultivation of some minor scale export crops was encouraged as additional cultivations.

A minor scale export research institution was started in Matale in 1972. Similar institutions were later started in areas like Kundasale, Delpitiya, Narammala.

Some more steps were taken to expand the cultivation of small scale crops since 1972. Giving advice on cultivation, provision of fertilizers and sales promotion are some examples for them.

Policy of Industrialization

No development took place in the industrial sector of Sri Lanka during the British administration because they used Sri Lanka as a market where they could sell their products. Some attention was paid on the industrial sector when labour industries and trade ministries were given to Sri Lankans under Donoughmore reforms. The Sri Lanka Bank Commission that investigated into the status of the Sri Lankan industries in 1934 had recommended starting industries to provide industrial products to the local market.

There were problems in exporting goods to Sri Lanka during the World War II which began in 1939. Products like acetic acid, porcelain products, paper, soup and perfumes were produced and they had good demand. Those industries suffered drawbacks because they were unable to compete with the exported products that began to flow back to Sri Lanka after World War II.

A group of World Bank representatives that came to Sri Lanka in 1952 pointed out the importance of starting small scale industries with the help of the government. There was enthusiasm to invest money on industries because the government made their policy on foreign and private investment clear in the 1955 white paper which was issued after the report of the World Bank representatives. After that, the establishment of the first industrial zone in Ekala in 1959 and the Ratmalana industrial zone in 1960 became the landmarks in the policy of industrialization.

Some Landmarks of the Industrial Field after 1960:

- Establishment of People's Bank in 1961 and providing the small scale industrialists with loan facilities.
- Establishment of a standard bureau to decide the standard of local industrial products in 1966.
- Development of industries that produced local consumer goods due to the government industrial policy after 1960.
- Development of local home industries and minor scale industries due to the export substitution policy of the government during 1970–1977.

Export substitution policy means producing alternative local products instead of the products that were exported.

• The government started to continue mega scale industries in vast factories that used raw materials in mega scale in the three decades after obtaining independence. Some examples for such industries are cement, iron and steel, sugar and plywood.

• After 1977 there was a rapid development in export related industries such as garment industry because of the policies followed to attract foreign investors and to encourage the private sector to develop export related industries. The establishment of Mega Colombo Economic Commission in 1978, establishment of export preparation zone at Katunayake in the same year, later the establishment of such zones in Biyagama and Koggala helped the development of the industrial sector.

Education

A steady development occurred in the education of the island during the British administration. The number of schools in the country rapidly increased because there arose a desire for education in the minds of Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim people during the religious and national renaissance. The children of the poor could enjoy little benefits of education because of the financial difficulties they had when pursuing higher education. Because of this free education policy which provided free education from grade 1 to university was launched as proposed by Mr. C.W.W. Kannangara who was the Minister of Education in the State Council. Every government that came to power after that, continued the free education policy. Some landmarks of education after 1948 are given below;

- Increasing the number of schools around the country by establishing government schools and spending money on education project
- Curriculum development and renovations in teacher training
- Expansion of laboratory and library facilities
- Free supply of textbooks, lunch, medical and dental care services, school uniforms and the improvement of student welfare and support through concessionary transport facilities
- Timely changes in education administration
- Expansion of professional education
- Improvement of higher education by establishing new universities
- Establishment of Ceylon University in 1942 in Colombo
- Shifting the Ceylon University to Peradeniya in 1952
- Transforming the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara pirivenas to universities. Later, they were named as Sri Jayawardanapura University and Kelaniya University respectively.
- Establishment of Moratuwa Katubedda University in 1972 and Jaffna University in 1974

6.3 Social Welfare

Even the very poor people received a political value because Sri Lanka got the universal franchise in 1931. Politicians started looking into the necessities of the general public because it became a major factor in capturing political power. There had been several social problems that affected the lives of the general public badly due to the fact that Sri Lanka had been a colony for a long time. A significant feature in the government policy was to bring back social justice and annihilate inequality by providing solutions to the long lasting social problems. Some examples for the projects that were launched to bring back social justice after 1948 are,

- development of education in rural areas
- giving priority to the achievements and following competitive examination system in giving jobs
- constitutionalizing of concepts such as; freedom, sovereignty and fundamental rights
- provision of government support to agriculture and fisheries industry through loan schemes and concessionaries

✤ Health Service

Though free health facilities were available in Sri Lanka even before independence, they were limited to city areas. So, special attention was paid on developing health facilities in rural areas after gaining independence. Some examples for the steps taken to improve rural health facilities are establishment of rural hospitals, development of midwifery, maternity and paediatric health services, immunization, conducting medical clinics and improving indigenous medicine etc. As a result, the number that suffered from diseases such as; influenza, phylaria, malaria, tuberculosis, polio went down dramatically.

Other Welfare Facilities

Travel and transport of the country developed during the British rule because they built roads and railways. After the independence, rural roads were developed so that the benefits of the above mentioned transport facilities trickled down to the villages also. As a result, the distance between the village and the city shortened and the facilities that were limited to the cities such as water, electricity and communication reached the villages too. Exporting of food items became limited because of the obstacles to naval transport due to World War II. The government started giving food concessions because of this. The government had to continue these concessions as a way of minimizing poverty because people had got accustomed to welfare facilities, and the lack of land and less productivity. Here, priority was given to rice concession. A coupon book was issued to everybody to make the rice concession more systematic. It was called as *'Hal Potha –Rice Book'*. A system of stamps was introduced in 1977 instead of the coupon book.

Another problem those poor people faced was the problem of shelter. Several programmes were launched after independence to solve the problem of shelter in rural and city areas. The government took steps to build flats and housing complexes in city areas and gave aids to rural area people to build houses under different housing projects. Sri Lanka was able to achieve a number of victories by launching different welfare projects after gaining independence.

CHAPTER

Significant Revolutions in the World

Introduction

The word 'revolution' stands for a significant change that occurs in a particular field within a short period of time. Such a change occurred in the industrial sector is called as the industrial revolution. The change that occurred during the religious renaissance in Europe is called as the religious renaissance. There had been several such revolutions in the political field also. The struggle for freedom in America or the American revolution, the French revolution and the Russian revolution are examples for such revolutions. This lesson gives more details about such political revolutions.

7.1 Independence Struggle in America

✤ Introduction

The struggle that was staged in order to obtain independence from the British empire by the American state citizens is called as the American independence struggle. Five years after Christopher Columbus landed in the Bahamas islands in the Caribbean sea, Amerigo Wespucci found the vast mass of land that belongs to the American continent. After that a German geologist used the name 'America' to call that area. Columbus after coming to this American region believed that he came to India. Therefore, he called the natives of that country as Indians. The natives who lived in the northern part of America were called the Red Indians going by their complexion. The Europeans who heard about America which was a huge country full of natural resources started colonizing it in groups. Portugal, Spain, Holland, France and Britain are some European countries that established states in America. There are several reasons that affected the establishment of states in America; they are;

- europeans started searching for new areas where there was more religious freedom because there were fights between Roman Catholics and Protestants.
- aim of a prosperous life by capturing land in new areas for trade.
- the encouragement and enthusiasm given by the rulers of European countries for searching new areas and establishing colonies to enrich their wealth and glory.

Colonization by the British

Several European nations colonized America during the one and half centuries after Columbus landed in America. There, the Portuguese and the Spanish colonized the southern part and the British and the French colonized the northern part of America. With the colonies being established by the British in Northern America, United States of America was built.





Fig 7.1 – States established by the British in America

- 1. Virginia
- 2. Massachusetts
- 3. New York
- 4. New Hampshire
- 5. Maryland
- 6. Connecticut
- 7. Rhode Island

- 8. Delaware
- 9. North Carolina
- 10. New Jersey
- 11. South Carolina
- 12. Pennsylvania
- 13. Georgia

The colonization in North America that began with the establishment of Virginia State in 1607 by the British continued for about a century. A significant characteristic is the interference of individuals, groups of people and companies rather than the direct influence of the British government in the colonization of America. The British government gave its approval and assistance in colonization. The British who went to Northern America had established thirteen estates by 1733. Their names are given above.

