



**Serendipity, Cosmopolitanism
& Resilience:**

Sri Lanka's story in 21st Century

FDSS STUDENT RESEARCH FORUM PROCEEDINGS 2021



ORGANIZED BY THE INTAKE 37 BATCH OF
BSC IN STRATEGIC STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
GENERAL SIR JOHN KOTELAWALA DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

1st FDSS STUDENT RESEARCH FORUM

**SERENDIPITY COSMOPOLITANISM AND RESILIENCE:
SRI LANKA'S STORY IN THE 21ST CENTURY**



GENERAL SIR JOHN KOTELAWALA DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

RATMALANA, SRI LANKA

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General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Ratmalana, Sri Lanka

Tel: +94-70-67-4347

e-Mail: dept_dss@kdu.ac.lk

Website: <https://www.kdu.ac.lk/faulty-of-defence-and-stratergic-studies>

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MESSAGE FROM THE VICE-CHANCELLOR



The year 2021 added a great significance to the University's academic calendar with the initiation of the student research forum, conducted for the first time by the students of the Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies, which provided a perfect platform for young researchers to gain experience and enhance their knowledge in the fields of Strategic Studies and International Relations. Despite the challenges posed by the global pandemic, students and the staff of KDU has adapted to the changing dynamics steadily and optimistically and has successfully continued to provide ample opportunities for the undergraduates to complete their higher education with work experience.

Speaking of the bachelor's degree program in strategic studies and international relations, it is the only hybrid degree program of its kind available in the country, allowing both Officer Cadets and Day Scholars (Civilians) to educate themselves on the realm of national security and world politics. One of the main learning objectives of this degree program is to cater to the demand for skilled young professionals in the fields of national security, foreign relations, and work in Government and Non- Governmental Organizations domestic and abroad. Our universities need to prepare their students to be able to think creatively and strategically about issues of security and international affairs. The Faculty of Graduate Studies at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University also offers a master's degree Programme in Security & Strategic Studies. This will offer an opportunity for young graduates of the bachelor's degree program to continue their postgraduate studies at the master's degree level.

At present KDU has initiated its international relations directorate to connect with global universities more efficiently collaborating with more than fifty world-class universities in various countries. The inter-university partnerships span the areas of student and staff exchange, collaborative research and collaborative academic programs.

By initiating the student research forum, the organizers want to create a friendly competitive arena for students to learn and express their point of view based on facts collected through research. Undergraduate research helps students to mature as thinkers and if one is conversant with research, he or she will be able to adapt to novel situations and seek realistic answers for those problems. With the aspiration of encouraging KDU undergraduates to pursue a career path that can serve the motherland better, the university is keen on providing students to experience a balanced life for their future. In that process, discipline is the core value that we teach our graduates. Discipline plays a very key role in one's life irrespective of the role you play in your life. Discipline is an essential asset which allows a person to mould themselves to be better and grateful in life. Research is a fine way of disciplining student life. It teaches patience, accuracy, logical thinking, and the joy of innovation of ideas. Therefore, I hope this initiative of your faculty will flourish and sustain for decades to come.

I am delighted to see three young eminent persons chairing the research panels; Ms. Anuradha Herath, Mr. Dileep Mudandeniya, and Major General Swarna Bothota and believe their expertise will inspire young undergraduates to set their aims high. As a university that has adopted a novel model in Civil-Military education in Asia, student obtains an unmatched experience that will lead him or her into a steady future. The hallmark of our education is the civil-military harmonious blend and it will start to deliver results to the nation very soon. What we invest in them today will pave the way for a better country tomorrow.

Finally, I would like to congratulate the Faculty Dean Col. Enoj Herath, Head of the Department of Strategic Studies, Dr. Harinda Vidanage, officers, and the academic staff of the FDSS for the timely initiation of the student research forum. I also congratulate the students who are presenting the papers in this publication and wish you all the best for your future endeavours!

Major General Milinda Peiris RWP RSP VSV USP ndc psc MPhil (Ind.)

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR IN CHIEF



It is indeed a great honour and quite a pleasure to take my place as the first editor in chief of this publication produced alongside the first student-led research forum, conducted by the student body of the Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. The main aim behind this research forum was to cultivate the habit of research among the students of our faculty and thereby produce a bunch of knowledgeable youth who would lead our country to higher heights, with the experience gained through this venture, in the future.

The branding of a nation is eternally associated with its historical experiences. Serendipity, Cosmopolitanism, and Resilience were three salient features that shaped the historical trajectory of Sri Lanka. Thus, our objective was to highlight the nexus between these three components and the concept of nation branding in the modern-day world. We as young scholars sincerely hope this small contribution towards the revamping process of Sri Lanka's national narrative, benefits the country at this crucial juncture of time.

A publication of this magnitude would not have been a success without the constant support of many individuals. Firstly, the Dean of our Faculty Colonel HMGE Herath, who encouraged us immensely and assisted with financial resources to make this forum as well as this publication a reality. A special mention must be made of our Head of Department Dr. Harinda Vidanage for his visionary guidance to initiate the idea of the SRF. A big thank also goes out to Dr. Sanath De Silva, the head of the project, for always being our pillar of guidance, for pushing all of the authors to do better and for always being our biggest supporter from the start of this great venture. Moreover, my sincere appreciation goes out to all the lecturers and faculty advisors who rendered their utmost support and cooperation towards the authors and editors of this publication.

This publication does not reflect the individual effort of anyone but the collective efforts of many, backed by an incredible editorial team, without them this publication would not have become a reality. A special thank you goes out to the conference chair Ms. Dilshani Wijekoon for the cooperation rendered towards the editorial team at all times.

Serendipity, Cosmopolitanism and Resilience; the theme this publication revolves around showcases the importance of preserving the unique culture of this country while learning lessons from it and using past experiences in order to correct ourselves in the present and perform better in the future. This is the first of many to come and I hope this venture encourages research enthusiasts to do better and produce more reliable knowledge useful for various fields and purposes.

Sayimi Jauawardene

Intake 37 BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

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SESSION ONE
SERENDIPITY

HISTORY OF SRI LANKA: THE IMPORTANCE OF CONNECTING OUR PAST WITH THE FUTURE

K.W.M.S.W. Wanigasooriya

Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

The history of a nation has many facets, and it could also be identified as a project of branding the name of that nation by its historians. Sri Lanka, with a longstanding history, culture, and splendid traditions bears evidence of human evolution that dates to at least 125,000 years. There is strong evidence of written records of important texts in the 1st Century AD with the writing of Tripitaka, the Buddhist doctrinal texts, launched at the Matale Alu Vihare by King Walagamba (103-77 B.C.). Sri Lanka's written history began in the 3rd to 4th Century AD in the form of the Deepawamsa shortly followed by the Mahawamsa in the 6th Century AD. Subsequently, there were many historical chronicles that were produced during different eras. These records reveal that throughout the history of Sri Lanka, the island has engaged with foreign nations in both trade and diplomacy. Trade has been a major part of ancient Sri Lanka's economic functions and has had a constant influence on the development and culture of the island nation. Diplomacy in ancient times - although not as prevalent in its modern form- had been a salient feature of Sri Lanka's historical record. Numerous world-famous travellers have highly praised Sri Lanka's serendipity, and their records vouch for the high-value brand image that Sri Lanka possessed throughout the past. However, the emergence of the terrorist conflict and its aftermath have created a substantial defame for the positive image of Sri Lanka in the recent past. These new narratives have created an unhealthy condition for the tourism and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) sectors of the nation. This paper problematizes the anomalies of the brand image of pre-and post-conflict Sri Lanka. The author argues the importance of connecting the past with the future to create foresight to regain the image value of Sri Lanka. Since foresight work is all about anticipating and creating alternative futures, Sri Lanka can anticipate the emerging futures by understanding the trends in the historical record. According to the author, this will enable the country to think of possible probable and preferred futures. It is an upstream approach, executed by scanning the historical environment that is supposed to deliver better results.

Key Words: *History, Serendipity, Narrative, Foresight*

INTRODUCTION

History performs as a narrative and the story of a nation, this narrative creates the identity of a nation and its people. History has constantly been a source for conflict and debate, history as recorded is shrouded by conflict thus, history is a double-edged sword both as a means of peace and conflict. Moreover, history has also been used as a tool for political gain, thereby further appraising the power that history possesses in the making of the future.

Sri Lanka is a country with an expansive past dating back to over 125,000 years, and some of historical records dated back to the time of the Mahawamsa and Deepawamsa. Despite this rich history and rich past, however, Sri Lanka seems to have had a soft corner for conflict and a knack for not learning from its history. This has led Sri Lanka to a country riddled with conflicts and questionable policies.

'History repeats itself' is a common catchphrase, however despite being common; it is in fact a phrase with unwarranted meaning and depth. History is a means for change and a means for foresight. Through history, it is made possible to assess what could come however only to a certain degree. This being said, it is important to develop foresight education and the foresight framework in order to create new alternatives and avoid difficulties in the present and future.

Foresight, although a relatively modern concept has grown into a significant field of its own and has garnered importance throughout the years. Foresight is not to be mistaken with forecasting, the two differ in the sense that forecasting can predict the future with certainty such as with a weather forecast. Foresight utilizes similarities from what has happened to change the shape of what is to come, essentially it is a means for creating one's own future, on a grander scale in the future of a nation through the creation and provision of alternate futures.

Foresight is a tool that can be used to protect the future from the challenges. it is yet to face, especially the challenges of 'Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity' which has prevailed throughout history. Thus, through history foresight challenges the difficulties of the past, hence it is a concept of increasing interest not only for governments but for private sector entities as well, who have grown fond of foresight.

This paper discusses the importance of history through the lenses of foresight education, focusing on foresight and its connections to history. The paper is developed as such in order to provide knowledge into a field that is yet to be a staple within the curriculum. It will provide a concise and brief outlay of foresight education whilst drawing connection to the history of Sri Lanka. The research is written with the objective of introducing foresight education to the reader, and in doing so emphasizing the role and the importance of history within the foresight education.

HISTORY: A PROJECTION OF THE FUTURE

The history of a nation comprises of many aspects, including the role of creating a unique identity to a nation. The history of any nation thus can be considered as the creator of the nation's brand image, and in Sri Lanka's case, a tourist hub to more recently a conflict-ridden, dystopian and developing world. Though Sri Lanka is all of the aforementioned, its people are known throughout the world for their hospitality, for their splendid traditions and culture aiding more to the favour of the islands brand image. Through this simple explanation it is clear that the history and background of a nation shape the image of the nation as well as the identity of its people.

Sri Lanka's history as briefed in the introduction to this paper is a vast and expansive history, and by history the author implies 'written history.' The island has a past of unrecorded heritage dating back 125,000 years, however as it is unrecorded, this past does not contribute to the development of foresight as it cannot be physically read and analysed.

Focusing on the written and recorded texts of Sri Lanka's history began 3rd to 4th Century AD with initially the 'Deepawamsa' and then later the 'Mahawamsa' toward the 6th Century AD. Although these texts are considered to be the point where Sri Lanka's written history began, there has been strong evidence of written records of important texts in the form of the Tripitaka, the Buddhist doctrinal texts dating back to 1st Century AD launched at the Matale Alu Vihare by King Walagamba (103-77 BC). The Deepawamsa and Mahawamsa are the epitome of sources of Sri Lanka's history, apart from these, there are many other chronicles that have been published on Sri Lanka's history while further aiding the development of foresight especially with regard to foreign relations. Several of these chronicles discuss the relations that Sri Lanka has had throughout its history with foreign nations both in trade and diplomacy. They provide evidence that Sri Lanka has always been a trading hub in the region where many traders settled, the most significant being the Arabic traders who frequented the island. Thus, it is clear that trade played a key role within the development of the island nation as well as its culture.

Diplomacy although was not prevalent was also found to be present in Sri Lanka, the best example being the arrival of Arahata Mahinda Thero, who brought the Buddhism to the country, as well as the arrival of Sanghamitta Therii with the Sri Maha Bodhiya. A more common practice was the foreign relations built through betrothal to foreign

nations of native princesses, thereby it is made clear that diplomacy also had been an integral part of the islands history and plays an equally important role today.

This research problematizes the impact of the separatist conflict in shaping the image of Sri Lanka, as a result of which Sri Lanka has had to face severe consequences in terms of tourism and the receiving of foreign direct investments (FDI's). The paper further problematizes the anomalies of Sri Lanka's brand image prior to the conflict, highlighting the importance of connecting the past with Sri Lanka's future in rebuilding Sri Lanka's image. The author assesses that this will allow Sri Lanka to think of possible, probable and preferred futures. This may be an upstream approach. however, it is the alternative to a downstream approach of remaining stagnant.

THE FUTURE

History as discussed goes far deeper than merely what is perceived; it is more far reaching than simply providing an identity to nations or individuals. History creates patterns that could delve into the future, the patterns are created through analysing what has happened, which instances have repeated and where do these patterns stand in the future. A simple example would be the repetitive wars waged throughout history, through the ideas gained by thinking ahead institutions such as the UN have been established, preventing calamities similar to World War I or II whichever the reader fancies more as an apt example.

The understanding, predicting and analysis of 'potential' futures (key word being potential as these are any alternatives that the choices taken could lead to, none of which are concrete futures) are key components that are necessary to prevent and adjust to possible calamities that could arise in the future. Hence implying that these components are capable of preventing wars at the scale of each of the World Wars.

Future studies and foresight education although are relatively newer concepts have grown steadily to useful skills that the modern world cannot do away with. These skills are essential to dealing with what is to come especially in a world that is constantly evolving and creating new futures. History has given the world, specifically Sri Lanka numerous lessons and new paths that the country could take, thereby it can be understood that history has equipped the nation with the tools to foresee what is to come, and take the necessary countermeasures.

Future studies are the study of probable, possible and preferred futures as well as the many myths and world views that surround it. Therefore, it is the analysis of the past

to derive what is to come. The world probable, possible and preferred futures signify the idea of addressing issues as a before-thought as opposed to an afterthought. These words further imply that the students of foresight are capable of shaping the future to a future that they envision and prefer to see as opposed to allowing haphazard decisions to shape the future. This implies the control that foresight has over controlling the difficulties that nations are faced with.

USED FUTURES

Futurists work with a single-minded objective of transforming the future by using the future, how it has been imagined, how it has been thought of and understood. In doing this they are able to transform the present day which can alter the course of the future that had already been set.

Analysts, decision-makers and nations often discuss the future only if their realities are being disrupted, or they face challenges and or miss opportunities that can be benefitted from greatly. This is where foresight can be implemented effectively as foresight can be utilized to mitigate disruptions, present the difficulties before they have arrived at which point counter measures can be in place, and most importantly it will make clear the opportunities which should not be missed and ones which may be only of temporary gain to the nations.

Sri Lanka can be looked at upon through this lens when discussing Sri Lanka and China relations. Through foresight it could be assessed that the economic relations China and Sri Lanka share works in favour of Sri Lanka in terms of the long run, and may not look so in hindsight. The benefit Sri Lanka stands to gain through this may in fact be an opportunity that Sri Lanka cannot afford to pass up on, hence the heavy involvement of China. Although this may also not be the case when looking through the lenses of foresight the contrary seems farfetched.

The world is always has been unstable, a repetitive fact history makes clear to mankind. The world is constantly evolving and adapting to new conditions as such foresight too is also of growing in importance over used futures.

Those who do not adapt or change to the ever-evolving world fall into the used futures. Used futures are practices that people continue to pursue and continue to do regardless of their outcome. These practices may not make sense; they are dysfunctional and as such are not useful to foresight which is a strategy that utilizes

both analysis and prescription. Based on the analysis a prescription is provided to suit the challenge, thus providing solutions to a variety of issues through history.

FORESIGHT AND STRATEGIC FORESIGHT

Foresight, as thoroughly discussed is a defence for the disruptions that could place, it is also in the firm opinion of the author a means to build from the history that is known. For Sri Lanka, a country that was once war torn which presently is in a developing and recovery phase in the post conflict foresight can be a valuable tool in assessing which avenues are more appealing to achieve its development agenda. Sri Lanka should benefit from foresight in order to prevent conflict similar to the separatist conflict or JVP riots.

Foresight is a tool that uses the assumed future to predict but a more in-depth look show that foresight utilizes this so as to create alternative futures that could prevent disruptions from taking place. Through its application futurist could begin to foresee what it is to come although it may not be similar to a forecast of what is to come, and once this is done it will be less of an ordeal to adapt to change and prevent disruptions. The world is constantly evolving, growing and changing, and similar to the world people, organizations, universities and governments too are constantly changing and evolving. The world has never been interconnected as it is today. Therefore, evolution is a given to survive in the modern world, if not they will fall short and be left behind never to recover. It is important to stay ahead of the competition in such a competitive world, as such foresight provides an opportunity to stay ahead, to stay in the future.

Strategic foresight revolves around decisions that are taking, the choice of moving upstream or downstream is crucial. The downstream path will not show progress whilst moving upstream utilizes foresight as tool in order to provide greater control over the future, providing an edge over the rest to face disruptions effectively or even to avoid them altogether.

Strategic foresight requires proactive thinking; this is a prerequisite for its application. The reality however is that most people, organizations, universities and governments are not trained to be proactive as a result they have been conditioned to be reactive. In strategic foresight it is imperative to be proactive if not expected result cannot be achieved and foresight cannot take place.

Proactive thinking as established is a cornerstone of strategic foresight, in order to be proactive, there are several requirements to fulfil. To be proactive one must first scan

the environment of the scenario they are facing, once this is done, they must look at alternate futures and scenarios. Having identified the alternate futures one must assess where it is, they want to be or where it is they would prefer to be, within that scenario.