Twelve estates out of those thirteen were started between 1607 and 1682. The last British colony among those thirteen was Georgia. It was established in 1733. The nature of the first states shows that they were not started at the same time. The reasons for their start were also different. One reason for the establishment of these states was the expectation of religious freedom and commercial benefits. Differences existed among these states with regard to composition of population, life style and economic matters. Nevertheless, they began to rise as a separate English speaking community by the mid 18th century.

✤ American States and the British Administration

It was mentioned above that the colonies were established in North America by British companies and different individuals' interference. Those who started colonies took a warrant from the British government. There, they had to work under several conditions. Some of them were the acceptance of the authority of the British government and imposing the same laws that were in Britain, in the new colonies. States were ruled by a governor appointed to each state. There was a legislative council elected from each state to assist the governor. The state citizens followed a local self governance system because of the long distance between the two countries and the absence of a developed communication system. The reasons for this are that the colonies were situated far away from the mother country and Britain could not pay much attention to colonies as it was involved in various battles in Europe. Hence, till about 1763 Britain followed a flexible political policy regarding American states. This led to the development of thoughts about freedom in the minds of state citizens. Yet, they needed the assistance of Britain because they still had to face some problems.

The settlers of American colonies had to face two problems regarding their security before 1763. The first was the threat of the French. The settlers of the colonies wanted the protection of the British because the French power was there to the north of the

British colonies and they tried to consolidate their power. There was a war between the British and the French between 1756 and 1763. It is called the seven year war. France was defeated in this war. The American colonists became free of the France's threat because Britain and France signed a treaty of peace. The main obstacle that disturbed the expansion of the American colonies to west was the Red Indians. When the French were powerful they had connection with the French against the British. This situation changed with the defeat of France. After that the policies continued by the British were able to minimize the threat of the Red Indians.

Americans no longer needed the British assistance regarding its protection because the power of France was lost when they were defeated in the seven year war and the Red Indians' threat was diminished with new defence strategies.

Reasons for the Freedom Struggle

The British economic policy and commercial activities were continued in a way that was beneficial to Britain. Thus, it was prohibited to produce in states, things that were produced in Britain. Apart from that, tobacco, sugar, cotton, bee vax corn, bronze that were produced in the states should only be sold to Britain. The other products were also allowed to export only via Britain. Further, there was a condition that the states should not compete with Britain regarding production or trade. Though these policies brought economic disadvantages to the people in states, they got a stable market because of Britain. On the other hand, because the British laws did not function too strictly in the colonies, they could engage in illegal transactions with other nations and reduce their losses. Because of the above reasons there was no strong protest against the British economic system and laws in American states till about 1763. Yet, because of the new laws introduced by Britain after 1763, there were disparities between the two countries. This generated new ideas about freedom.

Britain had to bear a huge cost in the seven year war and as a result of it their debts increased. The British believed that the American states too should bear a part of those debts and interest. Therefore, the British Prime Minister, George Granville decided to systemize tax collection in the American states. He tightened the naval patrol in order to stop illegal transactions. More tax bills were passed to increase the income that was gained from America. Three bills that were passed between 1764 and 1765 were;

- 1. Sugar Act
- 2. Currency Note Act
- 3. Stamp Act

According to the Sugar Act, more British naval forces were sent to the coastal areas resulting in fights between people and the naval officers. The Currency Note Act prohibited issuing of currency notes by states to pay debts. As a result, the people in states had to pay debts in gold or silver. While there were increasing protests against these two acts by the people in states, Britain passed a Stamp Bill on 1765. According to this act a tax was charged from all printed documents and warrants. The stamp levy affected the high class people in American society such as traders, lawyers and printers and they started organizing protests. There were increasing protests against this act and the people in America refused to pay the stamp levy. People united in organizing these protests against the levies on tea, glass, paper other than the above mentioned taxes. In another bill passed in Britain, the American states were ordered to provide accommodation and financial allocation for the British forces that were placed in America. When people started protests against these acts, Britain started to use repressive actions such as dissolving of constitutional councils etc. Therefore, the Americans started to organize and struggle for independence. When this situation is summarized, several reasons for the American revolution can be identified.

Reasons for the American Revolution

- Americans were used to a self governing system with less interference from Britain.
- The economic policy followed by Britain which was more beneficial for Britain itself.
- The British government's inability to understand the expectation of those who lived in states.
- New laws and bills passed after 1763
- Britain's attempt to suppress the reasonable struggle of the people in states.
- The desire for freedom among the people in states.

Struggle for Freedom

Struggles that arose against the new acts and taxes imposed by the British after 1763 kindled a desire for freedom among the people who lived in states. The strongest protest came against the stamp levy. There, the struggle developed to refuse not only stamps but also British products. According to the tradition in Britain those days, the power of imposing taxes was exercised by the parliament. The people in states believed that the British parliament had no power to impose taxes for their country

because no member from states represented the parliament. This idea quickly passed over to the American states and the slogan "**no member, no tax**" came out. That became the slogan of the American freedom struggle. The protests that came out against economic matters thus became a political issue.

The British cancelled the Stamp Act because of the protests that came against it. But, they declared that the British government had the power to impose laws regarding the American states. The British government which understood that the Americans were against the direct taxes like stamp levy, imposed several custom duties in 1767 in order to get their income increased. Thus, custom duties were imposed upon items such as glass, lead, paper, tea which were imported to America. Several fights occurred because of the attempt of Britain to obtain these taxes and the protests were staged by the people in states against those attempts. Five people died in Boston when the British forces fired at such a protest campaign. Because of such acts, bitter feelings about Britain emerged in the minds of the Americans. Britain had to suffer heavy losses than the income they got because the people in the states boycotted the British products. Therefore, all taxes were abolished except the tax on tea in 1770. The tax on tea continued to prove the British power to impose taxes for America rather than to get an income.

In another bill passed in 1773, Britain gave power to one company to supply tea to American states. This created trouble to the traditional tea sale of the American traders. Some Americans who were furious about this decision obstructed the trade companies to unload tea in America.

In December 1773, Boston citizens who entered under disguise a ship with tea that had docked in Boston harbour threw 342 tea containers into the sea. This incident which is known as the '**Boston Tea Party**' is believed to be the beginning of the American revolution. In reply to this, the British took steps to close down the Boston harbour till the loss of tea was compensated. In addition to that, they took steps to reform the administration of Massachusetts and Georgia states by imposing laws without taking the ideas of the people into consideration. The people of states who were angry about these submissive steps rallied to Philadelphia and conducted a convention. This is treated as the first continental convention in the history of the American revolution.



Fig 7.2 – Boston Tea Party

The Philadelphia convention was a landmark in the American freedom struggle. It was declared that the British parliament had no authority in imposing laws for American states, in this convention where 12 states were represented. Further proposals were passed to boycott the British products and to make people of states armed for their security. After this, the battle between the British government and American states intensified. Many people died in an armed battle between the forces of the two parties in 1775 in Lexington, America. Later the state representatives got together in Philadelphia again and decided to organize state soldiers as a continental force. **George Washington** was appointed the commander of that army. A committee was appointed in this meeting to obtain foreign aid for the American freedom struggle.

After setting the background to face the British forces, the united representative bureau issued the statement of America's independence on the 4th of July 1776. This document exclaimed that human beings have rights from birth that cannot be deprived of and they establish governments to protect them and declared the independence of America. The British did not agree with this and started war against the American states. These battles continued for several years. During the first two years of the fights, the British forces became victorious. But, after some time they began to fail. They had to face difficulties because they were fighting in an unknown land, thousands of miles away from their motherland. France supported the American forces during this war. Later Spain and Holland too joined the opposition of Britain. As a result, the American freedom struggle became problematic for Britain. Britain offered to have peace talks in 1783 because they had suffered losses in several battles that took place in America. As a result America was accepted as an independent country in the Paris Peace Pact signed in 1783. After that in 1789 Americans passed a new constitution. Thus George Washington became the first president in America.

Results of the Freedom Struggle

Thirteen states that were governed separately by Britain got together and won independence marking a landmark in the world history. By that time, there were several other countries, in Asian and American continents which existed as colonies of European countries. The freedom struggle of America set an example to those countries also. Some other results of the American revolution are;

- the birth of the independent country called United States of America
- an incident which displayed the value of independence to the whole human kind
- generating an enthusiasm on human rights in the world
- the first written unified constitution

7.2 French Revolution

The uprising of the French people against the monarchy of France in 1789 and the establishment of a new ruling system is called the 'French revolution'. As a result of the French revolution, there emerged a great attention on human rights in France and later it spread into the other countries in the world.

France became a country with glory in Europe by the 18th century A.D. They had marked a significant development in foreign trade and industrialization. The condition of the french farmers was better than the other countries. France had become a significant country in Europe in the aspect of intellectuals and social customs and traditions. Yet, due to the weak administration of their rulers, there were several political, social and economic problems in France. Louis XVI was the most responsible character for this demise. People started struggling for their rights based on freedom, equity and brotherhood against the corrupted ruling of Louis XVI. People protested against the monarchy in 1789 because they were under heavy suppression by those rulers. There were several reasons that resulted such an environment in France.

Political Reasons of the French Revolution

Before the revolution, it was a monarchy that existed in France. The dynasty that governed France was called Bourbon Monarchy. Louis XIV and Louis XVI were famous kings of that dynasty. Kings believed that the kingship was anointed on

them by the god. All constitutional, executive and judiciary powers were centralized to the king. King Louis XIV who was mesmerized by this unlimited power once exclaimed, "I am the kingdom". He further exclaimed, "whatever anticipated by me is lawful". He enjoyed the power to arrest anybody with no any lawsuit and imprison



Fig 7.3 – Louis XVI

for life time. People of France bitterly criticized this power. The king used this power to suppress his personal and political enemies and they were imprisoned in the prison called Bastille.

Therefore, the first attack of the French revolution was suffered by the Bastille prison which was a symbol of corrupted ruling system under a monarch.

The luxurious life spent by the king was another aspect that increased the displeasure of people. The Versailles palace where the king lived was a massive palace covering several acres. It was full of ponds, flower gardens and other decorations. The king's luxurious life style can be understood when his palace is seen.



Fig 7.4 – Versailles palace

Fig 7.5 – Garden of the palace





Fig 7.6 – Inside the palace

Fig 7.7 – A bedroom in the palace

The relationship between the king and the people was distanced because the king lived in an enclosed luxurious palace leading a separate life. The general public were not allowed in the palace. Only the priests and aristocrats could enter the palace. The king got news about the country from the aristocrats. They created a completely distorted picture about the country.



Fig 7.8 – Front gate of the of Versailles palace

This distancing between the king made the people's frustration grow into a revolution.



Fig 7.9 – Queen Marie Antoinette

Mary Antoinette was a very proud woman. She had interfered in the kings ruling, exploiting his excessive power and weaknesses. The French monarchy consisted of an advisory board headed by the king and a bench of ministers that functioned under the above mentioned advisory board. This monarchy was highly corrupted. The local administration that was in the hands of the aristocrats was extremely inefficient. Therefore, the government appointed a group of officers called "intendant" for local administration. But, the battle between the aristocrats and new officers made people suffer because the congruence of the administration was broken.

People did not have a chance of complaining about their problems or protesting against the monarchy however much they had to suffer.

There was a board consisting of people's representatives which was called "States General Council" where the problems of the general public were discussed. Yet, it was not summoned for 175 years. Therefore the corrupted and inefficient administration that existed in France monarchy led to a revolution in France.

✤ Social Aspect of the French Revolution

By the time the revolution began there existed a feudal society in France. The feudal system was a monarchy that was run with the help of aristocrats who had captured land in masses.

There were three social strata as priests, aristocrats and general public other than the royal family by the time of the revolution. Priests and aristocrats enjoyed all the social benefits. Among the general public there were three groups as middle class, farmers and labourers. Aristocrats and the priests were the minority whereas general public was the majority. The middle class was a group that had earned money by trade and other business transactions. Yet, they did not have any political recognition.

In countries like Britain, the middle class had got political power but in France, the middle class was disheartened because of the authoritarian power of the aristocrats.

Priests were exempted from taxes and they lived on the tax money of the general public. They were very rich. Most of the lands in France were owned by aristocrats. Some of the privileges enjoyed by them were;

- permission to fish and hunt in any place of the country.
- farmers were to go to the grinding mills, wine presses, bakeries owned by

aristocrats for their requirements and they had to pay very high charges.

- the aristocrats could collect tax from the lands of farmers.
- they were exempted from government taxes.

It was the middle class that was educated and rich in the French society. Yet they did not have proper recognition for their status. Though they were educated, all government posts were given to uneducated, inefficient aristocrats. Because of this situation, there emerged a concept that one's standard should be measured based on their ability and wealth not on their birth. This provided the background for the emergence of the concept of equality and it later laid the foundation for the democracy.

Among the under privileged in France the most suffered groups were farmers. They represented 92% of the French population. They though owned some land and worked very hard, had to pay taxes to inefficient aristocrats, were suppressed by heavy taxes and cost of living.

***** Economic Conditions that led to the French Revolution

By the time of the revolution, the French treasury was completely bankrupt. Some reasons for that were,

- the excessive expenditure for the luxurious lives of the king and his family
- unnecessary expenditure for war

France had to bear losses because of the seven year war with Britain and supporting the American freedom struggle.

• Inefficient tax system

The heavy taxes were another reason for the French revolution. The general public of France had to pay about 60% of their income as tax. There were so many types of taxes that made people suffer. Taille, Gabelle and Capitation are three examples for such taxes.

• Taille – A levy charged on houses and lands of the general public. This was different from area to area. Cities like Lion and Paris were free of this tax.

- Gabelle This was charged on salt. Every adult had to buy seven pounds of salt every year. The price of salt differed from area to area. Because of that, salt was transported illegally from areas where salt was cheap to areas where salt was expensive. The transportation of salt was a government monopoly and thousands of people who transported salt illegally were imprisoned.
- **Capitation** This was introduced in 1695 as a levy charged from everybody. But when in function, the cost had to be completely borne by the general public.

Because of the area based administration system in France, laws and taxes were different from area to area. This situation became an obstacle to local and foreign trade and economic development of France. The middle class people who were engaged in trade had to pay high taxes due to these taxes, laws and regulations. It is reported that a water vessel that carried wine from southern France to Paris had to pay taxes at 40 places and for that purpose they had to spend additional two weeks in addition to the cost. There was no security for the money invested by middle class people because the state treasury was bankrupt. This was an obstacle for the development of the middle class. The middle class expected an economic system free from government interference. But the French monarchy failed to provide the efficient administration on economic security expected by the middle class. Those were the reasons for the middle class to lead the revolution.

Philosophical Ideas that helped the Revolution



Fig 7.10 Montesquieu

The emerging bitter feelings against the monarchy were catalyzed by French philosophical ideas. Philosophers like Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau expressed ideas that encouraged the revolution.

Montesquieu in his book, "The Spirit of Laws" explained the harm in allowing one person to exercise the whole power of a nation and stated that such a condition led to dictatorship. Therefore, he suggested dividing power into three institutions as legislature, parliament and judiciary and he further explained that a dictatorship can be avoided in such a way. Voltaire explained the importance of expressing one's own ideas freely. He severely criticized the monarchy and the monopoly of the church.



Fig 7.11 Rousseau

Rousseau presented the concept people's sovereignty through his book called "The Social Contract". He exclaimed that the king must work for the betterment of people; if otherwise, the people have the rights to chase away such rulers. His ideas became the foundation of equality and people's sovereignty.

On the other hand, the French soldiers who went to support the American freedom struggle had identified concept of freedom there and started to activate it in France encouraging the French revolution.

The Revolution

By 1789 the closest reason for the French revolution is the situation arose due to the financial problems in France where there had been continuous protests. A reform in taxes was necessary to settle that situation. The king had to summon the council called, States General Council. There were problems on the agenda of the meeting because the bureau had not met for 175 years. The representatives of aristocrats, priests and general public were there in the council. Nevertheless, the aristocrats demanded that they and the priests should meet as a noble board. They wanted to get together with the priests and defeat the proposals of the lower class people. The king also agreed to this but the lower class people disagreed. Because of this crisis the third class which represented the general public met separately.