In order to identify where one wants to be or prefer to be, it is imperative to know where it is, they come from, their origins. The knowledge of their origins allows them to find their purpose, thus purpose can only be found through their story, and in the context of this research Sri Lanka's story. The importance of history comes into play here with the main goal of finding a new story. Sri Lanka has to forge ahead to create a story that it wants to show the world, a story that attracts the rest towards Sri Lanka.

THE WAY FORWARD

This paper has discussed repetitively the way forward which is to learn the lessons history has taught and to forge the future that Sri Lanka would want to see. It is imperative to learn from those lessons in order to understand the future the nation is to embark on.

Sri Lanka is a nation that has been blessed with many lessons throughout its history, lessons of both failure and victory, and of development and loss based on the decisions that were taken by previous leaders. Sri Lanka's history has unfailingly pointed out as a nation that has been the victim of constant conflict, both in the forms of domestic conflict and international conflict, reaching even to the modern day. The lesson to learn here is that it is imperative to build a secure nation, a nation that is capable of securing not only its security but also its future.

Diplomatic relations too have been a highlight of Sri Lanka's history and it is imperative that the island nation builds upon not only with nations that it has had historical ties with but also ones which it can build historical ties with. Sri Lanka should utilize the historical ties it has had in order to develop the future which it hopes to see, and these relations should act as a beacon for the future. However, the island should be alert to the exploitation of the relationships it has built as had once been the case with the colonizers.

The way forward is the future, the future is where history will once again come in to fruition and repeat itself. The past has presented decision makers, youth and the modern generation itself with many lessons to develop Sri Lanka to the pearl it is meant to be, and as history had once depicted a powerful nation in the Asian region.

Past conflict certainly has made the image of Sri Lanka murky, however these very issues that have created this murky image could be the launching pad to create a much clearer image of the nation. The task of clearing Sri Lanka's image rests with the youth, and importantly the equipping of youth with the skills of foresight which is the key to start think ahead and unlocking the future.

Sri Lanka has to move forward through the development of its brand image and more importantly through the development of its status within the international forum through foresight. This should be done in order to attract FDI's and tourism through which the country can begin to rejuvenate itself thereby addressing the problem of brand image posed by this research.

In conclusion, a history is a field that is underutilized; it is a field that is more than simply identifying a nation's identity but heritage. A history is a tool that can be utilized to build the future however one wants to see it. History is a tool that should be used in tandem with foresight, thereby striking a balance between the two to ensure the achievement of preferred outcomes.

Foresight, although a relatively a new field which is growing in its value and its importance. Foresight which utilizes history is capable of creating a future people yearn for. Foresight utilizes history in ways that it may not have been utilized, thus giving history a new purpose whilst creating alternative and previously unforeseen futures. Although foresight is not equivalent to forecasting which can accurately predict scenarios such as the weather it is capable of equipping decisions makers with the capacity to respond to calamities before they take place.

Finally, the objective of this research was to make aware the reader of the capacity of foresight, and also to open the mind of the reader to the importance of history within the spectrum of foresight education. The writer concludes that foresight education must not be neglected and should be incorporated into the education curriculum. It is a field with growing importance, and one which will have a critical role to play in the development of Sri Lanka's future. Thus, the youth must be made aware of the value of before thought as opposed to afterthought and in doing so Sri Lanka will be able to reach the heights it once resided at.

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About the author



Savindu Wanigasooriya is currently a second-year undergraduate student, reading for the degree BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations at the General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Rathmalana. He was previously enrolled at S.Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia where he completed his Primary and Secondary education and graduated following the G.C.E. A/Ls in the Arts stream.

EXPEDITIONS FOR SERENDIPITY

H.M.A.S. Herath, M.T.D.R.H. Ariyaratne & R.M. Chameesha Dilshani Ekanayake
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

This research paper tends to discuss the trade activities that occurred after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A.D., which according to some historians marked the end of the middle age. The fall of Constantinople can be identified as a milestone in the history of the world that was able to transform many things. This also further defines how that very same incident provided the opportunity for marine trade activities exploring the new world. As a result of Constantinople getting into the hands of the Arabs, Europeans started to embark new voyages through sea, in order to re-establish their trade activities. These new expeditions, led to the European countries discovering many new lands and as a result, they wanted to culminate their powers in these newly found lands. This denotes the beginning of colonialization, which was especially experienced in the Asian continent. This negatively affected the colonised countries because the European nations exploited the resources of these countries and gained profits for themselves by selling products in European markets at higher prices. These European nations included the British, Portuguese as well as the Dutch. They spread their dominance in the southern parts of Asia, by forming colonies under their rule. The paper discusses the first European expeditions to Sri Lanka, which is a turning point in the country's history.

Keywords: *Constantinople, Maritime trade, European imperialism, Sri Lanka*

INTRODUCTION

In the 16th century, the influence of European nations led to changes in the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the lives of the people in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, it can be considered as a milestone in the history of Sri Lanka because major changes in the fields of economic, social, cultural and political, transformed the prevailing order. There are reasons other than politics like spreading their religion and also to find out about the mythical conceptions about Christianity in the east propagated by Fester John, to answer why European nations came to the East at that time. Simply their motivations to come to the east can be denoted as to find God, gold and glory. The European nations began to take a special interest in the East in the late decade of the fifteenth century, but it must be noted that even before that there were relations between the nations of the East and the West. Ptolemy who drafted the first map included Sri Lanka in it by getting information from traders who conducted trade activities in the island. The Mahavamsa also mentions about king Bhathikabaya of Sri

Lanka sending a group of ambassadors to Rome to meet Emperor Claudius. The Nainativu Tamil inscription by King Parakramabahu I mentions about if any merchant vessels are wrecked in Sri Lankan waters, they were to provide half of the goods carried by the vessels to the Sri Lankan king.

There is evidence that Alexander the Great invaded the East from time to time during the Roman civilization, sometime around the 4th century BC specially India and the Persian empire. This paved the way for Sri Lanka to get recognition among the Greeks about the utopian island which they denoted as Taprobane. It's been mentioned that one of the main reasons for Sri Lanka to not get recognized was because goods from Sri Lanka was sold at Indian markets and therefore there was no need to acquire goods directly from the island. But later when the Greek wanted fresher and more luxurious good, they contacted the island directly specially for goods like ivory and tortoise shells. (D.P.M Weerakkody, 1987). Around the 6th century AD, the Roman Empire collapsed due to invasions from various tribes in the German territory, resulting in a dark period for the countries of Europe. The feudal political economic and social patterns based on self-sufficient agriculture confined the European nations to their land mass. With the spread of Islam in the 7th century AD, European countries faced new challenges due to various conflicts that occurred in the Arab countries of the Middle East. The people of Arabia spread not only to European countries but also to Asia and engaged in the building of a large Islamic empire. People living in areas such as Arabia, Persia, Asia Minor¹, Abyssinia, and Egypt at that time embraced Islam and developed a common culture and were known as Muslims. In a very short period, they became strongly involved in trade activities between the two West Indies. The arrival of European nations in the East came to a complete halt as they took on the intermediate role of supplying essential commodities to Europe, including spices from Asia. Europe that has been isolated for hundreds of years, attempted to reappear systemically leading to confrontation between Europe and the then expanding Muslims and the Ottoman Turks. In 1453, Constantinople, which belonged to devout European nations, was conquered by the Turks (reference). The action taken by the European nations in response to this defeat resulted in the expansion of their power beyond Europe, which had hitherto been confined to Europe. The Turkish influence spread to the Asian, African and American continents, and they built large empires

¹ Asia Minor (as the country was called to distinguish it from the continent of Asia), or Anatolia, is the name given to the peninsula which reaches out between the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) on the North and the Mediterranean on the South, forming an elevated land-bridge between central Asia and south eastern Europe.

based on those areas. Therefore, from the last decade of the fifteenth century, various European nations, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English, came on expeditions to the East. For about five centuries, from the 15th century to the twentieth century, Asia was rich in resources to meet the various needs of European states. To make the most of those resources, they set up their empire in Asia and built the European Empire. Thus, this research intends to discuss the Fall of Constantinople; Navigation in the European context; Explorations of the Portuguese, English and French; Trade activities in the East; and lastly, the Portuguese presence in Sri Lanka.

THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY OTTOMAN TURKS IN 1453

Constantinople was the largest city in the Christian world in the 10th century: the seat of the imperial court and government, a large population centre, and the pivot of foreign trade in the largest quantities. The town market sold goods from many parts of the world as a natural geographical entrepot between the east and west. From Russia to the Constantinople furs and timber flowed across the Black Sea from Northern Europe across the Mediterranean and the Balkans to Venice.

Through Arabia, spices, silk, jewels, and luxury goods came to Constantinople. According to McKay et al (2007, p. 212) by the eleventh century, only Baghdad surpassed Constantinople in the quantity and value of goods traded there by India and China. The Spanish Jew Benjamin of Tutela recorded that Constantinople had around a thousand and sixty merchant communities from Babylon.



Figure 1: The geographical advantages of Constantinople

Source: <https://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/3600/3625/3625.htm>

On April 2, 1453, the Ottoman army, led by the 21-year-old Sultan Mehmed II, laid siege to the city with 80,000 men. Despite a desperate last-ditch defence of the city by the massively outnumbered Christian forces (7,000 men, 2,000 of whom were sent by Rome), Constantinople finally fell to the Ottomans after a two-month siege on May 29, 1453. The last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaeologus, was last seen casting off his imperial regalia and throwing himself into hand-to-hand combat after the walls of the city were taken.



Figure 2: Importance of Constantinople after 1453 A. D.

Source: ancient-spice-trade-route-from-asia-to-europe.com

On the third day, Mehmed II ordered all looting to stop and sent his troops back outside the city walls. Byzantine historian George Sphrantzes, an eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople, described the Sultan's actions:

On the third day after the fall of our city, the Sultan celebrated his victory with a great, joyful triumph. He issued a proclamation: the citizens of all ages who had managed to escape detection were to leave their hiding places throughout the city and come out into the open, as they were to remain free and no question would be asked. He further declared the restoration of houses and property to those who had abandoned our city before the siege, if they returned home; they would be treated according to their rank and religion, as if nothing had changed.

The capture of Constantinople (and two other Byzantine splinters) marked the end of the Roman Empire, an imperial state that had lasted for nearly 1,500 years. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople also dealt a massive blow to Christendom, as the Islamic Ottoman armies thereafter were left unchecked to advance into Europe without an adversary to their rear. After the conquest, Sultan Mehmed II transferred the capital of the Ottoman Empire from Edirne to Constantinople. Constantinople was transformed into an Islamic city: the Hagia Sophia became a mosque, and the city eventually became known as Istanbul. The conquest of the city of Constantinople, and the end of the Byzantine Empire, was a key event in the late middle ages. (Rawo and Adagama, 1999).

NAVIGATION IN EUROPE

An interest in mystical experiences and a curiosity to explore different things were born in the European nations during the Renaissance. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, European nations had to rely on Italian traders to import goods from the East. Fortunately, both before and after the Crusades, the Italians had prosperous trade relations with the Arabs. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a group of Italian merchants sailed across the seas to land to China. It took the group led by Marco Polo about two and a half years to reach China. At that time, the Mongol ruler, Kublai Khan, welcomed the Italian merchants, including Marco Polo. The same group of traders, who had gone to Japan and from there to the Spice Islands, returned safely to their native home, Venice. Many who heard of the travellers' travelogues and inspiring experiences also developed a desire to have such an experience and a curiosity to seek information. From there onwards, people not only started exploring new destinations through land but also across the Ocean.

FACTORS THAT AIDED THE EXPLORATION OF SERENDIB

European traders and rulers were helped several factors to meet the expectations like, gaining enormous profits from trading with the East, and also, European rulers sought to increase their power and prestige by establishing trade relations with the East. The most important of these was the Europeans' new knowledge of the compass, the compass, and the northern star gauge. The first of these was made by the Chinese and helped sailors know the direction of navigation at sea.

The cross-staff assisted navigators to safely reach a specific location by measuring the distance from where it was to the stars. The fact that European nations began to build sailing ships that could be used for long-distance travel was also a major factor in land exploration. The state sponsorship of exploration helped the Portuguese commence navigation over 300 years. The Naval Research Institute built and maintained by Prince Henry Portugal. (1394-1460 AD), helped sailors gain a broader understanding of high tides and low tides, making it safer to navigate/Europe's best sailors, astronomers and geologists were drawn to Prince Henry's Naval Education Centre. The centre annually sends naval exploration teams along the west coast of Africa. His sailors discovered the island of Madeira and were able to reach the areas of Sudan and Senegal, leading to the building of the Portuguese Empire in the next century by the expedition of those explorers who brought slaves and gold to Europe from those areas.

EXPLORATIONS OF PORTUGUESE SAILORS

Among the next important milestones on the Portuguese voyage were the exceeding the equator of Loop Gonsalves and the arrival of Bartholomew Dios Point or Greeting Point. Sailor Vasco da Gama, who set sail ten years later, sailed along the route of the Bartholomew Dias and then sailed a short distance from Africa along the east coast. He then sailed to India and reached the port of Calicut in India in 1498. Vasco da Gama's discovery of a new sea route from Europe to India was a significant event not only in European history but also in Asian history. Two years later, Cabral, a Portuguese general, was stranded on the west coast of Africa when he was swept away by a storm and was able to reach the east coast of South America, where he discovered Brazil in the 1500s (Rawo and Adagama, 1999).

COLUMBUS DISCOVERING THE NEW WORLD

There is evidence to suggest that the Vikings landed on the new continent during the invasion of the Roman Empire by barbaric tribes. About a thousand years later, Geneva Columbus set out to find a new sea route to the east. In August 1492, under the patronage of the Spanish royal couple Ferdinand and Isabela, he set sail across the Atlantic Ocean. After a long and arduous voyage, Columbus was able to reach the Bahamas on October 2, 1492. Columbus called the inhabitants of the Bahamas, Indians, as he thought he has reached the coast of India. During the voyage he also

discovered Hein and the islands of Cuba. After three more voyages to the area, Columbus discovered several Caribbean islands. The ownership of all those islands discovered by Columbus was transferred to the royal couple in Spain. The Portuguese rulers were jealous of the fact that Spain had so many new territories. So, the pope had to intervene to prevent a conflict between the two countries. Accordingly, the pope divided the world map from north to south, allocating areas that could be dominated by Spain and Portugal for exploration. The new island which was discovered by Columbus was named as America by the Italian explorer Amerigo Vespucci. Vespucci continued to explore the areas discovered by Columbus and concluded that it was a new area other than Columbus's thought of India. A German geographer named the new continent the American continent after creating a world map that included those newly explored areas. It was named the American Continent in honour of the discovery of Amerigo Vespucci (Rawo and Adagama, 1999).

BALBOA EXPLORING THE PACIFIC OCEAN (1513)

The Spanish explorer went to a new world in search of gold. As he approached the Strait of Panama, he saw beyond it the vast blue ocean. It is the Pacific Ocean. The Pons de Leon then went towards the north and discovered Florida. (Rawo and Adagama, 1999)

FERDINAND MAGELLAN AND HIS JOURNEY AROUND THE WORLD (1519-1522)

When Magellan came to India, he felt that the world was spherical. But he wanted to go west to Europe and find a way to the east. He asked the Portuguese king for help, but he refused. Undeterred, Magellan Isabela's grandson made a request to King Charles I of Spain, and the Spanish ruler agreed to sponsor him. He set sail from Spain in September 1519 with a crew of five freshmen and 267 sailors. The group reached the coast of South America and sailed south along it. Reaching the southern tip, he crossed the strait now known as Magellan and entered the Pacific Ocean. Along the way, several sailors from Magellan's group died of illness and starvation, but the rest managed to reach the Philippines. Magellan was killed in a battle with the locals, but the group 'Victoria' arrived at the site in 1522 with several sailors. It was a successful voyage of exploration around the world (Rawo and Adagama,1999).

EXPLORATIONS OF ENGLISH NATIONS

John Cabot an Italian was one of the explorers of the late fifteenth century trying to find a new sea route to the East. King Henry VII of England set out to find a sea route across the Atlantic to India in the northwest. John Cabot sailed the ocean in 1494 and reached the Cape Britten Island near Newfoundland. He thought he had reached China. John Cobb's exploration of Canada's coastline gave the English the opportunity to claim large tracts of land in North America. In the last quarter of the 16th century, English explorers such as Gilbert and Raleigh set out to explore the East Coast of North America. The English claimed Loren's to Florida. In the early seventeenth century, the English trading company also established several trading posts in India. (Rawo and Adagama,1999)

EXPLORATIONS OF THE FRENCH

Early English explorers as well as French Jacques Cartier sailed to the coast of North America with the aim of finding a way northwest to reached China. By 1535 he had found the way to St. Lawrence River. Another Frenchman Champlain Marquette discovered the Kwibek areas in 1608.

In 1560, Joliet the exploration of the Mississippi River Valley and the La Sale explored about the Mississippi River Face. It thus belonged to the France from the St. Lawrence River in Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi River. The northern part of the area was called New France, and the southern part was named Louisiana after King Louis XIV. (Rawo and Adagama,1999)

RESULTS OF LAND EXPLORATION

The long-term effects of these explorations on Europe in general are very comprehensive as well as extremely important. The long-term results clearly and obviously shifted from the Mediterranean to the tropics, which were important centres for trade and commerce in Europe. Cities such as Alexandria, Pisa, Geneva and Venice, which functioned as important trading centres in the middle ages, had to retreat to allow new European trading centres such as the Lisbon, cadies, Savile London and ant verse. The sea route across the Cape of Good Hope was of great importance until the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, as trade in the East and West began to flow mainly by sea. The discovery of a new sea route to the Americas and Asia led to the introduction of several European goods, even before Europe had

known them. Potatoes, cocoa, rainbow, dyes, indigo, tea, coffee, etc. were important among them. There was a great demand in the European market for Indian textiles and Persian carpets. The new continent brought to Europe in bulk precious metals such as gold and silver. Mexico and Piraeus became famous for their vast treasures hidden underground and were plundered by greedy explorers. Europe's employment and living standards have made great strides due to the large - scale circulation.

The concept of imperialism that developed among the European nations can be described as the worst result of patriotism. The European powers reached out to Asia, Africa, and the Americas to establish trade relations, mainly as territories, but eventually settled in them as conquering masters. Those islands were colonized by European nations and exploited politically and economically. Negroes in Africa were taken to the European continents of Britain and the Americas and sold into the open market as slaves. They began colonial rule with the aim of civilizing the peoples of various European nations or their territories. It was during that colonial period that Asian and African countries became extremely poor. They made the European nations richer day by day at the expense of their colonies. The revolution was caused by the fact that Europe was accelerating the further exploitation of those colonies. After the Industrial Revolution, European countries needed to sell their products and get more markets to get the raw material.

Other than that Exploration had other consequences. These include changes in social organization, such as the birth of a middle class, the rise of monarchies, the large-scale migration of Europeans, and the expansion of the Christian missionary movement. The voyages of explorers later led to the emergence of commercial power in Europe. Exploration eventually led Western European countries to expand their dominance over the rest of the world (Rawo and Adagama, 1999).

TRADE ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST

Before the fall of the Constantinople which also paved way for the Europeans to embark on expeditions, trade in Middle East was quite famous and the period from 8th century to 13th century was considered as the Islamic Golden Age. Many advanced economic practices were conducted during this era and businesses like agribusiness, ceramics, chemicals, pulp and paper, perfumery, medicine etc. were available. The knowledge from these industries was transferred to the European industrialization and this provides evidence that the base for the European economies as well as

businesses were gained from the east. As mentioned in Middle Eastern folklore of the story of *One Thousand- and One-Night's* collection, Baghdad was considered one of the wealthiest and richest cities in the world. Most of the time, heroes in these Middle Eastern stories were merchant capitalists who thrive to benefit not only themselves but also the society through their wealth. But this concept of merchant capitalists becomes heroes change when it comes to the European context where the entrepreneur merchant becomes the villain.

Accordingly, trade and commerce in the east has a very long history which dates to 4000 years during the Mesopotamian civilizations mainly based on the cities of Babylonia and Assyria. Clay tablets regarding sales transactions have been found from these cities. Dutch historians Robartus Johannes van der Spek and Kees Mandemakers in their article *Sense and nonsense in the statistical approach of Babylonian prices* has mentioned "The market mechanisms played their part in the Babylonian economy seems now to be unquestionable". This further emphasizes the accuracy and the advancement developed in the ancient civilization on economy.

In the modern context cities such as Mosul and Aleppo are conquered by war and fundamentalism but before institutionalization took place in Europe, these two cities supported free exchange for many centuries. Mosul was a prominent and a mega city that prevailed along the ancient Silk route which bounded India, China, middle East, Africa and Europe as a global network engaging in trade. These cities along the silk route were also home to manufacturing industries in large scale that produced goods for international markets. This city of Mosul was also a prominent industrial centre. It was famous for petrochemical industry as well as the city was a weaving centre. Similarly, Aleppo was known for cloth and garment manufacturing. Many business and trade activities have been conducted in the city of Aleppo and was then flourishing with commerce. It is said through ancient sources that many caravans that carried goods between China and Europe, Persia and India went through the city of Aleppo. Some of the commodities traded from the Persian island Hormuz were animal husbandry and agricultural products as well as industrial goods like fine cloths and silk and carpets. One of the Portuguese explorers has also complimented Persian technology on coin making as "extraordinary pure silver coins" that were manufactured in the city of Lara. One of the reasons for Muslim countries to be so advanced has been answered as the port of Gerun in the island of Hormuz that was considered a free market. India was also among the main trade hubs in the East. India

was quite famous for its textile industry and the Portuguese official Duarte Barbosa has accounted the city of Gujarat as a leading trade centre for cotton. These textiles from Gujarat were exported to regions mainly based on Arabia and South East Asia specially countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines. Iban Battuta who was a Moorish traveller has also mentioned about the prominent place for cotton in India. Silk was another type of cloth produced in India. India also engaged in exportation of gold embroiders cloth caps, clay pots, sandalwood, ivory, diamond and other precious stones. Red sea and the Mediterranean ports were used by the Arabs to ship Indian goods to the European markets.

In relations to the trade activities in the Indian ocean, Sri Lankan relations with the Europeans play a significant role. Renaissance can be identified as one of the main reasons for the Europeans to come to Sri Lanka. The island's geostrategic location made it quite important for the Europeans in conducting trade in the Indian Ocean. Namely ancient Sri Lanka had maintained trade relations with countries like Greece, Rome, Persia, South East Asian countries and China. It is discovered that Sri Lanka was used as a meeting point for the traders coming from the east and the traders coming from the west through the Persian Gulf making the country a milepost in the maritime network of the Indian ocean. The factor which made Sri Lanka famous is the availability of several harbours which could anchor a large number of vessels at the same time which was very beneficial for the European traders.

The Greek writer Cosmas records that Sri Lanka was a main trade market during the 6th century A.D and he also mentions that Sri Lanka was also used reexport goods which were brought from countries like China, Persia, Ethiopia and Sindhu, Male, Kalliana which were Indian ports. Countries which came in search of Sri Lanka's native products also came in quest for goods from other countries which were bought for re-export. These factors greatly influenced the course of Sri Lanka while increasing its international commercial importance in the Indian Ocean. When considering about the harbours of the island, even during different periods of times at least one of the harbours had played important roles in the history which was not common in many other countries. The port at Mahathitta was the prominent among them which existed as the main port for so many decades starting from the 6th century B.C to 12th century B.C. As a result, many artifacts like coins and porcelain ware have been excavated from the site. The port at Jambukolapattana also was an important port for travellers to embark on the island apart from commercial activities.

History declares that Sri Lanka was a commercially famous country for valuable and luxurious goods. Among these products were spices, gems, pearls, ivory, elephants and turtles' shells. There are many foreign records with information which mentions about the gems of Ceylon than local records. They also mention that no country in the world possessed such varieties of gems which were valuable and rare. Arabia who was one of the earliest countries to establish trade relations with Ceylon used to interpret the country as "Jazirat Ul Yaqut" which translates to "Island of Rubies". Sapphires and pearls were the most famous gems. Megasthenis in his book "Indica" mentions that Ceylon exported elephants to India during the 3rd century B.C and he also says that elephants from Ceylon were larger in size and were intelligent in all aspects.

Apart from these countries' goods were exported from countries like China, Burma, Philippines etc. to the west.

From the ancient times there were three main trade routes followed by the Europeans in conducting trade relations with the Asian region. They were;

- i. From Constantinople to Persia, then from Middle East to China which was also known as the silk route.
- ii. From Constantinople to the Mediterranean Sea through Egypt, and through red sea into the Indian Ocean.
- iii. From Constantinople to Baghdad, and Persian Gulf through India.

But after the fall of Constantinople instability started to rise in European region and that was the beginning of tending to use the Black Sea as well as the Mediterranean Sea into the Turkish trade. Also, the Ottomans started to levy heavy taxes for the goods which were to be transported to Europe from Asia. Thus, the goods became very expensive. Portuguese were interested in spices which were also highly valued in European markets. Portugal was a country which was situated facing the Atlantic Ocean therefore they had to conduct their trade relations mostly through the sea. Most of the European nations were having sea borders which made them interested in conducting trade expeditions through maritime routes. As a result, many European nationalists started expeditions from the sea to find new trade routes and these voyages were also supported and sponsored by the royals.

From the early times India was quite famous for its wealth as well as for the resources it possessed. Most of the explorers from Europe wanted to find India to gain resources and their goods gained good prices in the European markets. The Europeans became

quite agitated with the Arabian traders because they were milking all the profits within the region while leaving the Europeans with only marginal benefits. The Muslims collected spices and many other valuable commodities from Asia and sold them at a higher price in the European market and made a huge sum of profit. The Portuguese and the Spanish were interested in finding new routes to gain profits in the East by finding India. They also had the background set to embark on new expeditions through sea routes.

- i. Discovery of the compass and North Star map for safer and accurate voyages.
- ii. Discovering that the earth is round during the renaissance.
- iii. A better understanding about the earth through Ptolemy's map.
- iv. Sponsorships from the royals.

VASCO DE GAMA IN EAST

As a result, Vasco De Gama was commissioned to find new maritime routes towards the east sponsored by King Manuel I. During his embark on the island of Mozambique De Gama learned that the inhabitants have trade relations with the Arabs and that there are Arab vessels loaded with gold, silver, precious stones and spices were anchored in the ports. De Gama also learnt that the Christian ruler, Prester John who was eagerly sought by many, seems to be dwelling in one of the coastal cities. During this time, the Muslims held the monopoly of trade in these areas. His main intension was to divert all the Indian trade to Portugal and restrict Arabian ventures. De Gama also had the intention to spread the Christianity religion in India. So here it is very clear that the main reason for the Europeans to explore on new maritime routes were to conduct and gain monopoly of trade in the east.

Apart from that they were quite interested in spices from Asia which they used to preserve food during winter as well as to taste. Spreading of religion was another intention of the Europeans. Most of the Christians as well as the Protestants were eager to go on missionaries and acquire converts. So, this was done by explorers. The excitement for new knowledge also paved the way for new voyages. This was massively supported by the renaissance which made everything free to acquire without any restrictions. That helped greatly on cartography which was very useful for navigators as well as explorers.



Figure 3: Maritime trade route of Vasco de Gama

Source [www. World maps](http://www.worldmaps.com)

On May 1498 Vasco De Gama landed in the coast of Calicut, India. After he landed in India, he had stated that “We came in search of Christians and Spices.” The people and the king of Indian welcomed these foreign navigators warmly, but peace did not last for long. He failed to come to a pact with the Indian ruler Zamorin. De Gama and the Muslim traders got into combat with each other. Vasco De Gama can be identified as one of the pioneers in exploring the new world. He was later appointed the viceroy to India by King John III.

THE PORTUGUESE IN SRI LANKA (1505 – 1658)

Around 1500, Arab, Indian, Malay and Chinese traders dominated the Indian ocean trade. The first visit of the Portuguese to Ceylon and the political situation prevailing at that time. It said that due to the Crusades, the sea route through the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea to Europe was blocked. Vasco Da Gama sailed south in the Atlantic Ocean, crossed the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, entered the Indian Ocean. Vasco da Gama arrived in India in 1498 as a result of a voyage of discovery. According to Ranawella et al (1997,11) it was clear to the Portuguese on that first voyage that India was in a position to build not only Christians and spices but also a colonial empire in Asia. There, Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut, allowed them to get the merchandise they needed. Nevertheless, it was clear to the Portuguese that the Muslims had great power in the kingdom of Calicut. Therefore, it was during this voyage that they gained an understanding of the difficulties they might face in expanding their power on the Malabar Coast. Vasco da Gama received help from the Hindu ruler of Covin during the riots caused by the refusal of Calicut Zamorin to pay him taxes for the merchandise he had taken with him on that voyage. Zamorin challenged the Portuguese ruler to

become the master of naval affairs in the East Sea, and until 1499 he was able to thwart the Portuguese expansion on the Malabar coast and gain several victories over the Portuguese in that area. But it did not take long for the Portuguese to gain control of the Indian Ocean trade, which until then had been enjoyed by the Muslims. Realizing the need to capture several important centres in the Indian Ocean in order to usurp the monopoly of trade between the East and the West, the Portuguese began to expand their power from the Covic area. Francisco de Almeida was first appointed governor of the Portuguese East in 1505, known as the Viceroy. But Albuquerque, who had a reputation for establishing Portuguese power in the East, not only laid a solid foundation for the expansion of Portuguese power in the East with his accession to the throne in 1560. In 1509 they captured Ormuz, known as the Persian port of checkpoint, and in 1510 they captured Malacca in 1511, the gateway to the Red Sea. By the time of Albuquerque was died in the 1500s, almost all of the important centres of trade in the West Bank had been taken over by the Portuguese before the complete defeat of Muslim domination in the Indian Ocean. Missionary work to spread Christianity under the Portuguese with the intervention of the government. Goa, the political centre of the Eastern Portuguese, was their religious place. The entire cost of the religious organization centered on it was borne by the King of Portugal. The King of Portugal was instructed by the King of Portugal to destroy the pagans whom the Portuguese considered pagans, and he acted accordingly.

In 1534, a bishop was appointed to direct religious affairs. This was the time of the religious revolution in Europe. Here are some of the reasons why the Portuguese were able to easily establish Eastern power. One factor is the situation of political struggles in the coastal areas of India and Sri Lanka in South Asia. When Vasco da Gama landed in the Calicut region of India in 1498 and the subsequent Portuguese attempts to expand Indian power, the Portuguese were able to lay the foundations of an Asian empire with the help of the Hindu rulers, although the Zamorin rose up against them. Even in Sri Lanka the kingdom of Kotte which was the main kingdom when the Portuguese came was in a very favourable position for the expansion of foreign power in the political arena due to the disputes between the princes who ruled the various areas. The division of the state and the various political, economic, religious and personal rivalries between the two kingdoms were the main factors that helped the Portuguese to expand their power in Asia. The naval power and military prowess of the Portuguese was another factor that helped them establish their power in the

East. By the 16th century, the Portuguese army, which had been accustomed to using weapons such as artillery and ammunition, had improved its naval power as well as navy power, using new discoveries as a result of long-term naval experiments and the scientific renaissance was stronger than the armies of the Asians. As the Portuguese naval technology surpassed the traditional methods of warfare familiar to the Asian Empire at that time, the coastal lowlands of countries such as Ceylon and India were easily subjugated.

ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE IN CEYLON

Ceylon was known by the Portuguese as Ceylon, meaning "Land of the Sinhalese", an important centre of the main sea trade route from Madagascar and the islands of Mauritius to Malacca and Sumatra. Ceylon was then known as the country that produced the best cinnamon. Francisco de Almeida was initially ordered by the Emperor of Portugal to pay special attention to the conquest of this precious small island, both commercially and militarily important, but he neglected to do so. His son Lorenzo de Almeida's fleet, which had been chasing several Muslim merchant ships off the island of Mauritius at the time, arrived in Sri Lanka by chance after a storm. Later Portuguese writers have exaggerated the story of the Portuguese's first voyage to Ceylon. The following information can be gleaned from an examination of the records of the first Portuguese writers: Lorenzo de Almeida arrived at the port of Galle. A delegation led by Susa was sent to meet the king. Muslim merchants have taken this delegation through a detour that feels like a long distance and met a glorious man who pretended to be the king of a huge Palace. The delegation informed that they had come to trade in cinnamon and would like to establish friendly relations with the King of this country. The group has been sent back. Pio de Susa and Lorenzo de Almeida were now told that the man they had met was not the real king of the country, but perhaps the ruler of the Galle period, and that the whole mission could be a trap for Muslim merchants. Later, Lorenzo de Almeida sailed to the port of Galle to buy a quantity of cinnamon and erect a monument with a Portuguese emblem to commemorate his voyage. Lorenzo da Almeida has also sailed to Covin. It is said that King Francisco de Almeida was overjoyed to learn about this journey from Lorenzo de Almeida. He sent a brief letter to the Emperor of Portugal about the incident, sending his son-in-law, Diego de Almeida, to Lisbon, where he wrote that he had conquered Ceylon by his son, Lorenzo de Almeida, as ordered by the emperor. The letter also

states that Diego de Almeida, who went to the country with his son and witnessed the events, had informed the king. Upon hearing the glad tidings of the conquest of Ceylon from Diego de Almeida, the emperor sent a letter to the pope in September 1507 informing him of the victory of his army. The letter contained a fascinating account of how the King of Ceylon washed his son at the Kotte Palace and received Almeida with great respect. The Pope also conducted a special prayer service for this victory. Later Portuguese writers obtained information about Lorenzo da Almeida was the first one who discovers Ceylon. Undoubtedly, Francisco de Almeida, who had not been able to carry out his decree on the matter, no doubt advised Diego Da Almeida to exaggerate the details of Lorenzo's voyage to Ceylon to win the emperor's heart. By this time, it is said that King Veera Parakramabahu was very old. Inscriptions reveal that the heroic king Parakramabahu died on June 7, 1509. The next day, King Vijayabahu, the son of the King, was crowned Vijayabahu VI at Jayewardenepura Kotte. There was another son of King Weeraparakramabahu VIII the First Queen and he is mentioned in the Rajavaliya as Dharma Parakramabahu. In the meantime, Francisco de Almeida was succeeded by George Albuquerque, who was appointed the new ruler of India and instructed to build a fortress in Ceylon somehow. In November 1513, the emperor sent a letter to the Emperor of Portugal stating that the death of King Ceylon Hill had led to a feud between the two sons over his kingship, and that one of the sons had sent an envoy to the Covens, promising to allow the Portuguese to build a fort in their country. The prince who appeared as Dharma Parakramabahu against Vijayabahu VI, succeeded to the throne after the death of his father. Lopo source da Alburgeria, who succeeded Albuquerque as emperor, came to Colombo in 1517 with the intention of building a fort, and Father Dharma Parakramabahu came to the port of Kalaba to meet him. Albergeria prepared to build fortifications and King Vijayabahu sent his army to attack the Portuguese and drive them out. It has been mentioned earlier that King Veera Parakramabahu died in 1509. He successfully kept the whole country under his control including the Satarakorala Upcountry, successfully facing the occasional revolts that arose during the last twenty years from 1490. It is proved that Vijayabahu VI, who came to the king in the same year, continued to remain on the throne until 1521, issuing orders from time to time through inscriptions and Sannasa. The information given by the Portuguese writers and accordingly to the Rajavali that his elder brother Dharmaparakramabahu VIII became the ninth Dharma Parakramabahu after the death of Veera Parakramabahu is incorrect. In 1513, a land offering made to