The third class which called themselves the National Bureau gathered in an indoor tennis court and took oaths not to dismiss until a new constitution has been designed for France because the king closed the hall where the aristocrats met due to their influence. This is called the "**oath in the tennis court**". The general public of France supported that group.



The people of Paris who were fed up of the monarchy gathered in the city with arms. The people of France attacked the Bastille prison which was considered a symbol of injustic of the French monarchy and released the prisoners on 14th July 1789. That was the beginning of the French revolution.

Fig 7.12 – Attack on Bastille prison

The rebellion started in France, spread all around the country. Louise XVI could not control this situation. As a result the king's power was lost and both central and local administration went into the hands of the rebels. Rebels could make the country calm by establishing a national security force and rebel committees under the leader called 'Lafayette'. King Louise XVI and Queen Antoinette were trialed under the rebels and both of them were sentenced to death.

Results of the French Revolution

There were several changes in the political, economic and social sectors of France due to the French revolution. Through this revolution in which people rose against a powerful monarchy and unjust social economic system, world was gifted with numerous experiences and examples. Some of those results are;

the interest on fundamental human rights all over the world

The french revolutionalists published a human rights convention in 1791. It explained that the fundamental human rights are rights that the people are born with and not something that is given by the rulers. Some concepts mentioned in the convention are;

- every human being should have equal rights because everybody is born a free individual.
- every citizen has a right to be a part of imposing law.
- every citizen should have the right to express their ideas freely and follow any religion they like.

The three concepts; freedom, equality and brotherhood which were the main slogans of the French revolution had high regard in the three quotations of the above mentioned human rights convention. People who were suppressed around the world by social inequality were blessed with this. As a result many countries in the world later legalized the fundamental human rights in their constitution. There were so many changes in France due to the French revolution. They can be considered as results of the revolution. Some such changes are;

- downfall of the French monarchy
- ▶ relief for French farmers and labourers
- instability of political states in France

Governments changed in quick succession after the revolution because those who led the revolution had different political views. This situation lasted from 1789 to1799. Because of this unstable political situation, Napoleon Bonaparte, an army officer captured power in France in 1799. After that, it was a completely new political system that existed in France.

$\bullet ACTIVITY 1$

Write an essay on "Human rights won by French people".

7.3 Russian Revolution

Russia was an empire which covered almost one sixth of the world land by the 20th century. A systematic organization was needed to govern this huge empire. The rulers in Russia those days carried out a stern administration with the help of army forces, police and intelligence services. The deism of the Christian church helped this administration a lot. Under this condition the rulers of Russia, Tsars worked like dictators. Majority farmers, and the labour class created as a result of the industrial development were under the hard grip of the church and aristocrats due to the feudal social system that existed in Russia. People had to suffer a lot because Russia too took part in World War I. Because of that the theme of the revolution was; peace, land and food. Two revolutions occurred under these themes in March

and October 1917. Let's now probe deep into this revolution which developed with the purpose of creating a society with no class boundaries.

Reasons for the Revolution

By the 20th century in Russia as well as in France, a corrupted dictating monarchy existed. Tsars who became the kings of Russia worked according to anointed kingship. They believed that kingship was granted to them by god and led a corrupted ruling system paying attention only to their needs. People were made to suffer by charging taxes in order to increase the income of the government. The kings who followed the anointed kingship paid more attention to religion without trying to solve the economic and social problems of the people.

When the economic and social system of Russia was considered, it seemed that there existed an agricultural economic system based on a feudal social system. Land was inherited by aristocrats. Farmers who were the general public of the country, farmers had to work like slaves. Aristocrats were the rich and slaves were considered a part of their wealth. Farmers had to suffer a lot because they had to pay a part of their harvest earned by cultivating the land of aristocrats as tax to the church, government and aristocrats. A labour community had emerged as a result of the industrialization that spread in Russia by the 19th century. Anyway, their condition was better than that of farmers. But they were a small minority. The middle class was also a minority and most of the war with Japan in 1904 and 1905. It was one of the closest reasons to rise a rebellion against the government in 1905. This rebellion against the government that was started as farmers' rebellions and labour strikes was joined by the rebels of the navy. Though the rebels could not win this fight, it became a good omen for a struggle against the government.

Though Tsars made some political reforms understanding that people were rising against the government, people were not satisfied with that and started launching struggles again. There the king ignored the protests and started repressing people. Because of that, the Bolshevik party which was led by Lenin, the leader of rebels stepped out of the council called Duma and started to function secretly. At the same time, World War I was started in 1914. Russia too joined in it as a part of allied forces. Russia had to suffer great losses due to the war. There, Russian farmers and labourers were recruited in the army in masses. It was done against their consent.

As a result, farming was disturbed because there were no experienced farmers. The production of necessary items such as food, medicine, manure was disturbed because a majority of the factories were used for armament production. Because of that, there was a shortage of food in the country and food prices increased a lot. People suffered a lot because the price of bread went up. People were under pressure owing to the above reasons. It blasted in 1917.

Revolution in March, 1917

The March revolution in 1917 began with a strike in a textile factory. It grew into a mega strike within three days. All underprivileged groups gathered in this. People protested along roads demanding for bread. Even the soldiers in Tsar's government joined these protests. The king had to give up his throne in March 1917 because he could not control people's protests. After this, the administration power was taken by a group of rebels led by a leader called Kerensky. They too did not have solutions to the problems of the country.

The necessity of the country by that time was land for farmers, peace for soldiers and food for all. Because of that, the farmers started to engage in subversive activities by setting fire to lands, robbing and destroying the landowners. At the same time, the rulers of the new government worked in unison with capitalists going against the expectations of the underprivileged. Soldiers too became disheartened because the new government too continued the war.

Revolution in October 1917

At the same time, Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin worked with the aim of creating a government of farmers and labourers by establishing organizations called Soviet Bureaus all over the country. There were two political groups as Bolsheviks and Mensheviks at the beginning of the Russian revolution. Mensheviks were the minority that believed that the problems of people can be solved through minor reforms. The majority were the Bolsheviks who believed in communism. Their aim was to build a class free society based on communist ideas by breaking down the capitalist economic system. This organization which was headed by Lenin and Trotsky received the support of underprivileged groups such as labourers, farmers, soldiers etc. The temporary government which was established after the March revolution, was disliked by the people because they could not solve the burning problems of people. V.I. Lenin who noticed the emerging objection of people against

the temporary government said, "**If we do not grasp power at this moment, history will not sympathize on us.**" Accordingly the revolution was started in October 1917. Armed forces captured the major government centres (railways, banks, post offices). Rebels protested along streets under the theme, 'peace, land, and food'.



Fig 7.13 – V.I Lenin



Fig 7.14 – Leon Trotsky

The middle class and soldiers who understood that no protection could be expected from the government did not show any opposition to the protestors. This revolution was supported by all but rulers. This proves how critical was the pressure felt by the Russians. That is how they could win the revolution without much retaliation. According to the world accepted calendar the revolution took place in November, but according to the calendar used in Russia it was October. Hence, this revolution became to be known as 1917 October revolution.

The Results of the Revolution

The major result of this revolution is the establishment of a government by Bolsheviks headed by Lenin by defeating the government led by Kerensky. The Bolshevik party later became the Communist party. Lenin's government could end the war with Germany and bring peace to the country. Thus, Russia became a peaceful country. That was the expectation of the soldiers. Lenin's new government abolished the personal land ownership that existed under the feudal system. The land taken over to the government was distributed among farmers to be cultivated as small farms and later they were turned into big communal farms. Thus, farmers started cultivating under communal ownership. The farmers received the land they expected under this system. All the factories in Russia were peopalized and their management was given to Soviet Bureaus of labourers under the guidance of the communist party. In addition to this, banks and transportation too were peoplized. The Tsar's administration was completely wiped out and instead of that a new group of officers was appointed that was selected based on the soviet bureaus consisting of labourers and farmers. Russia was named as United States of Soviet Russia after the revolution. Thus, Russia became a country that accepted the socialist concept.