the "Naga Risha Nila Kovil" in Dondra by the Dondra Sannasa issued by King Vijayabahu VI after the death of Weeraparakramabahu VIII. A Kudagam inscription mentions a paddy land offering made to his 6th, 1514 Kinigoda Korale Mottappuliye Kovil. 1505 Weragama Sannase tells of a subsistence allowance given to them by the Pepiliyana Pirivena Books and Kadirana Sannase of a gift made to a Brahmin who ascended the throne of the Udugampola Raja Sabha on June 18, 1517, during a solar eclipse. 1519 Keragala Rajaguru Vanaratana Ma Thera's descendants of the Sasana Bandhu dynasty of Angoda kusal Asana village property security guarantee issued a royal decree is mentioned in a karagala inscription. The last inscription of King Vijayabahu VI is found at the Kappagoda Vihara in Satarakoralya. Ekanayake Perumal Ekanayake Perumal may have been the first Minister of the Eighth Weeraparakrama Raja Sabha who issued the King's 13th letter on behalf of the King regarding an allowance made to the temple. This year, in 1521, Vijayabahu VI's last conquest of Vijayabaha took. According to the Rajavali account of this event, King Bhuvanekabahu Raigambandara mayadunne, the three sons of King Vijayabahu at that time, had secretly tried to inherit the kingdom from his adopted prince Devaraja when he was there. Infuriated by this news, the three princes took troops from Jayaweera Bandara, the then Kandyan ruler, and occupied Kelaniya to fight against their father. Frightened by this, King Vijayabahu sent envoys to them under the guise of peace and planned to imprison them. By this time King Vijayabahu was being protected by the two Mudaliyars, Kandure Bandara and Ekanayake mentioned above. The princes promised peace if they betrayed each other. The king had to send the two Mudalis. Ekanayake Mudali hid in the Kelani temple on his way there and the Kandure Bandara was killed by the princes. The three princes had secretly taken troops and arrived in Kotte. King Vijayabahu locked himself and his army in a secret place to capture the princes and locked the door and entered the palace. Seven-year-old Prince Deva Raja, who was preparing to hand over the kingdom, went to Prince Mayadunne and revealed that the army was hiding in Kudawatta to kill the three of them. This was conveyed to the other two and all three ordered their troops stationed at Pita Kotte outside the palace gate to plunder the city. They also looted the palace. The next night, King Vijayabahu was assassinated by a stranger named Solomon. The next morning, the eldest prince was crowned Buwanekabahu VII. The spoliation of Vijayabahu took place in 1521.

CONCLUSION

When considering the above-mentioned facts, an emergence of a quest for new lands since the fall of Constantinople, to its affecting other nations mainly in the East can be found. It is very evident that this particular incident contributed towards a massive change in shaping the history of the world. It gives birth to the discovery of a new world as well as to colonialization. It can be identified that trade played a huge role towards embarking on new expeditions. These trade interests led to Europeans coming into the East which ultimately resulted in the Portuguese discovering Sri Lanka. That marks a new beginning in Sri Lanka's prevailing system in many sectors.

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About the authors



Aranya Herath is an undergraduate at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, studying Strategic Studies and International Relations for her bachelor's degree. This is her first paper, and she hopes to involve more in academics in the future.



Dulakshi Ariyaratne is a student at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, reading for a bachelor's degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations. This is her first academic work, and she aspires to do more in the future.



Chameesha Ekanayake is an undergraduate day scholar studying International Relations and Strategic Studies at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. Her passion is to study multidimensional relationships between governments, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental groups, as well as issues that impact global stability and interstate conflicts. She is captivated by ongoing research focus on her interests.

THE FIRST WAR OF UNIFICATION IN SRI LANKA: A READ BETWEEN THE LINES

H.G.A. Prasansa Gunawardana, A.D. Perera, & W.S.R. Sayumi Jayawardene
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

The war fought between prince Duttagamini and Elara in the 1st Century BC was commonly known as the first war of unification in Sri Lanka. Until then the country was not referred to by the historians as a single sovereign administrative unit. There were many power pockets operating from various parts of Sri Lanka. However, Mahavamsa the chronicle which was written a few centuries after the war of unification, allocates a favourable prominence to the victory of Duttagamini against Elara. This historical event has been interpreted by many historians for many objectives in the passage of Sri Lankan history. This paper critically analyses the historical validity of the facts about the war taken place.

Keywords— Duttagamini, Elara, Unification

INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka became a much more civilized nation after the advent of Buddhism along with the reign of King Dewanampiyathissa. And the beginning of many new cultural aspects setting along the path to a more developed state. Starting up with a ruling system with much more positive backgrounds together with social and cultural areas from side to side. Sinhala Kings started up with ruling focused mainly on the interior of the country. Till invasions from different nations started up. Specially invasions from South India.

According to the Mahavamsa the early Anuradhapura period was not ruled by one King or under one main district. However, it was ruled under many sub-regional areas where there were chieftains and rulers to each minor to major human settlement within Sri Lanka. The central power that a state should have was divided and subjected to highs and lows in different levels with the impact of different reasons. Beginning from King Pandukabaya to King Elara Sri Lanka was not unified till King Duttugemunu took up the responsibility along with the war against King Elara an invader. Before the unification, we see the just and powerful rule of the South Indian Invader. King Duttagamini and his efforts to unify Sri Lanka are the earliest wars of territorialism seen in the Mahavamsa. He was the first king to unite the whole of Sri

Lanka under one unified state and recapture from tribes of Indian migrants. His Campaign to unify went through a series of wars in which he killed 32 kings (literally confirmed by both the Mahavamsa and Depavamsa, although only the Mahavamsa states they were Tamil kings) to arrive at Vijithapura to face his greatest foe King Elara.

Starting up with two “Damilas” or Tamils, Sena and Guttika, sons of a freighter who brought horses hither conquered the Sinhala king Sooratissa, at the head of a great army and reigned Sri Lanka together for twenty-two years. But when Asela had overpowered them, the son of Mutasiva, the ninth among his brothers, born of the same mother, he ruled for ten years onward from that time in Anuradhapura. This is the closest history for the start-up of King Elara’s just rule despite him being an invader and a Tamil.

At this period there were branches of the royal family established at Kelaniya and Magama in the present Hambantota District. The queen of Devanampiya Tissa tried to poison her brother-in-law, the sub-king Mahanaga, who thereupon fled towards Ruhuna. On the way his wife gave birth to a son, Tissa, at the Yattala Vihara, whence, proceeding to Ruhuna, he established himself at Magama. The site of Tissa's birthplace usually is identified with a temple near Galle, but it is clear from the narrative that it was not in Ruhuna: possibly it the vihara of the same name in Kegalla District.

During the reign of King Asela 185 BC, a Damila (Tamil) named Elara from the Chola country landed at Malwathu Oya with a large army of nearly 100,000 men at the mouth of the river Mahaweli on the east coast of Lanka. From there, the army marched to Anuradhapura. King Asela was killed and the Kingdom was seized. Having overcome opposition Elara established 32 military camps and appointed 20 great paladins. An account of these camps is found in the Nikaya Sangrahaya.

He ruled the country forty-four years, his justice commanded the respect of his Sinhala subjects. Though a Hindu, concerning this the Mahavamsa relates that the king had a bell with a rope attached at the head of his bed, so that all who sought redress might ring it. Among other instances of the royal justice the chronicle tells how a calf was killed unintentionally by the chariot wheel of the king's son, and how, on the mother cow ringing the bell, the father had the prince's head struck off by the same wheel. The story is also told in Tamil literature of the Chola king Manu. Elara is a peculiar figure in the history of Sri Lanka and one with particular resonance given the ongoing strife in the country. Although he was an invader, he is often regarded as one of Sri Lanka's

wisest and most just monarchs, as highlighted in the ancient Sinhalese chronicle Mahavamsa.

Elara's reign has been ascertained to be from 205 BC to 161 BC – a cumulative period of 44 years. Assuming that he had to be at least 20 years to capture the Anuradhapura kingdom, and one can fix his birth year to around 225 BC. Thus, Elara's life span can be tentatively fixed for 61 years. He died in a duel (fought while riding an elephant) against the young prince Dutugemunu in 161 BC.

KING ELARA THE NOBLE RULER

King Elara is described in the Mahavamsa as “A Tamil of noble descent . . . from the Chola-country”. Little is known of his early life. Around 205 BCE, King Elara mounted an invasion of the Rajarata based in Anuradhapura in northern Sri Lanka and defeated the forces of king Asela of Anuradhapura, establishing himself as sole ruler of Rajarata. His name is mentioned in Silappatikaram and Periya Puranam and since then it has been used as a metaphor for fairness and justice in Tamil literature.

According to Professor W.I. Siriweera in his book “History of Sri Lanka” Elara couldn't have remained in power for such a long period as 43 years if he lacked the support of the locales. Professor Siriweera has further stated that “most foreigners who succeeded in resting the throne and ruling the country for any considerable length of time have had some indigenous support or had been backed by foreign power.”

It is evident that King Elara was a just king to an extent that he executed his own son as a punishment for killing a calf. The Mahavamsa itself states that King Elara was a pious and just king that even though he was not a Buddhist himself, he patronized Buddhism.

Throwing light into the most reliable source of Sri Lankan history, which is the Mahavamsa, it is evident that King Elara and King Dutugemunu was in more of a feudal power game and not in the racial conflict between the Tamils and Sinhalese given the fact that King Elara had deep reverence to Buddhism. For instance, it is stated that when Elara was on his way to the Cetiya Mountain in a chariot to invite Bhikkhus the nub of the yoke of his chariot struck a dagoba and caused damage to the monument. During this scenario Elara's ministers are said to have exclaimed that “Oh King! Our thupa has been damaged by you” This portrays the fact that Elara had Sinhalese ministers as they claimed the thupa to be theirs. It is clear that King Elara has given

prominence to the locales during his regime. Moreover, king Elara is said to have invited Buddhist Bhikkhus of the Cetiya Mountain for a religious function or to seek to advice.

KING KAVAN TISSA

Kavan Tissa, also known as Kakavantissa, was the king of the Kingdom of Ruhuna in the southern part of Sri Lanka. He ruled Ruhuna, in the same time as Kelani Tissa of Maya rata and the usurping Tamil king of Anuradhapura, Elara of South India, expanding and beautifying the city, and projecting the power of his native Rajarata region across the island of Sri Lanka. Kavan Tissa was a great-grandson of King Devanampiyatissa's youngest brother Mahanaga, and also, the father of King Dutugemunu.

It is clear that the Mahavamsa author was in great kilfu of King Duttagamini hence he not only tried to glorify the achievements of King Dutugemunu by elaborating on his religious nationalist mannerisms, he also portrays King Kaavantissa (his father) and his brother King Saddhatissa as cowardly leaders who wasn't in favour of conflict. In the saga of King Duttagamini, the Mahavamsa author portrays the young prince Gamini as an upcoming, powerful religious-nationalist leader. Lore has it that when Prince Gamini was just 12 years old, King Kaavantissa made three mouthfuls of rice which he made Prince Gamini and Prince Tissa eat while making three promises. One was to never go into war with the Tamils, which Prince Gamini refused at once. It also states that the enraged and frustrated prince was lying crouched on the bed and when his mother questioned him of the reason, he has compared his bed to the island and stated that, " Over there beyond the river are the Tamils; here on this side is the sea; how can I lie with outstretched limbs" The Mahavamsa chronicler Mahanama Thera further elaborates that Prince Gemunu's attempt to wage war against the Tamils was prevented by King Kaavantissa three times. As a result, the enraged Prince has sent a set of women's' ornaments to his father and he self - exiled himself to the central mountains (believed to be Malaya) and earned the name "Duttagamini". Professor W.I.Siriweera has stated that, it is significant that the relationship between King Kaavantissa and Prince Gamini was strained during the latter part of the prince's youth.

However, it is clear that King Dutugemunu must have surely lost the battle against Elara and the Tamils if not for his father's foresight and skilful planning. It is evident that King Kaavantissa lay the founding stone for King Dutugemunu to go into combat with Elara without facing many difficulties. Therefore, it is wrong to portray King Kakavantissa as a weak, cowardly leader for refusing to go into unplanned combat with a powerful ruler who managed to rule the country for 43 years.

It is evident that King Dutugemunu had to bring 38 kingdoms and kinglets under one royal umbrella before going to the final unification war with King Elara. The initiative was taken by King Kavantissa and he was the ruler who welded the various kinglets of Rohana into one unit. He brought the Kelani Kingdom under his rule by giving his sister Somadevi in marriage to Prince Abhaya of Kelaniya. Furthermore, he managed to bring the kinglets Seru and Soma under his influence of Rohana by using tactful means.

Professor Senarath Paranavithana has pointed out that King Kaaavatissa managed to build and train an army in a very successful manner. He established workshops to manufacture the required weaponry needed for combat. The hiring of 10 warriors with supernatural powers is one of the most salient features of King Kaavatissa's skilful panning. By name they were known as, Nandimitra, Theruputtabhaya, Suranimala, Mahasona, Gotaimbara, Bharana, Velusumana, Kanchadeva, Phussadeva and Labhiyavasabha. The king gave the responsibility of expanding and training the army to these 10 warriors. Hence, they managed to raise an army of 11,100 soldiers. Prince Dutugemunu too contributed to train the army in combat before the grand finale. King Kaavantissa had garrisons posted at strategic points along the Mahaweli river and also managed to station spies in the kingdom of Anuradhapura. Moreover, he sent his son Dighabhaya (from another princess of his concubine other than Viharamahadevi) to guard the frontier against possible in roads from the Rajarata ruler. King Kaavatissa's foresight can be described as beyond great given the fact that he predicted of a possible war between his sons Prince Gamini and Prince Tissa. Therefore, he made the warriors and monks take an oath to stay away from such a battle between the brothers. In addition to King Kaavatissa's foresight in building war strategies, he realized the fact that a war can't be fought successfully if the economy of the citizens was not satisfactory. Therefore, he sent his younger son Prince Tissa to Dighavapi to develop and oversee the agricultural and irrigation sectors.

As discussed above, it is evident that the unification war wouldn't have been an easy one for King Duttagamini if not for King Kaavantissa's tactful planning. Unfortunately, he isn't given the credit that he deserves as he's portrayed as a cowardly leader who refused to wage war against the Tamils who were ruling the capital city of the island, Anuradhapura.

Due to this great feat and the support offered. The Mahavamsa constitutes the major source on Dutugemunu's reign and dedicates eleven chapters out of 37 to his tale. Hence, the Mahawamsa itself is known as the epic of Dhuttagamini by certain historians. In chapter 22 he is described as being descended from the ancient royal family of Rajarata through Devanampiyatissa's brother Mahanaga. At the time of his birth Dutugemunu's father was Kavantissa, king of Ruhuna, a small kingdom in south-east Sri Lanka outside of the influence of Rajarata in the north; the border between the two kingdoms was the Mahaganga, or 'Great River', possibly the modern Menik Ganga. The Dipavamsa which is the earliest extent historical record of Sri Lanka referred to Sena and Guttika, the earliest invaders of Sri Lanka as the Damilas but not Elara. It merely states that the Kshatriya prince Elara, having killed Asela, ruled righteously for forty-four years.

W I Siriweera states in his book history of Sri Lanka that "neither at the time of writing of the Dipawamsa" nor during the two centuries prior to its writing, did Sri Lanka experience south Indian invasions while the Sinhala and the Tamil communities living in the island had existed as best as they could without conflict.

Dutugemunu's mother was Vihara Mahadevi, daughter of Tissa, king of Kalyani. Legend has it that as punishment for Tissa slaying a Buddhist monk, Kalyani had been subject to a series of deluges from the sea. To placate it Tissa placed his daughter Devi in a golden boat with the words 'A King's Daughter' written on the side, and set her out to sea. Miraculously the princess washed ashore, alive and well, in Ruhuna, and married Kavantissa. During her pregnancy with Dutugemunu, Viharamahadevi had a series of peculiar cravings, including the urge to sleep on a pillow made of honeycombs. In particular her urge to drink the water used to wash a sword that had cleaved the head of a warrior of Elara, whilst standing on that same head, raised the interest of the soothsayers at court, who predicted that 'The queen's son, when he has vanquished the Damilas and built up a United Kingdom, will make the doctrine to shine forth brightly'. Viharamahadevi gave birth to a son named Gamani Abhaya sometime later, and after that to another child, a boy named Tissa. Around the time of

Gamani's birth, 'an elephant of the six-tusked race brought his young one thither and left him here and went his way'. Named Kandula, he went on to become Gamani's mount and accompanied him through much of the prince's adventures. By the age of sixteen Gamani was 'vigorous, renowned, intelligent and a hero in majesty and might'. If a little wayward. Determined to expel the invading king of Rajarata, Gamani levied an army from around Rohana and declared his intention to regain the north to his father. The king forbade this stating that 'the land on this side of the river is enough' the resulting exchange between father and son saw Gamani being dubbed 'Duttha Gamani', his friends fleeing to Malaya, and he himself being incarcerated in a royal prison.