Socialist Philosophy

Socialism is a political point of view that follows the communist concepts such as the acceptance of common rights of people for the wealth of the society, providing every person equal opportunity to develop their skills and equal distribution of production gains to all. Therefore;

- priority was given to common development and common needs over personal needs
- wiping out of social injustic and inequality
- building up of a noble human society that treats everybody in comradeship shedding all class differences in the society; were the characteristics of this society.

The spreading of socialist philosophy all over the world is another result of the Russian revolution. Socialism and capitalism became the two major trends in the society after World War II. Therefore, most of the countries in the world that were favourable towards Russia included aspects of socialism into their constitutions. e.g. :- China, East Germany, South Korea, Cuba are some of them.

As mentioned at the beginning of this lesson after the American revolution, the powerful country called America was created and a capitalist group of countries camped around America accepting the capitalist economic system.

After the Russian revolution, another group of countries camped around Russia accepting socialism. The countries that did not belong to either camp became non-aligned countries. Sri Lanka is a country that follows non-aligned principles.

\checkmark ACTIVITY

Write an essay on the positive characteristics of socialism.

CHAPTER

Representations World Wars and Conventions

Introduction

The two world wars that affected the whole world took place during the first half of the 20th century. Both of these wars started in Europe and then spread into the other continents. These battles are called world wars because a number of powerful countries took part in these wars and affected the whole world. World leaders stepped into different conventions in order to avoid further world wars because of the disaster caused in the first two world wars. This lesson focuses its attention on the factors that led to the world wars, their nature, results as well as the United Nation's Organization and its importance.

8.1 World War I



Map 8.1 How World War I spread all over the world

The war that spread throughout the world between 1914 and 1918 is named as World War I. The history does not know any war that invaded every continent before this. This war began in Europe and later spread into their colonies also. Thereafter, when United States too joined the war, it became a world war that invaded all continents.

Reasons for World War I

• France and Germany became enemies in the attempt of making a united Germany.



Fig 8.1 Otto von Bismarck

and started a war with France to show the strength of Germany. France suffered heavy losses in this war. Since then these two neighbouring countries became arch rivals.

There was no country called Germany at the beginning of the 19th century though there were about 350 small states where people who spoke the German language. It was the skillful leader called Otto von Bismarck who created the country called Germany by making those small states united. Bismarck established the united Germany in 1870

• Behaviour of German Emperor, William II

The creator of Germany, Bismarck was satisfied with the establishment of the powerful and united country called Germany. He was not interested in colonization. But the German emperor (Keizer) in 1887, King William II was not so satisfied. His aim was to establish

a German empire through colonization by acting against the aims of Bismarck. In this attempt the foreign affairs policy



Fig 8.2 German Emperor William II

of Germany generated suspicion among other nations in the world. German forces

were strengthened in order to establish a German empire. Britain was distressed with this fact and strengthened their forces in competition to Germany. Thus, there emerged a tensed situation in Europe.

• Competition for colonies

By the mid 19th century the powerful countries in Europe had entered a competition of establishing colonies in Asia and Africa. Britain could claim the highest number of colonies here. The runners up were Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain and Holland.

Germany that was able to achieve a rapid industrial development after the establishment of a united Germany, wanted to find a market for their products. The other nations were suspicious about Germany's approach towards Asia and Africa. Specially, Britain took this as a challenge to their existing power. This competition for colonies manured hostile feelings between powerful nations who were in opposition.

• Competition for Armaments and Development of Racism

Since the latter part of the 19th century, every powerful country in Europe (Germany, Britain, France, and Russia) believed in being armed to increase their power. A German commander, Von Volk has said, "you will have to be armed for 50 years to protect what you have gained in 5 years by means of armaments." This shows the dependence on armaments the Germans had. There was a competition for armament production among some European countries because they depended on armament production.

On the other hand, because Germany and Italy became united based on nationalism, a nationalistic trend began to grow in Europe. A special characteristic in nationalism is that they treat their country in high regard considering other countries as inferior to them. This situation created problems among nations.

• Foreign Policy of Bismarck that tried to isolate France in Europe

Bismarck of Germany who defeated France in war in 1870 captured the two fertile areas called Alsace and Lorraine that belonged to France. Because of that Germany

was always in fear that France would fight back in revenge and recapture Alsace and Lorraine. Therefore, the foreign policy of Germany after 1870 was building friendship with powerful countries in Europe and working to isolate France in Europe. Two camps of countries emerged based on France and Germany in Europe because France too started building friendships with European nations. As a result of this, one camp was created by Germany, Austria and Italy and the other was built including Britain, France and Russia. Here, the camp including Germany was called the central powers and the camp with France was called the Allied camp. The other countries too joined one of these camps according to their necessities. Since then, till 1914 there were verbal battles between these camps.

• Assassination of Austria's Heir of Throne



Fig 8.3 – A picture depicting the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife and the vehicle they travelled

When Europe was on the verge of a war, the heir to the throne in Austria, prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife were murdered when they were touring in Sarajevo, the

capital of Bosnia. This was done by two Serbians. Austria treated this as a conspiracy against them and demanded for compensation from Serbia under certain conditions. Austria declared war against Serbia on the 28th July 1914 because Serbia refused to compensate. This incident which is called the 'Sarajevo incident' is believed to be the closest reason for the beginning of World War I.



- 129 - Fig 8.4 Prince Franz Ferdinand

***** Countries that took part in World War I

Allied countries	Central powers		
France, Great Britain, Russia, United	Germany, Austria, Italy, Turkey,		
States of America	Bulgaria, Hungary		

* The spread of World War I

The declaration of war against Serbia by Austria in Sarajevo incident was hailed by Germany which was a friendly country of Austria. Therefore, Austria as well as Serbia wanted to gain help from their friendly countries. Serbia which was afraid of the military power of Austria requested for aid from Russia and Russia too agreed to give assistance.

Though Germany which was partial to Austria requested Russia not to support Serbia, Russia ignored the request. Therefore, Germany too entered the war in support of Austria. As a result, Germany declared war against Russia on the 01st of August 1914.

By that time France and Russia had been friendly countries and Germany which thought that France would support Russia because of their friendship declared war against France also with no second thoughts. There was a hatred between Germany and France since Germany was united. Germany thought of attacking France before she entered war and invaded Belgium and started attacking France through Belgium. Britain considering this stubborn behaviour of Germany a threat to their security and because of the friendship between Britain and France, she came in support of France declaring war against Germany. Britain had colonies all around the world by that time. Because Britain entered war, the effects of war were felt by all the colonies too.

There had been fights both on land and sea between the two parties. There were long drawn battles in which modern weapons were used. Germany kept on launching submarine attacks. As a result, one out of four ships launched by Britain were attacked by German submarines.

United States of America joining the war

United States of America, which was a powerful country by this time, was impartial at the beginning. They entered war because one of their commuter ships, Lusitania was drowned by a German submarine. America joining the allied forces was one of the major reasons for the defeat of Germany. The mass food storage America possessed, the army and navy which numbered up to two million soldiers and the modern weapons became unbearable threats to the opposition.

A special incident that took place during the war is that Italy which was in the central camp came into a secret agreement with the Allies and declared war on Germany. Because of this act military secrets that were there between Germany and Austria fell into the hands of the enemies and this became a disadvantage to Germany.



Fig 8.5 The ship Lusitania

Because of the attacks of Allied forces, Germany lost its forces and their military power became weakened. There was a food shortage in the country and it made the forces irritable. At the same time, there were riots among the general public. The emperor gave up his throne because the German navy rebelled to dethrone the emperor and this incident quickened the defeat of Germany. Thus, the World War I which lasted from 1914 to 1918 came to an end with the defeat of central powers headed by Germany.

Results of World War I

- The most significant incident is the victory of allied groups by defeating the central powers.
- The loss of many lives and wealth because firearms were used and millions of people had become disabled.
- Versailles convention Leaders of many countries took part in discussions held in Paris in January 1919 for a peace pact at the end of war.