Kavantissa is known as a good strategist who recognized early that he needed to make his kingdom powerful before waging war against the invaders. He assembled armies and made his kingdom prosperous – this meant that the people had a lot of agricultural surpluses. The legendary ten "great paladins" – men who had great strength – were brought into the army at this time. Kavantissa repeatedly makes Dutugemunu and Tissa swear that they would never fight one another and that they would always respect and listen to the advice of the priests. He also makes the ten paladins swear never to pick sides in a war between the brothers.

CONCLUSION

Upon Kavantissa's death, Dutugemunu found himself having to defend his crown against his younger brother Tissa, who had seized possession of not only the elephant Kandula, but the dowager queen Viharamahadevi as well. The war between the two began with a defeat for Dutugemunu at Culanganiyapitthi, where 'many thousands of the king's (Dutugemunu's) men' perished. Dutugemunu was forced to flee back to Mahagama where he levied another army and engaged Tissa in yet another battle in the vicinity of the city. Legend has it that as Tissa, fought his brother riding the royal elephant "Kandula" against Dutugemunu who rode a mare. Dutugemunu at one point made the mare jump over the elephant causing the elephant to recognize its master and attempt to kill Tissa who hastily dismounts via a tree. Dutugemunu was victorious and Tissa was smuggled off the battlefield disguised as the corpse of a monk. It is said that Dutugemunu recognized the ploy and called out to his brother "Are you not ashamed to be carried on the back of these priests?" Sometime afterwards, however,

Dutugemunu and Tissa were reconciled through the efforts of Vihara Mahadevi and the monks, and Tissa became one of the king's foremost generals.

Having secured his place, he then planned his operations to regain the north, which included not only Rajarata but numerous smaller semi-independent polities. The king's army consisted of 'chariots, troops and beasts for riders', soldiers and a number of war elephants, as well as a number of monks (to advise the King) and a relic placed in his spear for luck and blessings. In addition he was accompanied by the famed Ten Giant Warriors who had been recruited from all over the island by his father Kavantissa.

Historians believe that the two generals Gamini and Dighabaya of Elara's army to be Sinhala Buddhist names. Elara's sister's son, Nandimitta was one of Duttagamini's ten commanders.

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About the authors



Amisha Perera is a second-year undergraduate at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Ratmalana, where she is reading for a BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations. She completed her education at Bishop's College, Colombo – 03 and she chose the Arts Stream for the G.C.E. Advanced Level Examination. Moreover, she worked as a Campus ambassador at the International Model United Nations.



Sayumi Jayawardene is a second-year undergraduate at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, following a degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations. She has followed a certificate and a Diploma Course in international relations at the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, Colombo. She is also a former MUNer, a former executive committee member of Sri Lanka Model United Nations, a former membership development director of the Rotaract Club of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University and currently the Secretary of the club.



H.G.A. Prasansa Gunawardana, is a second-year Undergraduate following Strategic Studies and International Relations as her bachelor's degree at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Sri Lanka. She completed her primary and secondary education in Holy Cross College Gampaha and was the Head Prefect in the year 2018. She represented Sri Lanka in a global volunteering project in Europe in the year 2019. At present she is the Initiative Group Vice President for Outgoing global volunteer in AIESEC in KDU and the Secretary of the KDU Toastmasters club (21/22).

THE DRIFT OF KINGDOMS IN POST-MEDIEVAL SRI LANKA

Deshani Samaragunaratna & M.A. Javindu Gimantha
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

The Sinhalese monarchy records its origins with the settling down of North-Indian Aryan immigrants on the island of Sri Lanka. According to records, the first Sinhalese kingdom was established by King Vijaya in the valley of Malvatu Oya. Later, the settlement grew and further developed into a kingdom during the reign of King Duttagamini transforming the Rajarata kingdom after King Pandukabhaya into a centre of administration. This study is aimed at identifying the decline of the ancient kingdoms in Rajarata- mainly the disintegration during the post-Polonnaruwa period. The researchers delve into the rationality of the views on various aspects of this decline as well as remarks by scholars. Several causes such as climatic change, collapse of the old order, the decline of agriculture due to infertility of soil, the ravages of malaria, threats from foreign invasions, the disintegration of the elaborate administrative and social fabric which sustained the complicated irrigation system, and the attractions offered by the Wet Zone as against the Dry Zones have been postulated by various scholars. This paper critically analyses the validity of those.

Keywords: *Rajarata, Oriental despotism, Invasions*

INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka's recorded history commences with the arrival of Prince Vijaya in the 6th Century BC. Since then, there were successive waves of migrations -those seeking greener pastures, traders, craftsmen, missionaries, refugees, and outcasts- across the Palk straits such as princess Baddakachchana and Arahath Mahinda (233 BC). We should not forget that Prince Vijaya too was an outcast. During this period, various foreign groups with diverse cultural backgrounds settled in Sri Lanka. The first immigrants to Sri Lanka settled along the riverbanks of Malvatu Oya. These settlements were later developed as the kingdom of Anuradhapura. The agriculture-based civilization of Anuradhapura evolved mainly after the advent of Buddhism. Later, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, due to invasions by the South Indian Chola Empire, the administration was shifted from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa. The main centres of power, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa were located in the administrative heartland called 'Rajarata'. The thriving economy of agriculture based Rajarata was fed by the magnificent reservoir system. The notable factor here is that for nearly eighteen centuries political, economic, and social administration has been centred around Rajarata. Even today the archaeological remains of Rajarata amply

reveal a glorious civilization that flourished absorbing the core values of Buddhism and Hinduism. Towards the end of the 12th century, the ancient kingdom was heading into a period of turmoil. By the middle of the 13th century, the great city of Anuradhapura had almost been abandoned and the kingdom of Polonnaruwa too had fallen (Paranavitana, 1971). The amazing hydraulic civilization of the Malvatu-Mahaveli had reached its end.

At the same time, the population of northern Sri Lanka increased, leading to the emergence of an independent Tamil kingdom on the Jaffna Peninsula in the last quarter of the 13th century. Along 1232 A.D. while Dambadeniya, Yapahuwa, Kurunegala became the capitals of the Sinhalese kingdom, their economic and cultural success can never be compared to that of Rajarata. The most powerful ruler of the time, Parakramabahu II, who defeated Magha, began to rebuild Polonnaruwa, but established his base in Dambadeniya. The area around Tuparama in Anuradhapura would have been in an arid desert when his son, Vijayabahu IV began the restoration of Stupas and other monuments. He travelled to Polonnaruwa and rebuilt it before heading to his capital, Dambadeniya and he assigned *Vanniyars* called forest chiefs for the protection of the city Anuradhapura. There are discussions about the reasons that led to the depopulation of Rajarata and the decline of Anuradhapura. The decline of monumental monastic complexes with the collapse of complex irrigation networks and the loss of technologies that helped the ancient Sri Lankans to build them such an advanced civilization is still controversial (Siriweera, 2012). This paper critically analyses the plausible reasons presented by historians on the decline of the Sinhala kingdom in the post-Polonnaruwa period.

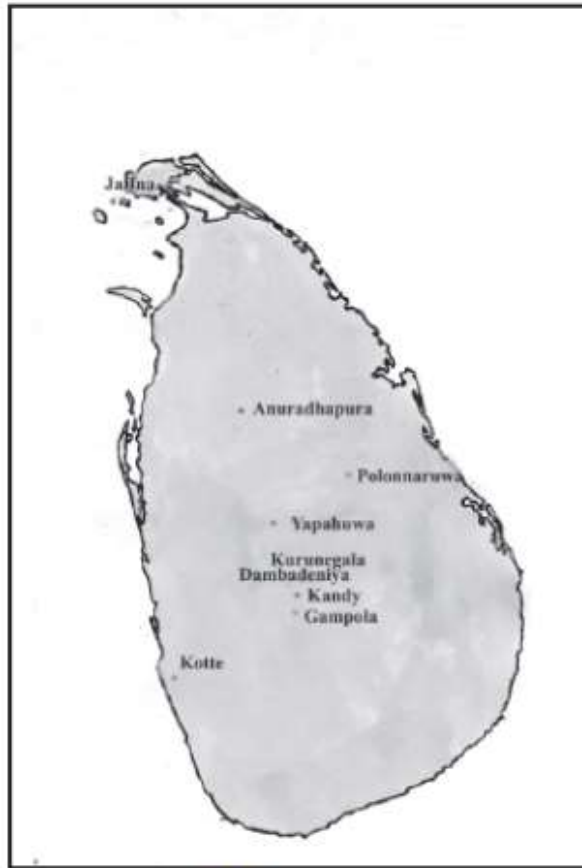


Figure 1: The drift of Kingdoms to South West

Source: Author

Thus, the research identifies the rationality of causes such as climatic change, the collapse of the old order, the decline of agriculture due to degradation of soil, the spread of malaria, several foreign invasions, the breakdown of the even-handed administration, and complex social fabric which smoothly sustained the extensive irrigation system, and the attractions offered by the Wet Zone as against the Dry Zone which has been postulated by scholars.

THE NORTHERN AND SOUTH INDIAN INFLUENCE VS. THE DECLINE OF THE MEDIEVAL RAJARATA KINGDOM

The close trade links between India and Sri Lanka are reflected in many ancient documents and point to the fact that the island was once inhabited by merchants. According to Professor Paranavitana, the population of the island is one of the main traders. The Kuveni episode reflects the uprising of immigrants against indigenous peoples and a synthesis of their cultures dominated by the superior culture of

migrants (Siriweera, 2012, p.19). Therefore, we could conclude that the same phenomenon was repeated subsequently at the Anuradhapura kingdom.

Although Sri Lanka maintained close cultural relations with northern India, the cultural influence of southern India predominates here. Not surprisingly, Hindu influences could be observed across Sri Lankan society since they made an impact on popular Buddhism. According to Siriweera, "some Buddhist kings too patronized Hinduism" (Siriweera, 2012, p.40). Despite its deep-rooted influence on Buddhism, it can be stated that Hinduism did not pose a severe threat to the stability of socio-cultural co-existence within the kingdoms. Simultaneously, there were frequent invasions carried out by powerful South Indian states which undermined the stability and affected the prosperity and security of the Sri Lankan state. Thus, this was an era during which territorial annexation and conquest, or direct political influences were achieved through armies marching across land or arriving by sea and confronting the opponent -face to face- in battle (Corgington, 1971, p. 10).

However, the South Indian invasions on the Island started with the usurping of the throne by Sena and Guttika, who were merchants engaged in the horse trade. During the reign of Mahinda V (982-1017 AD), Rajaraja I invaded Sri Lanka around the year 993 A.D. Therefore, King Mahinda V had to flee to the Rohana region while the son of Rajaraja I known as Rajendra I, carried away the plundered crown, jewels, the diadem and other valuables to India. This marked the demise of the Anuradhapura Kingdom which lasted for 11 centuries.

After capturing the City of Anuradhapura (1017 AD), Cholas moved the capital to Polonnaruwa, which they called Jayantha Mangalam, and marked the first step in transforming the Sinhalese kingdoms. Direct resistance from the Rohana region, which was located at the immediate south of the country, was there although the Chola inscriptions have mentioned that they surrendered the whole Island. It was a haven for rebels, and the origin of local uprisings against foreign leaders.

While the Cholas were able to gain the power over Rajarata region, several leaders organized stubborn resistance against them mainly from Rohana and occasional resistance from the central hill regions as well. Several regional leaders did not attempt to re-gain the power into their hands including the son of deposed king Mahinda V. However, Prince Kitti stands out as the only one who succeeded at his mission of unifying all Sinhala forces against Cholas and consolidating power in Polonnaruwa. During the Polonnaruwa period, only a few who ruled from the capital

could exercise their authority over the entire Sri Lanka. Except for Vijayabahu I (1070-1110), Parakramabahu I (1153-1186), and Nissankamalla (1187-1196) the rest were rulers whose territorial dominance was restricted mainly to the Rajarata part of the Dry Zone.

It can be said that foreign invasions played a crucial role, and they were a devastating blow to the decline of the medieval hydraulic civilization within the country. Foreign invasions are not an unknown threat in Sri Lankan history, but on this particular occasion, it is quite arguable the fact that which invasion led to the demise of the Rajarata civilization. Especially when the Cholas invaders took control of the Anuradhapura kingdom from around 993 and established their rule in 1017 - the Sinhalese fought decisively to regain control over the lost kingdom. For example, Vijayabahu I (1070-1110), who successfully defeated the Chola, ruled over the newly situated centre for power Polonnaruwa, for forty years. Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) made the country unprecedentedly successful. Kalinga Magha, who ascended the throne after Polonnaruwa in 1215, wreaked havoc across the country, plundered the treasures and terrorized the populace (Indrapala, 1971).

Despoliation by Magha though in many ways similar to the earlier invasions of the island, it appears as one of the key factors which altered the functioning of the island. The existing situation at some stage after his oppressive reign hastened the neglect of the tremendous reservoirs and its subsequent radial canals. This may additionally have resulted in barren lands and horrible yields that may hardly sustain the populace. Not only the economy but the cultural and spiritual aspects also were not spared with the razing to the ground of temples and other religious monuments in Polonnaruwa. According to Siriweera, the remains of the palace of Parakramabahu I Vijayantha Pasada were ravaged by fire. "The remains of the walls of the upper story suggest that the palace had been burnt at some point in time. Moreover, Charcoal from burnt timber has also been found in this location (Siriweera, 2012, p.69). The account of the Pujavaliya and Culavamsa may be somewhat exaggerated in describing its context. But even in the Tamil resources such as the "Mattakkalappu- Manmiyam" mentions that "Magha" has caused the destructions of all the Buddhist Viharas and Buddhist temples located at Polonnaruwa (Indrapala, 1971). Moreover, he allocated the monasteries, Pirivena's, and plenty of sanctuaries to his soldiers as residing place as a form of desecrating the sanctity of such places. According to the Culavamsa and other resources, Magha and his warriors have taken away all the possessions of the

rich people. They have further stated that the soldiers of Magha appeared to have seized villages, fields, gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes, and whatever they could acquire and brought them back to Kerala. The events that followed Magha's rule are different from the circumstances that prevailed when the Cholas were expelled by Vijayabahu I. Once the Cholas were repulsed, the Sinhala rulers were free to consolidate their authority in Rajarata while keeping Polonnaruwa as there were no similar attacks each from the Cholas or any other foreign power. Magha's influence was a drastic strike on the core of the Rajarata civilization which is the Sinhala Buddhist socio-economic structure.

Chandrabhanu, who invaded Sri Lanka towards the mid-thirteenth century, conquered some of the regions held by Magha. Subsequently, he established his authority in certain parts of northern Sri Lanka with the help of mercenaries from South India. Around 1258 A.D. The Pandyan King Jayavarman Sundara Pandya attacked him and levied tribute. Since Chandrabhanu had firmly established himself in northern parts of the island, he defied the Pandyas and as a result, in 1263 A.D. Jayavarman Virapandya invaded his kingdom, killed him, and placed a son of Chandrabhanu -who submitted to the authority of the Pandyas- on the throne of the northern kingdom. Thus, the Pandyas established their mastery in northern Sri Lanka (Indrapala, 1971, p.86). This event marks the beginning of the Tamil kingdom of Jaffna and for several decades thereafter there were two kingdoms in the island. The Sinhalese kingdom controlled the southern and central parts of the island, and the Tamil kingdom of Jaffna dominated the North. From this time onwards, except for a brief period of seventeen years (1450-67) under Parakramabahu VI, the country was politically divided till the British brought territorial unity in 1815 A.D. Neither the Tamil rulers nor the Sinhalese kings who lived in relative isolation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could establish their capital in the heart of Rajarata but ruled from Jaffna and the Southwest as there was an equally powerful kingdom close by.

In fact, the Sinhalese retreated further and further into the hills of the wet zone, especially to the South and West. Both Sinhalese and Tamil rulers most likely used the region around Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa as a buffer zone between the two kingdoms. As a result, the administrative and social organization in these areas would have been disturbed. Thus, these settlements became isolated, and isolation paved the way for stagnation (Codrington, 1960, p.93-103).

These chieftains theoretically acknowledge the overlordship of either the Tamil or Sinhalese king, but except in one or two rare instances, for all practical purposes were independent. The disunited Vanni chieftains dispersed throughout the dry zone were unable to effectively coordinate the labour force needed to sustain the reservoir system and its intricately linked canal system. When the chain system of anicuts, channels and reservoirs was neglected the ruin was speedy and inevitable.

COLLAPSE OF 'OLD ORDER'

The American geographer and historian of Asia, Rhoads Murphey views that the collapse of social and administrative organization or the 'old order' which systematized the construction and maintenance of the complex irrigation system was the main cause for the abandonment of Rajarata Kingdoms. (Siriweera, 2012, p.71). Murphey, adopting Karl Wittfogel's idea of 'oriental despotism,' suggests that only a high degree of organization and a large labour force will function the irrigation works and provide constant maintenance.

He also emphasizes that the old society's "Rajakariya" idea was vital in achieving a centralized administration of a despotic kind. In his view, the collapse and total disintegration of 'Rajakariya' and central authority had absolute control of human resources which adequately explain the abandonment. (Murphey, 1957, p.186).

R.A.L.H. Gunawardena, contrarily has rejected the notion that ancient Sri Lankan society suits Wittfogel's idea of oriental despotism. He claims that it was multi-centred, with monastic complexes and village level organizations playing a role in the building and maintenance of irrigation works in addition to the king. (Gunawardena, 1971, pp.3-27). For example, the colloquially known, "*vevai dagabai gamai pansalai*" where the concept of the tank, the dagaba (symbolizing the Buddhist ethos) and the village; three village level institutions intertwined and supporting one another; the tank symbolizing the material needs and the temple providing the spiritual and educational needs for the community.

Even when the central authority weakened, the irrigation system functioned until the thirteenth century. A clear example is the reign of Mahinda V (982- 1017). Due to stiff opposition from mercenaries and the army as well as from people at Rajarata who refrained from paying even taxes he abandoned the palace at Polonnaruwa and sought refuge in Rohana and ruled from there from 993 A.D until the Chola conquest in 1017 A.D. The Cholas brought in chaos to Rajarata. Yet, the irrigation system survived and

once they were expelled, the Rajarata civilization got to another start and flourished. In most periods of recorded history multi-centred administrative apparatus sustained the irrigation network. Not all kings of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa were strong, but the irrigation system was not hampered and disturbed even during the reigns of weaker kings. Paranavitana, elaborating on the theme of centralization and collapse of the social order argues that the Sinhalese nobility known as the "*kulinas*" suffered to the utmost during the regime of Magha and that some of them escaped to areas in which he did not have any control. In his opinion without the *kulinas* who had the specialized knowledge and experience in administration, including the maintenance of irrigation works, the peasants neglected their traditional obligations towards the state. However, it is hard to believe that the early kings of Dambadeniya who fought against Magha lacked the support of the *kulinas* or more precisely that of the officials with administrative experience and knowledge. The officialdom of the Sinhalese kingdom on the eve of the Chola occupation was not very different from that in existence at the time of Magha's invasion. They supported resistance movements and after the Cholas were vanquished, the Sinhalese succeeded in re-establishing their social order and the administrative machinery in Rajarata, but they seemed to have failed in a similar task after the defeat of Magha towards the middle of the thirteenth century. (Siriweera, 2012, p.72).

Thus, it seems that there is no valid ground to suggest that the suppression of the Sinhalese feudal nobility or *kulinas* and their escape from Rajarata contributed to the permanent dislocation of the social and administrative organization in Rajarata. The weakening of the Polonnaruwa kingdom would have undoubtedly aided Magha in establishing his authority in Rajarata, but once Magha's hand was withdrawn, the Sinhalese were unable to reoccupy strong Rajarata and retain the reservoir system and magnificent buildings built by their forefathers. After all, the drain on manpower and material capital is not exclusive to the Polonnaruwa kingdom. Mahinda, the last of the Anuradhapura kings, did not even have enough money to pay his troops. Thus, the causes for the decline of the Rajarata civilizations and the abandonment Dry Zone regions other than the Jaffna peninsula have to sort from elsewhere.

CLIMATIC CHANGES

Rhoads Murphey stated climatic change as the main reason behind the abandonment of the Dry Zone areas, with many scholars accepting the view of Murphey's. According to him dry zone droughts occurring annually are indeed terrible and harsh, and had occurred at longer intervals of 10, 30 or 100 years throughout the ancient period' as the Mahavamsa mentions them repeatedly. (Murphey,1975, pp. 181-200). But it is also to be noted that there is no reference to droughts or famines in any chronicle for more than six centuries between the reigns of Silameghavanna (619-28) and Parakramabahu II (1236-70).

Murphey argues that the "ancient irrigation works, fords or bridges suggests that the volume of water, carried by dry zone rivers before the thirteenth century was greater than now". In his opinion, one of the strongest pieces of evidence against climatic change is that the modern and ancient irrigation works are so similar and can irrigate from the same catchment areas the same amount of cultivated land. It is not clear how he estimated the cultivated areas from the catchment areas in the Dry Zone in the past. Some of the smaller reservoirs and canals recorded in the chronicles cannot be properly identified and quite a number lie buried under a mantle of soil after the Dry Zone was finally abandoned. The large reservoirs such as the "Mahagalkadavala" also have not been restored and "Padaviya, "Vahalkada" and Mahakanadarava" reservoirs have been restored only after Murphey published his article. The small village tanks both in Rajarata and Ruhuna functioned more effectively in the past than now. At present when large and small tanks overflow and spill in a particular year, and if the rains fail in the following year, the dry zone experiences drought even after the modern diversification of the Mahaveli River. It is reasonable to conclude that the capacity of the large and small tanks in the past and the area and intensity of cultivation around them were far greater than now. Murphey arguing against a climatic change states that the wet-dry zone line coincides almost exactly with the line between the ancient irrigated and un-irrigated areas. (Murphey, 1975, pp. 181-200). This also suggests that the climate in the area now known as the dry zone was more hospitable during the Rajarata civilization's reign than it was in the 16th century A.D. During the reigns of Parakramabahu II and Bhuvanekabahu, the 13th century also saw two famines and droughts, at least one of which may have been caused by a climatic change. Although there had been several famines earlier, the only serious one recorded prior to the thirteenth century is the famine that occurred in the reign of

Vattagamani (89-77 B.C.). According to the Culavamsa, the famine which occurred during the reign of Parakramabahu II was caused through the 'influence of evil planets' and everything was burnt up'. Corn withered' and 'the whole of the people dwelling in Lanka were filled with the greatest anxiety. (Cooray, 1948, pp.39-42).

SPREAD OF MALARIA

The spread of malaria being a cause for the decline and abandonment of the Rajarata civilization is a debatable point. (Siriweera, 2012, p.68). There is very little data on the source and spread of malaria in the global sense, though some authors assumed that it was virulent in the Mediterranean region as well as in Han region, China (Nicholls, 1935, pp-11-13). There is also no evidence for the spread of malaria in Sri Lanka in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries irrespective of the fact that sporadic references to diseases are made once the tanks and the settlements around them were abandoned, stagnant pools would have been good breeding grounds for malarial vector anopheles. But it is far-fetched to suggest that malaria was a major cause the abandonment of the ancient Sri Lankan civilization. (Siriweera, 2012, p.68)

CONCLUSION

The foreign and civil wars which plagued the country led to oriental despotism and thus the abandonment of the ancient Rajarata civilization – a hydraulic society. Therefore the thriving economy of agriculture based Rajarata was fed by the reservoir system even today the archaeological remains of Rajarata amply reveal a magnificent civilization that flourished by the core values of Buddhism and Hinduism which flourished in the dry zone of Sri-Lanka from the latter half of the first millennium B.C to the thirteenth century and the subsequent shift of the centres of population and administration to the wet zone in the southwestern portions of the island have been summarized and synthesized in this research.

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About the authors



Deshani Samaragunaratna is an undergraduate at Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She followed the language stream for G.C.E A/L at Good Shepherd convent, Kandy. She has completed a Diploma in International Relations at Bandaranaike Center for International Studies and participated in the Change Leadership Program 2020 organized by the East West Center, Hawaii. Deshani is multi-lingual, speaking Sinhala, Tamil, English and French fluently. She's interested in learning foreign languages, exploring history and geography.



M.A. Javindu Gimantha is an undergraduate at Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. He followed the Bio Science stream for G.C. E A/L at D.S. Senanayake College. Although his interests were in the field of science, his passion for history and geopolitical affairs directed his journey towards the field of international relations.



SESSION TWO

COSMOPOLITANISM

EXTERNAL COMPULSIONS OF SRI LANKA'S HISTORY

Pansilu Aloka, T.A.S. Ranathunga & P.R. Meegahakumbura
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

The subject matter of this research spans from the earliest times since independence. The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines that History is often perceived as a mosaic of discrete occurrences. Sri Lanka's historical mosaic has evolved as a result of internal and external events that have taken place over the years. As an island, Sri Lanka's relationship with the global community in land and sea domains have been particularly important in the evolution of Sri Lanka's historical narrative. On the other hand, a key turning point such as King Vijaya's arrival in Sri Lanka has mainly taken place due to Sri Lanka's close proximity to India. Therefore, the factor -strategic location and the close proximity to the Indian sub-continent- played a significant role in shaping Sri Lanka's historical record. Historically Mahawamsa portrays Vijaya as the first king to establish civilized rule in Sri Lanka. Then rule of King Dewanampiyatissa stands out due to advent of Buddhism during his reign. These events took place due to the fact that India is separated only by a narrow strait. Sri Lanka has been invaded by South Indians at various times due to the same fact. It is almost the same as the French regularly invading England and vice versa. Invasions -whether for trade or for territory- have also changed the political, economic and social environment in Sri Lanka. Due to the favourable geographic location -being situated in the hub of sea lanes in the Indian Ocean- later in 1505, the Portuguese landed in Sri Lanka purely by chance. Subsequently Dutch and the British followed the Portuguese. This paper is an attempt at interpreting Sri Lanka's major historical events through the lens of international relations.

Key words: Sri Lanka. International Relations, Proximity, Strategic Location

INTRODUCTION

The history of Sri Lanka is intertwined with the history of the wider Indian subcontinent and surrounding areas, including South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. Sri Lanka, being an island located in the Indian Ocean, has been influenced by several alien encounters. The authors intend to discuss the main theme under the following areas to argue that Sri Lanka's history is significantly impacted by international relations.

- ❖ Arrival of Vijaya
- ❖ Advent of Buddhism
- ❖ South Indian Invasions
- ❖ Shifting of Kingdoms
- ❖ Colonial Encounters

EARLY PERIOD

Sri Lanka's relations with the external world around it -both by land and by sea- has been particularly important in its historical evolution. How historians have looked at what we may call these 'external factors' raises important issues of approach, orientation and perspective in historical studies. The geography of the country too bears an impact on the history of the country. This factor is often proved in the history of the island state. The external factors which influenced the early history of Sri Lanka could be discussed in two areas.

1. Sri Lanka's proximity to India.
2. Sri Lanka's strategic location in the sea trade route.

According to chronicles and legends, king Vijaya is considered the first king of Sri Lanka. The earliest record of Vijaya's legend is found in the Dipawamsa, written around the fourth or the fifth century. Vijaya and seven hundred of his followers were put on a ship and banished from Lata Rata, North India. They embarked from the port of Supparak and landed in Lanka on the day of the Buddha's demise. After ruling for several years since King Vijaya had no heir to the throne, he was told to call his brother, Price Sumitta, to succeed him at the throne before his death. But at that time Price Sumitta was ruling Sinhapura. Because of that the youngest son of price Sumitta, prince Panduwasadewa was despatched to Sri Lanka to fulfill the task. As the third

wave of immigrants, Princess Bhaddakachchayana was brought from India after some time to be married to prince Panduwasadewa.

The Mahawamsa narrative portrays the arrival of Vijaya as the landmark of civilizing early Sri Lankan society. However, modern historians argue that civilizing of society could not have taken place overnight. According to Somadeva (2018) the development of the society and culture of Sri Lanka was a gradual phenomenon rather than an accelerated process. However, the important point to highlight here is that the arrival of Vijaya made a notable impact on the ongoing social, economic and cultural continuity of Sri Lanka. This event was merely a result of the close proximity of Sri Lanka to the Indian subcontinent.

ADVENT OF BUDDHISM

According to Mahawamsa the advent of Buddhism in Sri Lanka is the most important event that had taken place in Sri Lankan history. The main reason for introducing Buddhism to Sri Lanka was also the close proximity. As a result of that, Sri Lanka was under hegemonic pressure from India. The history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka begins in the third century BCE during the reign of King Devanampiyatissa. One of the main reasons for introducing Buddhism to Sri Lanka was the friendly relationship between King Devanampiyatissa and Emperor Ashoka. There is no conclusive evidence to declare that Buddhism existed in Sri Lanka before the advent of Arahath Mahinda and the entourage. However, according to folk lore Lord Buddha is said to have visited Sri Lanka three times. That shows even before the Mahawamsa period, there existed some relationships with the Subcontinent.

It is recorded in Mahawamsa that a minister named Arittha was dispatched to Emperor Ashoka to obtain the guidance of female disciples to enable the women of Lanka to obtain ordination, For this purpose Sangamitta, the sister of Mahinda Thera who had entered the order and had received ordination, was sent out to Lanka at the request of the king and the people and on the recommendation of Mahinda Thera. Emperor Ashoka decided to send a southern branch of the Maha Bodhi to Sri Lanka along with Theri Sangamittha. King Devanampiyatissa created the Mahameuna garden to plant the Bodhi Plant and he also commenced the construction of the Pathamaka Chethiya, The Jambukola Vihara and the Hattahallaka – Vihara – and the refectory.

If Sri Lanka was located far away from India, Sri Lanka would not have been an Island heavily influenced by Buddhism. It is a universal truth that Buddhism plays a pivotal role in all Societal, Economic and Political spheres in Sri Lanka. Therefore, living next door to India has drastically shaped the identity of Sri Lanka as an island nation.

As a result of Sri Lanka's proximity to India, Sri Lanka was subjected to Indian hegemonic influences whenever the political power of Sri Lanka declined. Sri Lankan kings have also made matrimonial alliances for the purpose of securing political stability. Prince Vijaya fetched a princess from Madurapura while King Vijayabahu I, queen Lilavati and King Parakramabahu II also brought virgins to their sons from Jampudveepa or present-day India. Some kings employed Indian officials for administrative services. It is recorded in the chronicles that under queen Anula, an ancestor named Niliya and a city carpenter named Vatuka worked. The Artshastra written by Indian strategist Kautilya was used by the Sri Lankan kings.

SOUTH INDIAN INVASIONS

Sena and Guttika, the earliest South Indians who occupied the throne of Anuradhapura in the third century B.C, were sons of a horse dealer and it is likely that they were supported by commercial communities in South India. It is also possible that Elara who ruled Anuradhapura a few decades later would have had commercial interests. South Indian literary works refer to a naval pilot named Elela Singham who belonged to a royal family. It may be that Elara of the Sinhala chronicles is the same person as Elela Singham of the South Indian tradition.

The relationship between south India and Sri Lanka has existed from ancient times. During the period of the imperial Cholas, the influence of south India was felt in Sri Lanka. When the chola dynasty formed an empire, Sri Lankan kings had maintained contact with Cheras and Pandyan against Cholas.

SOUTH INDIAN MAP – 12TH CENTURY

Sri Lanka had closer contact with Tamil Nadu than with the other parts of the South India because Tamil Nadu is situated near by Sri Lanka. According to recorded history, during the past 2500 years, Sri Lanka was invaded seventeen times by Tamil speaking Dravidians from Southern India. These brutal Tamil armies and the merciless mercenaries disrupted the continuity of the Sinhala kingdom. As a result, the

traditional kingdom of Rajarata was shifted to the South West with the passage of time.

From time to time, Tamil invaders held sway over the Island for 170 years. The threat of Tamil invasions was especially critical during the 5th and 6th centuries AD. This was the time when Tamil ethnic and religious domain was consolidating in Southern India. Three Hindu or the southern empires from dynasties known as “Pandaya, Pallava and Chola” were becoming bold and confident to pose a threat to Sri Lanka. To make matters worse for our country, the influence of Buddhism in India has faded away at this period since Buddhism was repressed by the Hindu monarchs. The above kingdoms -Chola, Pandaya and Pallava- carried out repeated invasions and posed a grave threat to Sri Lanka. Although some of these South Indian kings were able to usurp the seat of Sinhalese power only for a limited period, eventually they were ousted, and the country was unified under the rule of Sinhala Buddhist monarchy again.

According to recorded history, frequent threats by powerful South Indian states to the stability and to the security of our country, continued over during the past 2500 years. The first reported account of south Indian Tamil and rule in Sri Lanka was during the period of 237 – 215 BC by two brothers named Sena and Guththika, who were horse dealers. They have been killed by the Sinhala king Asela who ruled the Anuradhapura kingdom. Then again, after 10 years a well-known Chola invader called “Elara” ousted king Asela and ruled Rajarata for forty-four years. The king Elara was defeated by the great Buddhist warrior, king “Dutugamunu” and the country was ruled in a peaceful manner.

During the time of King Valagamba (89-77 BC) South Indians invaded Sri Lanka with Seven Tamil warriors and King Valagamba was banished from his kingdom. They were Pulahatta, Bahiya, Panaya Mara, Pilayamara, Dathika and two others who went to India with the relics of the Lord Buddha. Subsequent to this event, Sri Lanka’s kings seem to have sought the assistance of Pandayans in order to expel Chola invaders from Sri Lanka.

Holding sway over the Sinhala kingdom, the Pandayan’s invaded the island in 833 BC to rule the country for 24 years. After the invasion of Pandayan’s, Chola invaders tried to become stronger and more effective. From this point onwards both Cholas and Pandayans developed an interest over the royal seat in Sri Lanka.