Names of those leaders are;		
President of the United States of America	_	Woodrow Wilson
Prime minister of Britain	_	Jorge Loide
Prime minister of France	_	George Clemenceau
Prime minister of Italy	—	Vittorio Orlando

As a result of these peace talks, several agreements were signed with the defeated parties. The Versailles convention signed with Germany was among them. Germany was severely punished as the convict of the war.

Punishments given to Germany in the Versailles Convention

- Germany had to pay a huge compensation to the wining countries.
- Restrictions were laid against Germany in keeping forces and the production of armament.
- Resubmission of Alsace and Lorraine areas to France.
- Dividing Germany's colonies outside Europe among the victorious countries.
- Downfall of the dictatorship monarchies in Europe. Dictatorship monarchies like German empire, Austria Hungary Empire, Turkey Empire fell down. New independent countries emerged based on different nationalities. e.g.: Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia
- The whole of Europe faced an economic demise because the production weakened and price of goods went up due to the economic downfall. The United States of America and Britain became powerful countries in the world at the end of the war. Britain was able to improve its naval power and the number of colonies they had too increased.

• Steps were taken to establish an organization called the League of Nations Union to protect the world from such disasters in the future.

8.2. League of the Nations Union

The necessity of establishing an international organization to avoid such wars and maintain peace and security in the world was highlighted in the peace talks held in Paris in 1919. The president of United States of America, Woodrow Wilson pioneered in this. The League of the Nations Union was established on the 10th of January 1920 as a result of this. There were 42 countries in this union at the beginning.

Objectives of establishing the League of the Nations Union

- Giving peaceful resolutions to conflicts between countries
- Avoiding world wars in the future
- Improving international understanding and harmony
- Protecting the freedom and sovereignty of small countries
- Protection of world peace through universal harmony

Attempts of the League of the Nations Union for Peace

The League of the Nations union was able to avoid wars for about 20 years after its establishment. The reason for that was the respectful obedience to the decisions shown by both big and small countries during the first few years of the union. Some instances where the League of the Nations Union became successful were;

- prevent the wars that broke out between countries like; Sweden and Finland, Germany and Poland, Greece and Bulgaria and Iran and Turkey.
- working for the rehabilitation of refugees.
- conducting supervision of colonies that were put under the guardianship of the League of the Nations Union well, after the World War I.
- taking steps to weaken slavery and drug business.

***** Reasons for the failure of the League of the Nations Union

The primary objective of establishing the League of the Nations Union was to protect world peace and stop further wars. But within 20 years of the establishment of the League of the Nations Union, the convict of World War I, Germany began World War II also. It was clear that Nations Union's objective of stopping further wars could not be achieved. There were several reasons for this failure.

• United States of America which was wealthy and a country with military power did not become a member of this union. The American senate refused to agree with some principles laid according to the requirements of the member countries of the League of the Nations Union. Therefore, a powerful country like America was not bound to protect the principles of the league of the Nations Union. This caused the failure of the union. On the other hand keeping Russia, another powerful nation in the world away from the league of the Nations Union too affected it badly.

• The League of the Nations Union failed in encouraging its members to put its decisions into action. The reason for that is because the union did not have such power to get its members function according to its decisions. There was no military force in the union and there was no common agreement to employ a peace keeping force.

• Another challenge the union faced was that there was no unity among the powerful nations that were the members of the union and they were reluctant to give priority to common needs keeping their personal objectives aside. The members of the League of the Nations Union didn't pay enough attention to Germany's resignation from the union before World War II. The reason was that they were happy with Germany's role played in attacking communism.

• The union was not able to work against some countries that disturbed world peace. When Italy invaded Abyssinia, economic restrictions were imposed against them. Yet, the union failed to implement them efficiently.

• Another example is the time Japan invaded Manchuria. No action was taken against Japan in this incident.

The result of the failure of the League of the Nations Union was another World War. It was World War II.
\checkmark ACTIVITY

- 1. Mark the countries that joined in World War I on a map.
- 2. Explain three reasons for World War I.
- 3. Mention two results of World War I.

8.3. World War II

We learned above that World War I ended by 1918 A.D. Another world war began to rise within two decades after World War I. As a result, another world war occurred. This devastating battle that lasted for six years from September 1939 to August 1945 is called World War II.

Reasons for World War II

Though World War II began in 1939, it did not break out so suddenly. The competition that existed between powerful countries and the behaviour of some European countries set the background for another war in about a decade after World War I. When this situation is considered, several reasons that kindled the war can be identified. Let's study those in detail.

01. Hitler's rise to power in Germany and his conduct

After World War I, western countries got together to establish a new government in Germany which was called as "Weimar Republic". The Failure of the Weimar Republic in finding solutions to the problems faced by Germany in the contemporary society, paved way to a ruler like Hitler to come to power in Germany. Germany had to pay a vast compensation according to the Versailles convention. Because Germany spent her capital completely to pay compensation for war after 1920, the Weimar Republic started printing money in large quantities. This created a high inflation in the country reducing the real value of money. The price of goods went up rapidly and the unemployment rate too increased. Hitler's followers took the advantage of

this situation. Germany too suffered the adverse effects of the world economic demise of 1929. As a result the prices of goods and unemployment rate increased in Germany. There were labour strikes in some cities. Though many countries faced this situation, Hitler's followers began to claim that the democratic Weimar Republic could not solve problems.

Adolf Hitler was an Austrian. He fought for Germany in World War I. He was imprisoned during the Weimar Republic for conspiring against the government. While in prison, he wrote a famous book called, "Mein Kampf (My War)". He presented his ideas about German Nazism in this book. Hitler who was released from prison kept on spreading an insane racism. He was able to become the German Chancellor by capturing the power in the German parliament (Reichstag) in 1933. His party was named as National Socialist Party.



Fig 8.6 Adolf Hitler

Nazism

- Nazism which emerged against democracy, communism, and capitalism, bore as its basic concept that Germans are the noblest nation that descends from pure Aryans.
- Another special characteristic of Nazism is looking down upon Jews.
- Hitler has explained Nazism in his book 'Mein Kampf'.
- Nazism is a political system that was based on party dictatorship.

It is said that Hitler had conducted speeches before his instructors to get practice in making public speeches to attract people. He came to power in 1933 with the support of the other members in the parliament. Yet, he gradually established his power and started being a dictator. When Hitler became the chancellor, the president of Germany was Von Hindenburg. Old Hindenburg died soon and Hitler grasped the president's power also. He got his followers set fire to the parliament building in an approaching election and accused communists of it. Then he abolished all political

parties and started murdering his opponents such as communists and Jews. Here, his secret police force, the Gestapo and the SS force engaged themselves in brutal massacres. Hitler was a person who abused mass media completely for his advantage. His media minister Goebbels, violated all media ethics and used mass media to create a public opinion which was partial to Hitler. Hitler completely disturbed the democracy of Germany. The freedom of press, freedom of meeting and freedom of expressing ideas were completely banned. The contemporary Germans tolerated these things with the expectation of a noble Germany as was promised by Hitler. The western capitalist countries did not oppose Hitler because they were happy about the destruction caused to communism by Hitler's brutal massacres of communists in Germany. This apparently made Hitler more and more stubborn.

Hitler who quitted the League of the Nations Union in 1934 drew Germany back to war. Hitler invaded neighbouring Austria in1938 and started a Nazi reign there by attaching it to Germany. Then, Hitler focused his attention on Czechoslovakia and by separating the Germans and Czechoslovakians, he supported the establishment of a new country called Sudetenland. After that, Hitler invaded both Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia and took them under the power of Germany. The western countries did not oppose Hitler's actions till he invaded Poland. But with Hitler's invasion of Poland, countries like Britain and France started fighting against Hitler. That was the beginning of World War II. Hitler who came to power in 1933 started World War II by empowering Germany in 6 years and Allied forces including America, England and Russia had to fight Hitler for 6 years to defeat him and wipe out Nazism from the world.