King Parantaka I of the Chola Empire led an invasion and conquered with his allies. When King Paranthaka conquered Madurai, the defeated ruler took the royal ammunition of Madurai and handed it over to King Dappula IV, who ruled Lakdiva. As a result, King Parantaka I invaded Lanka to take over the Maduravi kings and took away the royal goods. It was the first invasion of Ceylon by the Cholas. King Raja I invaded Anuradhapura in the nineteenth century BC. At that time Raja was the fifth Mihindu king. King Mahinda had fled to Malaya during the invasion, and King Raja I had plundered the Lakdiva resources and returned to India. Later, in 1017 AD, Rajendra Chola I, son of King Raja I, invaded and captured Rajarata. They called Rajarata Mummudichola Mandalam. Later, in the year 1070 AD, King Vijayabahu I liberated the country from the Cholas and united Lanka.

During the reign of Queen Leelawathi, who was the widow of King Parakramabahu the first, Polonnaruwa was invaded by a Pandayan Tamil invader. He was responsible in deposing her and ruled for three years. This was the first invasion to take place in the Polonnaruwa kingdom, but the most crucial invasion was carried out by ruthless Kalinga Maga who landed in Karainagar in 1215 AD, at the head of an army of 24,000 along with Kerala and Tamil warriors. They marched straight towards Polonnaruwa and defeated the ruling King Parakramabahu the 2nd and ruled for 21 years. The thirst for blood and the atrocities of invaders were unprecedented in the living memory of the country.

Kalinga Maga dominated over the inhabitants of Raja Rata and extended his invasion to the south of the country but was compelled to retreat. Being beaten by the forces of Vijayabahu the 3rd of 'Maya Rata', Maga was killed by the Sinhalese while he was retreating to India. This insecurity brought about by the invaders was the main reason for the relocation of capitals.

During the invasion of Magha the country was ravaged, plundered of its wealth and much destruction was caused to sacred monuments of the country. The 700-year-old Sinhala royal place in the citadel of Anuradhapura was burnt down. Relic chambers of stupas were ripped open and valuables including gold images in shrines were carted away. Often after plundering the treasure, they razed to the ground, these historic structures for good.

STRATEGIC LOCATION

Sri Lanka is connected by sea routes with ports in the southern, western and north-eastern regions of India. It was conveniently linked with the sub-continent as well as with ports in the Arabian Sea, the Southeast Asian kingdoms and China. Several Sri Lankan ports played a crucial role in maritime trade that flourished through these sea-routes but the degree of importance of some of these ports varies from time to time. Prior to the thirteenth century, Mahatittha or the great port, opposite Mannar on the northwestern coast facing the Arabian sea was rated the key trading port of the Island. Mahatittha, located at the mouth of the Malvatu river, offered easy access to the capital -Anuradhapura- which was located along the banks of the same river. However, with the increased emphasis on the south-east Asian Sri Vijaya Kingdom as the main centre, the significance of Mahatittha had diminished to some extent. However, Mahatittha did not entirely lose its prominence in the period between the seventh and the twelfth centuries and it prospered as a bustling emporium where South Indian merchants flourished. In addition to ancient temple of Tiruketisvaram at Mahatittha, a temple named Rajarajavarattu Mahadeva was constructed near the port in the eleventh century by the Chola conqueror Rajaraja I to facilitate the religious observances of the trading communities and soldiers stationed there.



Figure 1: ancient Capitals and Ports

Source: History of Sri Lanka-W. I. Siriweera

In the Jaffna Peninsula, existed two notable ports namely Jambukolapattana and Uraturai. Jambukolapattana which could be identified with modern Sambiliturai is not recorded as a port of maritime commerce but was widely used as a port of embarkation and landing in Anuradhapura period. Its importance is testified by the fact that, there was a connecting high road from Jambukolapattana to the capital Anuradhapura. Although ports in the South are not mentioned such as those in the northern, north - western and eastern parts of the island in the early period of the Anuradhapura kingdom, one exception is the port of Godapavata (Godavaya) in the Hambantota district. In an inscription of Gajabahu I (114 – 136 A.D.) at Godavaya near the mouth of the Walawe Ganga, it is stated that customs duty charged at the port were dedicated to the Godapavata Vihara. The recent excavations suggest that Godavaya was a semi-urban centre endowed with an important port in international trade. These excavations disprove Nicholas's view that Godavaya was an unimportant port. As a notable harbour in the south, Galle had gained prominence at least by the middle of the fourteenth century. Ibn Batuta states that he journeyed from Dondra (Dinavur) to Galle (Quali) and that he was treated there by a resident Muslim named captain Ibrahim. The Chinese vessels that sailed through the Straits of Malacca victualled at Galle on the way to Malabar or the African Coast. The Galle Trilingual inscription dating back to the first few decades of the fifteenth century, written in Chinese, Persian and Tamil indicates that Chinese, Muslim and South Indian Hindu and Jain traders frequented the port. The fact that Galle had been a well-established commercial centre by the fifteenth century is also attested to by the Sandesa poems. It was a town with wide streets along which were located shops of all kinds.

The port of Valigama, had come into prominence at least from the twelfth century A.D. onwards. It is first mentioned as a port where affluent merchants dwelt during the reign of Parakramabahu I. The Kalyani inscriptions state that a ship sent by the Ramanna king to Sri Lanka arrived at Valigama. The Tisara, Parevi and Kokila "Sandesas" indicate that Valigama had become an important and prosperous port about the fifteenth century. It was predominantly settled by Muslims whose background and interests were entirely commercial. They spoke Tamil and sang Tamil songs.

With the shift of political centres to the South West and the development of the south-western parts of the island, several other ports such as Beruvala, Bentota, Vattala, Chilaw turned out to be of significance in channelling the island's foreign trade.

According to Parevi, Gira and Kahakurulu “Sandesas”, clusters of sailing ships could be observed regularly from vantage points of the western coast. In the fourteenth century, John De Marignolli arrived by the ship at the port of Perivills in Sri Lanka on his way to China. According to Henrey Yule, Perivills could be deduced being the port of Beruvala. Marignolli states that the administrator at Perivills was Coya Jahn, apparently the name of a Muslim chief. The “Sandesa” poems indicate the Beruvala was a Muslim trading center in the fifteenth century with many beautiful mansions and large shops.

Although an exact period cannot be determined, the Sinhalese established themselves in the island from about the first millennium B.C. There is no proof to substantiate the claim that the northern and eastern regions of the island were inhabited by Tamils from early stages of history. On the contrary, Jambukola Pattana -modern Sambiliturai- was an important port of the Sinhala kingdom and the Jaffna peninsula was within the territory of the Sinhala kings up to the thirteenth century A.D. except for very brief period. Besides Jambukola Pattana, Mahatittha opposite present Mannar in the north – west of the Dry Zone and Gokanna, modern Trincomalee in the east coast were among the principal ports of the Sinhala kingdom.

COLONIAL ERA

In the middle of the 13th century several European countries commenced navigation far beyond their shores and to explore new lands. For these pioneering explorers, even royal patronage was made available. When sailing into uncharted waters, these resolute sailors were immensely relieved to depend on the compass and the sextant. By plotting with these coupled with luck, the navigators were able to achieve their goals with the minimum loss of life.

PORTUGUESE

In the beginning of 16th century, in Sri Lanka there were three native centres of political power, the two Sinhalese kingdoms of Kotte and Kandy and the Tamil kingdom at Jaffna, Kotte being the principal seat of Sinhalese power. Kotte kingdom wielded the lion’s share of power in Sri Lanka at that time but none of these three kingdoms was endowed with the political and military clout to reunify the island.

In 1505 Don Lourenco de Almeida, son of Francisco de Almeida’s, was sailing to lure Moorish ships in southwest coast of Sri Lanka. But suddenly they had the misfortune to

face an unexpected situation as they were struck by a violent storm. Because of that storm, the fleet sought refuge at the Galle harbour. And that time king Parakramabahu the 8th (1484-1508) was ruling the Kotte kingdom. King Parakramabahu the 8th builds up a friendly relationship with Portuguese and he gifted cinnamon and elephants to Portuguese to take home. The king also granted them a concession to build a trading post in Colombo. But the Portuguese nurtured a different plan, while they were controlling the trade, they were plotting to wrest the control of whole country. The scenario was exactly what the British repeated in India- initially “trade not territory” but as they gained a foothold pursuing a policy consolidating “trade and territory”.

During 15th and 16th centuries Arabian trader’s and seafarer’s dominance was patently evident across commercial sea lanes as well as along overland caravan routes. Because of their supremacy, the Portuguese were compelled to face another problem since they always wanted to retain the monopoly of trade routes and commerce. Meanwhile the Portuguese realized that the ideal location of Sri Lanka was crucial, if they wanted to attain mastery of the Indian Ocean. This location was conducive to all their future plans as explained above. Their main trading base was India and they wanted to protect their trade centres. So, they made use of Sri Lanka’s natural harbours such as Mannar, Galle, Colombo and Trincomalee to protect their main trade centre from other competitors and attackers. Not only that, they found that Sri Lanka was rich in natural resources that they wanted. Being prompted mainly by these two reasons, they were keen to bring under their rule at least the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka.

As mentioned above, the division of Kotte kingdom resulted in a future division of an already divided island. Because of this fragmentation, the unity of people too suffered. The Portuguese used those events to gain the control of Sri Lanka mainly by stratagem, with the minimum of bloodshed at initial stages.

Portuguese wanted to enjoy the fruits in trading across Asia and to spread their religion – Catholicism and the commercial empire across the globe. They used Sri Lanka also to fulfil their needs. The division of Kotte kingdom prompted the Portuguese to interfere decisively in internal politics in Sri Lanka.

In order to repulse King Mayadunne, the monarch of Kotte sought the help of Portuguese. As a result of this move, Portuguese army became the security provider of the Kotte kingdom. Afterwards they openly engaged in politics and gradually

spread their tentacles in other fields too. This was a windfall to consolidate their foothold and to display their clout among the populace.

YAPANAYA KINGDOM (JAFFNA KINGDOM)

After the drifting of Rajarata civilization, Jaffna kingdom had risen up. Jaffna kingdom was ruled by Arya Chakrawarthy dynasty, and the King Pararayasekaram. They ruled Jaffna at the time when the Portuguese held sway in southern parts of Sri Lanka. In 1543 Jaffna king battled against Portuguese rule, but this ended up with the king submitting and agreeing to pay tribute. Both parties agreed that they should offer assistance to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ in and around the kingdom, thus converting its inhabitants.

In 1560 Portuguese again invaded the Jaffna kingdom and after the Jaffna king Sankili left the kingdom. It was a victorious moment for the Portuguese, having captured the kingdom of Jaffna and having the opportunity to exercise power at port of Mannar too. Thus, a large territory in the north belonged to them and they had the chance to control the peripheral politics in both South and the North.

Again in 1638, under the Portuguese captain Diego de Mello the Portuguese attempted to invade the heartland of the Sinhala kingdom. But as usual all their efforts did not bear fruit against the strong Sinhalese battalions under the Sinhala kings. This was the last effort or the invasion to capture the Kandyan kingdom.

DUTCH IN SRI LANKA

The Dutch are the natives of Holland. After the discovery of maritime routes to Asia by Portuguese, the Dutch navigators too tried to reach the Asian destinations. In 1602, amalgamating some Dutch merchant groups they formed a commercial entity called "Dutch East Asian Company" which is commonly known as "VOC". From the beginning onwards their trade was transacted by "VOC" and their motive was "profit". From the above statement, and the evidence, we can derive that the Hollander's main motive was to reap profits by trading through the Asian countries.

The Dutch, as soon as they reached south Asia were based in "Batavia" from there, they controlled the trade in east Asian countries. They found out that Sri Lanka produced high quality pepper and cinnamon. Being tempted by spices, they formed a relationship with Sri Lanka driven by trade. This was the time that the country was facing a harsh rule under the Portuguese. Sri Lankan Sinhala kings wanted to build up

a fruitful relationship with the Dutch in order to oust the Portuguese from the Maritime Provinces. This suggestion was an ideal opportunity for the Dutch to be actively involved in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka.

In 1602, a Dutch ambassador named “Joris Van Splibergen” journeyed to Kandy and consulted the king Wimaladarmasuriya. After him a few embassies followed, one of whom was “Siebel de Vart”. But the discussions were not successful in 1658 AD. After the ascension of king Raja Singha the 2nd, he wanted to cement the bonds with the Dutch in order to expel the Portuguese from Sri Lanka and to reunite the country without being subdued by foreigners. From this conversation, they drew up with an agreement. This included:

- ❖ They agreed to help out Sinhala kings to drive out Portuguese from Sri Lanka.
- ❖ Military expenses should be set off by providing cinnamon, pepper, and other commodities.
- ❖ Export elephants. Dutch to retain the authority to decide the trade in Kandyan kingdom.
- ❖ Dutch enjoy the privilege to occupy the Portuguese forts if the king would agree to such a move.

From the year of 1638, the Sinhala kings spent nearly 20 years to oust Portuguese. During this period Sinhalese and Dutch joint forces succeeded in capturing Portuguese fortresses such as Trincomalee, Negombo, Galle, Kaluthara, Colombo, Mannar and Jaffna.

After capturing these fortresses, Dutch were not readily evacuating from these vantage points as was agreed upon by the pact. After these bitter incidents the relationship with kings and Dutch was strained, since Dutch did not honour some vital terms.

As mentioned above, King Raja Singha II's expectations of seeking the help of the Dutch were:

- ❖ Oust Portuguese from Sri Lanka.
- ❖ Reunite the country, by holding the areas which were ruled by Portuguese and proclaim the land again as a single country.

The king managed to fulfil his first aim, but bitterly disappointed with the second wish since the Dutch tend to occupy the Portuguese fortresses. In between the time period

of 1665 to 1668, The Dutch tend to attack the Kandyan territory and over run some places in Kandy.

SALIENT FEATURES OF POLICIES BETWEEN KANDYAN KINGDOM AND DUTCH

- ❖Initially Dutch avoided punitive expeditions against the Kandyan kingdom because they realized that they simply couldn't win those battles. They followed a policy of peaceful coexistence with Kandyan's because VOC wanted high profits in the long run.
- ❖To maintain a cordial relationship with the Kandyan kings, they sometimes dispatched delegations that were bearing exotic gifts European rarities. The ulterior motive was to achieve monopoly in cinnamon trade in Sri Lanka.
- ❖Dutch sponsorships for Buddhist revival and ordinations by providing ships.

BRITISH POWER ESTABLISHING IN SRI LANKA

Since 1607, British wanted to gain a foothold in the Indian subcontinent. They succeeded after about 10 years. Then they stationed factors and established several trading posts in East India. Their initial maxim was "Trade not territory" which was soon conveniently amended to "Trade and territory". The ultimate result was the inevitable "Territory and territory" which lasted until 1947. The British realized the importance of Sri Lanka along with her strategic location, as it was very close to India and in the midst of silk route. They foresaw that gaining the control of Sri Lanka would ensure their complete control i.e. free trading and unhindered navigation. Also, they sought a safe haven to repair and victual their ships which have faced enemy attacks or the ravages of high seas.

And also, one of their main reasons to come to Sri Lanka was the Trincomalee, as it was a massive natural harbour which afforded anchorage even to several fleets of ships. We could assume the other reasons as, the rich natural resources of Sri Lanka such as cinnamon, pepper, gems and tusks etc. which were in heavy demand in Europe. Being prompted by these reasons, soon they were eyeing the tempting fruits of the monopoly in Sri Lanka.

ESTABLISHING BRITISH POWER.

In 1796 "British East India Company" established their power in certain coastal areas in Sri Lanka. By February 1796, they had successfully conquered the Colombo, Galle,

fortresses. These victories were followed by seizing all the fortresses and territory which were under the Dutch. As the Dutch were smoothly relieving their hold on Sri Lanka as British were operating under certain developments and agreements that were emanating from the Holland. In 1802, coastal areas under British East India Company were duly transferred to the British sovereign and thereafter treated as a crown colony. The British mostly by employing intrigue and stratagem deposed the King Sri Wikrama Rajasinghe in 1815, thus gaining the control of the Kandyan kingdom too. They elevated themselves to become the rulers of the entire island within two decades of landing in this island.

From October 1798 onwards there were some changes made in ruling the coastal areas of Sri Lanka by British. This positive move was to appoint a governor who is loyal to the British crown. The first governor they appointed was Frederick North in order to regularize to the management and politics. From 1798 to 1802, the county was operating under the “dual control” system. Since this concept failed to bring about the desired result, the Company handed over the coastal areas of Sri Lanka to British government in 1802.

KANDYAN CONVENTION - 1815

Kandyan Convention is a very important official document which signifies that the Kandyan kingdom was officially ceded to the British Crown. Under this convention it was agreed upon to ensure that:

- ❖ The Kandyan kingdom no longer belongs to King Sri Wikrama Raja Singha or successors
- ❖ The Kandyan kingdom officially belongs to the British Crown.
- ❖ To protect cultural values and rights and responsibilities of aristocrats.
- ❖ To protect the main religion Buddhism, priests and their temples. Also, to developed and maintain it.

After signing this Convention, the country which flourished for more than 2,000 years purely as an independent state, was ruled under the tyrannous yoke of an alien power whose seat of government was located more than 8000 miles away.

CONCLUSION

By analysing all the facts above, it is evident that Sri Lanka co-existed with other countries while Sri Lanka's strategic location tempted other countries. It is clear that European powers were drawn to seize Sri Lanka due to her optimum geographical location and the abundance of natural resources. At other times the growth of the political, economic and social spheres in the country too contributed. Sri Lanka has at times been more influential and at times less influential to other countries over the decades. Through this research, the authors have shed light on Sri Lanka's relations with other countries, using essentials from the monarchy to the current political scenario.