During this period, Hitler had established concentration camps and got millions of innocent Jews and Russians assassinated. Some examples for such camps are Auschwitz, Bergen Belsen, Belzec and Sobibor. People of the whole world had to suffer due to the invasive policies carried out by leaders like Hitler during World War II. The development of the whole world was drawn back for several years because the whole world had to pay its attention to war. The biggest destruction after World War I was caused during World War II.



Fig 8.7 - Rings and slippers of those who were massacred in a Nazi concentration camp



02. The conduct of Mussolini in Italy

camp

Though Italy was in the victorious group in World War I, the peace pacts signed after war were not so profitable for them. They could not obtain the number of colonies they expected. As a result, there were several economic problems such as unemployment, food shortage etc. At the same time, labour strikes broke out because of increasing labour problems. Benito Mussolini who exploited this situation, captured political power through Fascist political party in 1922. His political system is known as Fascism. It is also a single party dictatorship like Nazism of Hitler. Mussolini who captured power in Italy started hunting his enemies using the

armed soldiers called 'Black Shirt Army'. Though Mussolini could strengthen the economy of Italy through dictatorship, his attempt became a failure amidst the bad effects of world economic demise in 1929. First, Mussolini gathered all internal powers into his hand and later started spread the power of Italy internationally. It was in 1870 that Italy became a united country just as Germany. By that time, the other European nations had captured many of the fertile areas of the world. As a result, the existing condition was likely to create battles among European nations in the attempt of Italy to establish colonies. In 1936, Mussolini invaded and captured Abyssinia of Africa which is known as Ethiopia today. Later Mussolini joined



Fig 8.9 Benito Mussolini

Hitler in the World War II in order to improve Fascist power. There, the Fascist and Nazi powers fought against the countries headed by England, Russia and America. Mussolini was arrested towards the end of World War II and lost his life at the end.

03. The conduct of Japan

Japan came forward as a developed Asian country towards the end of the 19th century. They had the necessity of finding raw materials for their productions and markets for their products. Yet, by that time, many areas of Asia had become colonies of European nations. Hence, Japan's attempt to fulfill its economic needs or building a Japanese empire in Asia resulted in a situation which led Japan to have problems with European nations. In 1934, Japan invaded Manchuria in Northern China and captured it. Japan's incursive behaviour was discussed in the League of the Nations Union and Japan was found guilty of invasion. Here, Japan resigned from the League of the Nations Union and continued their invasive conduct by capturing several important harbours and cities of China. In the same way as Hitler's and Mussolini's behaviour affected Europe, Japan's behaviour affected Asia. Thus, Japan had become the invader in Asia by the time World War II began. Thus, Japan's behaviour paced up the approach of war to Asia.

04. Weaknesses of the League of the Nations Union

It was explained above that the objective of establishing the League of the League of the Nations Union was to protect world peace and avoiding war. Nevertheless, the Union did not possess power or ability to avoid war.

Several countries entered into friendly agreements because the collaboratively established Nations Union to avoid wars failed in its task. As a result of this, the powerful nations started to be armed for the security of their group. This being armed set a background of war.

Participants of World War II



(Map 8.2)

Allied Powers which were Britain, France, United States of Americe (western liberalist countries) belonged to this group. Communist Russia too was an allied country.

The European countries; Germany and Italy entered into a secret agreement with Japan in 1937. This group was named the Berlin, Rome, Tokyo axis after their capital cities. Later, the term "Axis Powers" was used to name these three countries.



Fig 8.10 – A German military submarine



Fig 8.11 – Gas ovens used by Hitler to massacre the Jews and other prisoners of war

Expansion of World War II

World War II began when Hitler of Germany invaded Poland on 01 September, 1939. Britain and France that had vowed to protect Poland joined the war declaring war against Germany. Germany defeated Poland within four weeks. Continuing his belligerence, Hitler captured the countries; Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. He attacked France in June, 1940 and captured her capital city, Paris.



Fig 8.12 – British fighter aircraft

With the approach of German forces into Paris, Mussolini too joined war invading different parts of France across the territories of Italy. Thus, as a result of the agreement made after German and Italian forces capturing France, Germany took France into her hand.

Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister who considered the defeat of France an insult to Britain understood the value of being strategic in facing future threats. Churchill who was an eloquent speaker and a skillful leader was able





to motivate the whole British population to fight against Nazism. He built a war front against Germany including British colonies such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and Ceylon. In addition to that, USA supported Britain a lot.

USA joins the war

How Japan tried to build an empire in Asia while Germany and Italy were capturing European countries was discussed above. There, Japan had to fight the countries such as Britain, USA and France who had many colonies in the eastern part of the world. The camp in Pearl Harbour became an obstacle to Japan in these battles. Therefore, Japan bombed the American navy camp in Pearl Harbour on 07 November, 1941. The American president, Franklin Roosevelt declared war against Japan on this incident. Germany and Italy that were partial to Japan had declared war against America, following the above incident. Thus, the war that was limited to Europe grew into a world war until the end of 1941.

The Germany's next target was Britain. Hitler decided to invade Britain using his air force and commanded them to bomb British air ports and cities. Britain too possessed strong naval and air forces. Then, Britain too employed fighter planes to attack enemy craft. Ferocious attacks took place between the two parties on 14 September, 1940. It was reported that the British air force dropped about 56 German aircraft. Hitler gave up attacking Britain once he understood that Britain's military power and its talent were too stronger than he guessed.

Fig 8.14 Attack on the Pearl harbour



✤ Germany invading Russia

After the above mentioned incidents, Hitler attacked Russia with no any clear reason. He thought that he would be able to capture Russia easily. The French emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte attacked Russia before this and retreated after a great loss with thousands of casualties. Hitler too faced a similar loss after 125 years. Soviet forces had foreseen such an attack and were ready to retaliate. So, they were well equipped with all strategies to misguide the enemy. One such strategy was to keep the German forces in Russia till the severe cold season approached. The Nazi forces too underwent the same destiny Napoleon's forces faced. German forces were not prepared to face a long winter season. Therefore, severe coldness, food shortage and diseases caused many deaths among German forces. Hitler was not tactful enough to retreat. Ignorant to the critical conditions his forces were facing in Russia, Hitler commanded them to move forward. There, the Russian red forces were able to defeat the German forces easily.

Germany surrenders

Russia continued fighting and progressed towards Germany liberating the areas that were in the hands of Nazis. At the same time, French and American forces launched attacks from the western front. The allied forces that reached Germany by March 1945 came to Berlin by May. Hitler and many of his commanders, who understood that their defeat was close by, committed suicide. Thus, Germany surrendered with no conditions in May 1945.

Japan surrenders

Japan captured using its military power, the British colonies such as; Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, Hong Kong. Later, they captured countries like Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Philippines. Thus, by 1942 whole Southeast Asia except Ceylon and India seemed to have surrendered.

Japan bombed Colombo on 05th April 1942 and Trincomalee on 07th April. Because of that, Britain suspecting that Japan would invade Ceylon placed several platoons in Ceylon. Yet no battle between the two parties took place in Ceylon.





Fig 8.15 – The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima

Severe battles took place between the allied forces and Japan resulting in the defeat of Japan. Because the final warning issued to already losing Japan by allied forces was ignored, USA attacked Hiroshima on 06th August, 1945 and Nagasaki on 09th August with atomic bombs. The two cities were destroyed in a few seconds and more than one hundred thousand people died. More than that was injured. Many more generations became ill due to the harmful effects of radiation. World War II came to an end when the emperor Hirohito of Japan agreed to surrender under no conditions seeing the destruction.



Fig 8.16 Hiroshima destruction

Results of World War II

- The axis powers that included Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated in World War II.
- That was the most devastating war that took place on this earth. It is believed that more than 50 million people died in this war. The loss of property and wealth cannot be valued.
- Under Hitler's plan of massacring Jews, millions of Jews in areas like Germany, Poland and Hungary where there was German power were put into concentration camps and murdered.
- Atomic bombs were used as a weapon and the terrible destruction caused by them shocked not only the losers but also the winners. A countless number of lives were lost due to the use of atomic bombs and their terrible results are still felt even after generations.
- France and Britain who were world leaders lost their positions and their imperialist concepts were broken down. As a result, colonies of Britain and France such as Sri Lanka, India and Indo China got independence.
- USA took steps to uplift the devastated defeated countries in Europe. This aid program was named 'Martial Plan' after the state secretary of USA, John Martial.
- USA and Russia became the two central powers of the world after the world war. USA became the protector of democracy whereas Soviet Russia became the protector of socialism. Several other countries also divided into two camps based

on these two countries. Countries headed by USA were called as capitalist camp and the group led by Russia was identified as socialist camp.



Fig 8.17 – A statue built in commemoration of children killed in a village destroyed by Hitler's forces

World was divided into two camps like this after World War II and continued a battle to win their own ideas using different strategies other than weapons. This is called the 'Cold War or Weaponless War'. This existed for about four decades after World War II. Basic strategies employed here were;

- using spy services
- establishment of different organizations
- launching of aid programmes etc

After World War II, Asian and African countries got the opportunity of obtaining independence getting freed from colonization. USA and Russia extended their support to uplift the social and economic status of those countries. Their intention was to win those countries to their camps. Those countries had to be partial to the countries who gave them aid directly or indirectly and it became a problem for their sovereignty. Therefore, they established the Non-Aligned Movement with the intention of being impartial without going with either of the central powers. It was established in 1961. The late Indian Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru was a pioneering leader of this movement.

The then president of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito and Egyptian president Abdul Gamal Nasser too had worked hard for this organization.

↓ ACTIVITY		
Complete the following table.		
Reasons for World War II	Results of World War II	

8.4 United Nations Organization

While World War II was going on, the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill and the USA President, Franklin Roosevelt signed the Atlantic convention in August 1941. This document which explained why the allied forces joined the war, focused its attention on receiving international support for peace and paying attention to protecting the independence and sovereignty of nations. Based on this agreement,



names of 26 nations who fought against axis powers were declared in January 1942 in Washington. The term 'United Nations' was first used here to name those nations. After that, in October 1943, foreign ministers of Russia, Britain, America and China conducted discussions in Moscow about establishing an international organization for peace.

Fig 8.18 – The United Nations Headquarters in Newyork



Fig 8.19 – Official Logo of United Nations

In December 1943 in Teheran, the three central powers of the world,

- USA President, Franklin Roosevelt
- British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill

• Russian leader Joseph Stalin conducted further discussions about this. There the proposal for establishing an organization for world peace was accepted by those leaders. Thus, a discussion was held in June 1945 in San Francisco of USA for designing the United Nations Convention to establish the United Nations Organization. Representatives of 50 countries attended

this. Poland who did not attend the conference later signed the convention. Thus the number of starting members was 51. The organization was officially started in 24 October, 1945 by giving official approval to the convention. Hence, 24th of October is considered the United Nations' Day.

Objectives of the Establishment of United Nations Organization

- Maintaining international peace and security.
- Developing friendship among nations.
- Getting international assistance in confirming human rights and independence.

Structure of the United Nations Organization

UNO consists of six main institutions.

- 1. The General Assembly
- 2. The Security Council
- 3. The Economic and Social Council
- 4. The Trusteeship Council
- 5. The International Court of Justice
- 6. The Secretariat

The General Assembly



This is formed by the representatives of all member countries of the United Nations Organization. There are 193 members. The general assembly of this council is held in September, every year. All members are equal in this council. Every member country has a vote. Main duties and powers of the General Assembly are as follows.

Fig 8.20 – Conference room of the General Assembly of the United Nations

- Discussion of all matters regarding international peace and security and presenting recommendations on them. Presenting proposals for the promotion of fields such as economic, health and human rights of member countries.
- Approval of the budget of the United Nations after considering it and division of contribution fees among members.
- Appointing the secretary-general on the recommendation of the Security Council, appointing Judges for the International Court of Justice and admission of new members to the organization.

The Security Council



Fig 8.21 – A moment when the members of the Security Council were voting

There are 15 members in this council. USA, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and China are permanent members. The term of membership of the other 10 members is limited to 2 years. The permanent members enjoy veto power. Veto power means that if one member disagrees with a proposal, that proposal would become void. Every member is bound under the charter to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

The main function of the Security Council is to probe into conflicts that could be a threat to international peace and security and forward proposals to settle them peacefully. Other important functions of the council are imposing economic restrictions and taking military actions if necessary against invaders.

✤ The Economic and Social Council



Fig 8.22 The meeting of Economic and Social Council

There are 54 members in this council. Their term of membership is three years. The main objective of this council is improving economy, culture, education and health of the world community with the help of international community. They have several affiliated institutions to carry out the functioning of this council.

International Labour Organization (ILO), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNISEF) are among them.

✤ The Trusteeship Council

The main duty of this council is the administration of the areas taken under United Nations trusteeship. There were 11 trusteeship territories at the time the United Nations Organization was established. All those nations got independence by 1994. This council became inactive since then. The World Leaders Council suspended its functioning under the secretary general's recommendation.

✤ The International Court of Justice

The main court of the United Nations is the International Court of Justice. It is situated in Hague of Netherland. The judges are selected from those who held highest positions in the courts of member countries and specialists of international law.

The main task of the International Court of Justice is to provide different institutions of United Nations with legal advice. The member countries seek the legal assistance of this court to settle the conflicts that arise between them.



Fig 8.23 – International Court of Justice situated in Hague

The Secretariat

The main administration body of the United Nations is the Secretariat. This is situated in New York city of USA. The chief of this office is the secretary-general appointed for a period of 5 years by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The secretary- general has the power to forward any matter he believes that would be a threat to international peace and security, to the Security Council. Many officers are there around the world for the duties of the secretariat. There are about 9000 officers working in these offices.

✤ Attempts made by the United Nations to protect the world peace

The United Nations Organization which was established with the objective of making the future generations free of threats of devastating wars started its functioning by establishing the 'Atomic Energy Commission.' They must have started with this step to show the world the necessity of controlling atomic energy because of the destruction caused by the atomic bombs in World War II.

The powerful countries tend to work strategically for the victory of their camp as a result of the two camps created after World War II with USA and Russia as two heads. This war which was carried out without weapons was called the "Cold War" or weaponless war.

Several situations that came closer to fights were settled before developing into battles by the mediation of the United Nations. Some examples for such situations are;

• Suez Conflict

The president of Egypt, Abdul Gamal Nasser peoplised the Suez Canal following the socialist economic tradition. Because French companies had to face difficulties due to this decision, they sent forces of Israel, Britain and France to Suez area. The United Nations were able to settle this problem.

• Gulf Conflict

Based on an oil rig located in Iraq and Kuwait border, this conflict arose. Iraq invaded Kuwait because of that. This war which was only a little inferior to a world

war caused huge destruction. Later, the United Nations mediated and settled the matter.

• Cuban Missile Conflict

Those who escaped to USA from Cuba during the Cuban Revolution got armed training in USA and came back to Cuba armed against the Fidel Castro's government. Because the rebels were supported by USA, Russia placed missiles in Cuba so that USA could be attacked. Because of this USA surrounded Cuba and placed missiles in Turkey aiming at Russia. This conflict was settled by the general secretary of the United Nations.

Steps the United Nations can take to protect world peace today

We discussed above how several conflicts that took place between countries after World War II were settled by the United Nations Organization. There are several steps the United Nations can take in resolution of conflicts that emerge between countries and protecting world peace. When there are incidents that threaten world peace, the Security Council of United Nations mediates to settle the matter. That is because the main responsibility of international peace and security lies in the hands of the Security Council.

Several steps the United Nations can take to protect world peace on the recommendations of the Security Council are;

Imposing Economic Restrictions

The countries that do not respect the decisions of the United Nations are forced to oblige their orders by imposing economic restrictions.

Taking steps to limit and control the production of nuclear weapons

When there is information about countries that start producing new nuclear weapons, the United Nations Commissions are sent to investigate them. Such commissions were appointed to examine the nuclear weapons in North Korea and Iraq.

Employment of Peace Keeping Forces

The peace keeping force of the United Nations is employed to control the situation when there are severe battles between two parties.