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About the authors



Pansilu Aloka Kumari Puassadeniya is a second-year student at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University and currently following the Degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations. She went to Yasodara Devi Balika Vidyalaya Gampaha and she was the former Deputy Head Prefect of the school (2018). She is the current Assistant Vice President education in KDU Toastmasters club. She also participated for a gender equality leadership programme organized by the East West Center in Hawaii. She has presented a research paper at the International Research Conference held in 2020..



Thirushi Amaya Ranathunga is an undergraduate at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, following a BSc. Degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations. She was a Musaeite and completed the advanced level examination in 2019 under the language stream.



Pabasara Ranmina Meegahakunbura is an undergraduate in the first year following the BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. He completed his G.C.E advanced level examination in the Science stream (Combined Mathematics) as a student of Prince of Wales College, Moratuwa.

SOCIAL IMPACTS OF COLONIALISM IN SRI LANKA

Harish Sagar K., Erandi Manorathna & I. Chamali Lakshani Silva

Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

It is rather difficult for any external force to make a significant impact on any domestic social system. The evolution of Sri Lanka's social system took place for over two and a half millennia. The change brought to the island by the western powers, who were equipped with guns and steel, was a significant turning point in our social fabric. Western countries were drawn to Ceylon largely due to its strategic location and trade. Sri Lanka is connected with trade routes between the East and the West and consists of natural ports, especially Trincomalee, which has become important for the security of the region. Sri Lanka has comprised of numerous bays that anchorages roadsteads provided adequate shelter for sailing ships. The three major western colonial powers; Portuguese (1505–1658), Dutch (1658–1796), and British (1796– 1948) had significant impacts on every part of Ceylon including economy, society, politics, and other sectors. During the British era, trade-based agriculture, such as tea, coffee, coconut, cocoa, and rubber plantations, shifted the economy in a different direction. Furthermore, the political constitutional reforms, as well as the religious establishments have resulted in significant changes in then Ceylon. This paper addresses the social consequences of colonial rule.

Keywords: Colonialism, Geographical location, Social Impact

INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka had been under the influence of many foreign powers. The arrival of Vijaya was the first notable foreign immigration on the island. After Sri Lanka was established as a unified nation, there were many foreign invasions and they mainly emanated from the regional powers such as Chola and Pandya kingdoms. Sri Lanka's colonial period started in 1505 with the arrival of the Portuguese. The Dutch and the British followed the Portuguese subsequently. Sri Lanka had to face a gamut of political, economic, and social changes due to the colonial encounters. This paper inquires about the social impact of the colonial powers.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

Identifying the social changes of Sri Lanka's during Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial period.

PORTUGUESE AND THEIR EXPANSIONS

The Portuguese are of Southwestern European origin predominantly from Southern and Western Europe. The Portuguese Empire originated at the beginning of the Age of Discovery², and the capacity and influence of the Kingdom of Portugal eventually expanded across the globe. In the wake of the Reconquista³, Portuguese sailors began trading and searching Africa's coast and the Atlantic Archipelagos in 1418–19, using recent navigation, cartography, and maritime technology to find an ocean route to the source of the lucrative spice trade. In 1488, Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and in 1498 Vasco da Gama arrived in Bharat. In 1500, Pedro Álvares Cabral invaded Brazil on the American continent's coast. When King Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal) captured the Portuguese crown in 1580, 60-year collaboration between Spain and Portugal became known to subsequent historiography as the Iberian Union. The realms continued to have separate administrations as the King of the Kingdom of Spain was also the King of Portugal. Portuguese colonies became the subject of attacks by three rival European powers hostile to Spain: The Dutch Republic, England, and France. Portugal found itself unable to effectively defend its overstretched network of commercialism posts with its smaller population and therefore the empire which began long ago witnessed a gradual decline. In this backdrop, Don Lorenzo de Almeida established primary contact between Ceylon and the Portuguese in 1505–6. It had been mostly accidental, and it wasn't until twelve years later that the Portuguese sought to establish a fortified trading settlement. The Portuguese expanded their influence on the island by exploiting the political rivalries between the divided kingdoms, inserting client rulers on the many kingdoms' thrones directly ruling other areas.

² The Age of Discovery, Age of Exploration or the Age of Contact refers to the early modern period from 15th to the 18th Century in Europe.

³ The Reconquista was a period in the history of the Iberian Peninsula of about 780 years between the Umayyad conquest of Hispania in 711, the expansion of the Christian kingdoms throughout Hispania, and the fall of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in 1492.

SOCIAL IMPACTS; CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGES

By 1505, the Island was better known to the civilized world as Serendib. Over the centuries, it had experienced a range of cultural influences, and as a result, Serendib became the natural focus at the southernmost part of the ocean routes that connected Asia with the Mediterranean. Therefore, Chinese, Greek, Roman, Persian, Arab and Indian sailors, and merchants converged on the Island and left their cultural imprint to a greater or lesser degree. But the year 1505 saw the start of a different kind and intensity of cultural influence. In pursuit of ships belonging to Moorish and Arab traders, a Portuguese naval fleet was blown off the Maldives' track and ended up at Galle. It was the primary contact the Islanders had with Europeans and their dissimilar life and advanced military equipment. Alien was the Portuguese that the Sinhalese chronicle *Rajavaliya* represented when building a fort at Sri Lanka's capital in 1517 as: exceedingly fair of skin and beautiful. They wear boots and hats of iron: they rest not an instance in one place: they walk here and there. They ate white stone (bread) and drank blood (wine): and provided two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime. The report of their cannon is louder than thunder once it fired upon the rock of Yugandhara⁴: their cannonballs fly for a *gawwa* (a *gawwa* is equal to 6.5km. Therefore, this distance is an exaggeration) and shatter fortresses of granite (*Rajavaliya, p.66*)

When Serendib or Sri Lanka was at risk of invasion from the north, the Portuguese' arrival prevented the Island from transforming into an Indian province. Instead, Ceilão, as they named it, gained a unique identity as they were the primary of three colonial powers. The Dutch and British-too have an imposing influence on the culture over 450 years. Not all of the Portuguese influence was helpful. However, the positive aspects have contributed to extraordinarily numerous societies during which ancient aspects have fortunately survived. Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya declares in *The Portuguese Cultural Imprint on Sri Lanka* (2000) that: The Portuguese presence in Asia was typically restricted to urban areas. However, Sri Lanka was an exception. The establishments that outlined the matrix of social interaction with the native context were extended to non-urban areas. The Portuguese have left out their stamp on Ceylon social administration, society, fine arts, and language (*p.86*).

Roman Catholicism was introduced by Portuguese missionaries. However, the over-passionate nature of the conversion is the least tasteful feature of the Portuguese

⁴ One of the mountains of the Himālaya range

cultural imprint. However, they successfully held their converts than the Dutch missionaries who spread Protestantism when the Portuguese were expelled. This is partly mirrored within the proven fact that both Sinhala and Tamils, who embrace Catholicism, comprise 6.1 % of the population (1.2 million) as per the 2012 census, whereas Protestants account for 1.3 percent. Unfortunately, only ruins of Portuguese churches remain. So insignificant design is extant: even several forts that the Portuguese designed were reconstructed by the Dutch, the stronghold master-builders of the era (*Gunasekara, 1995 & Rajavaliya*)

SURNAMES

Names indicate the social change that took place during the colonial period. Many Sinhalese adopted Portuguese surnames-although most were modified to a degree, - but this practice did not necessarily denote the conversion to Roman Catholicism. Such names (and their Portuguese form) include Corea (Correia), Croos (Cruz), De Abrew (Abreu), De Alwis (Alves), De Mel (Melo), De Saram (Serra), De Silva (Da Silva), De Soysa or De Zoysa, Dias, De Fonseka or Fonseka (Fonseca), Fernando (Fernandes), Gomes or Gomis, Mendis (Mendes), Perera (Pereira), Peiris or Pieris (Peres), Rodrigo (Rodrigues), Salgado, and Vaas (Vaz). The Sri Lankan King of Kotte was baptized and given a name called Dom Joao in 1557 and eventually came to be known as Don Juan Dharmapala. The Kandyan princes Kusum Asthana and prince Yamasinha Bandara were also baptized and renamed Dona Catherina and Dom Filipe. There are numerous surnames of Portuguese origin and the most recent example has become well-known in international cricket when the Sri Lankan cricket team looked as if they were a group from Portugal. Chaminda Vaas, Aravinda de Silva, Nuwan Zoyza are a few household names of Sri Lankan cricket.

PORTUGUESE CREOLE

The Portuguese and the islanders' interaction led to the evolution of a new language, Portuguese Creole. This flourished as a link language between the sixteenth and mid-19th centuries and continues to be spoken nowadays (there isn't any written form) by a tiny share of the population (Jayasuriya, 1999). In 1992, it was calculable to be 30,000. Speakers of Portuguese Creole are typically members of the Burgher community (Descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch) who reside in Batticaloa and

Trincomalee. The Kaffir community comprised of the Bantu slaves⁵ escorted to the Island by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch and British were settled down in the Kandyan kingdom. Portuguese Creole is made up of words from Portuguese, Sinhala, Tamil, and even Dutch and English.

SINHALA WORDS OF PORTUGUESE ORIGIN

This vocabulary influence was remarkable: there was a fast absorption of maybe a thousand Portuguese words into Sinhala. These "loan words," as they are termed by lexicographers, rarely seem in the same form as the original; the overwhelming majority have undergone naturalization. Sinhala words for certain types of Western attire/ furniture/ food & drink are derived from the Portuguese. Examples include: *almariya* (wardrobe), *annasi* (pineapple), *baldiya* (bucket), *bankuwa* (bench), *bonikka* (doll), *bottama* (button), *gova* (cabbage), *kabuk* (laterite, a building material), *kalisama* (trousers), *kamisaya* (shirt), *kussiya* (kitchen), *lensuwa* (handkerchief), *masaya* (month), *mesaya* (table), *narang* (orange), *nona* (lady), *paan* (bread), *pinturaya* (picture), *rodaya* (wheel), *rosa* (pink), *saban* (soap), *salada* (salad), *sapattu* (shoe), *simenti* (cement), *sumanaya* (week), *toppiya* (hat), *tuwaya* (towel), *viduruwa* (glass) (*Sannasgala, 1976*).

MUSIC AND DANCE

A biggest influence on Sri Lankan music came from Portuguese. The colonials brought western instruments like the 'ukulele' and the guitar and introduced musical forms like the ballad. A lot of significance was importing the rhythmical instrumental ballroom music referred to as 'Baila', which was fashionable for the Portuguese traders and their Kaffir slaves. Characterized by its upbeat 6/8 time, 'Baila' has nowadays become a trendy genre of Sri Lankan music. It includes funny lyrics and accommodates fashionable instruments-electric stringed instruments, keyboards, and drums, usually played throughout parties and weddings.

CUISINE

Several foods of Portuguese origin are still in style in Sri Lanka; such as 'lingus' and 'pastries'. People assume that Sri Lanka's hot curries were created by the Islanders but ironically, it is the Portuguese who had introduced chilies to the native culinary art. Until then, pepper had been used predominantly in how curries to give them spicy

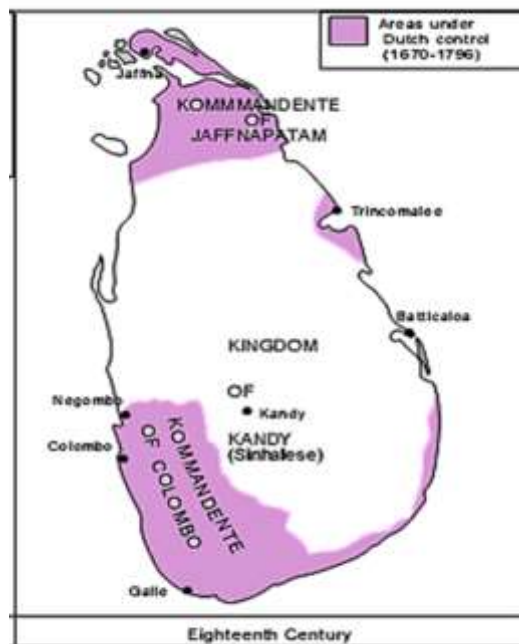
⁵ People who spoke Bantu languages from Africa

or 'heaty' (Sri Lankan English) taste. Not so stunning, considering the native lack of information relating to bread revealed within the comment that the Portuguese ate "hunks of white stone," they were answerable for the establishment of bread-making. They additionally introduced tomatoes. The Islanders took to Portuguese cakes, like the bolo *fiado* or bolo *Folha do*, a cake stuffed with *cadju* (cashews), and sweets like *boruwa* and *fuguete*.

CLOTHING

Illustrations in Portuguese and Dutch descriptions of the Island in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveal that the Sinhalese soldier's dress was similar to that of the Portuguese. There is an engraving from *Description of Malabar and Ceylon* (1672) by the Dutchman Duke of Edinburgh Baldaeus that depicts the reception of his fellow countryman, adventurer Joris van Spilbergen, by King Vimaladharmasuriya I. The king's guards are shown carrying a Portuguese-type helmet, white jacket, and kilt. Moreover, the Portuguese, Dutch, and British kings invariably wore Portuguese costumes, complete with hats and shoes. The same is recorded in Robert Knox's "A Historical Relation of Ceylon" (1681), during which there is an illustration of King Rajasinghe II (1635-1687). "His attire is extraordinary," John Knox remarks, "not when in his own country. He features a long band hanging down his back of Portuguese fashion." These are the sort of cultural influences the Portuguese left behind when the Dutch ousted them in 1658. They are the earliest colonials on the Island. Still, their influence was not diluted or eradicated by Dutch and British as it had become a necessary part of several aspects of the Islanders' lives (*Pieris, 1920*).

Figure 1: The Early Kingdoms of Sri Lanka, Third Century B.C.-Eighteenth Century A.D.



Source 1: Based on information from K.M. de Silva, A History of Sri Lanka, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981, xv, xvii, xviii

SOCIAL IMPACT OF COLONIALISM IN CEYLON DURING THE DUTCH ERA (1640 - 1796)

The historical backdrop of the Dutch in Ceylon started with the appearance on 31st May 1602 of Chief Admiral Joris van Spilbergen. The first Dutch boats secured off the port of Batticaloa on their first visit to Ceylon. At the point when Portuguese came to control, they encountered colonization dependent on the settlements of Portuguese residents called *casados*. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch additionally attempted to discover a few provinces of Dutch residents called "Burgher." This was especially endeavored interestingly under *Maetsuyker* (Governor from 1646 to 1650), however toward the end of his period and later under Van Goens (Governor from 1662-1663 and 1665-1675), just 68 Free-Burghers were hitched on the island (*Ramerini,1998*).

RELIGION

Religion played a strategic role in the grouping of the nations in the Dutch, but in a slightly different way. From the beginning, the Dutch had spread Protestantism to counterbalance the Portuguese Catholics and the Kandyan Buddhist influence in the regions under their control. The Roman Catholics were the strongest against the idea of converting to Protestantism. The Protestants took over all Catholic institutions like churches and schools. By 1780, the position of Catholics was marginal, and the Dutch

East Company (VOC)⁶ disturbed them with burdensome marriage rules and other issues of ordinary life. Over time, Buddhist measures had been vanished. 'Mudaliyars' and other headmen had to be Protestants to qualify for government jobs. It was the most pressing thing, and some converted only to gain employment and remained Buddhist.

The VOC, with the first Church ministry conducted in Galle on October 6, 1642, nearly 360 years ago, brought the Dutch Reformed Church to Ceylon. In 1658 its constellation in Colombo marked the beginning of the Protestant Church or what is called the "True Christian Reformed Church" (*Waare Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*-in Dutch Language). In Colombo, Galle and Jaffna church councils were subsequently established to establish several Dutch predictors to initiate proselytizing work. This Reformed Church is still functioning and is currently holding its services in Sinhala Tamil and English, while there are churches throughout Sri Lanka. There are two hundred and fifty years old churches in Galle, Matara, Wolvendaal, and Kalpitiya.

The Dutch have contributed many valuable things to the society and culture of Sri Lanka. They introduced the registration of birth, death, marriage, and the policy of sending every child to schools, printing press, wood carving, canal technology, transport facilities, Roman-Dutch Law, which exist to this day. Other valuable services that can be accepted are social service centers that serve persecuted people, hospitals, refugee homes, and the leprosy hospital in Hendela.

EDUCATION

It is reasonable to say that the Dutch used education to accomplish their religious aims. Educational approaches can be defined by their instruction, teachers' curriculum, instructional methods, school management, and rules and regulations for teachers and students. The schools built by the Dutch were called parish schools. The principal of the parish school remained in the country for some time even after 1833. In parish schools, he taught reading, writing, and Christian Protestantism values. Religion was the most important subject of the orphanage's curriculum. The upper classes at Dutch Seminaries were also taught in Latin. Scholarships were granted to gifted seminary students at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, in compliance with the Dutch educational system. The Dutch established the first printing press in Ceylon in 1737. It was used in schools to spread the faith of the Protestants. Under the

⁶ *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*

Dutch, there were orphanages. The program of education was well structured, and these colleges were managed by priests. There was a common curriculum that consisted of reading, writing, mathematics, and religion. Moreover, industrial training (architecture or sculpture) was taught to boys, and sewing to girls. The teaching of professional subjects in schools for ordinary people has never been seen before in this country is a noteworthy specialty. They incorporated subjects like carpentry and architecture in their curriculum (*Devapriya, 16 November 2019*).

ARCHITECTURE

The most aesthetic part of the cultural influence of the Dutch is architecture. The Dutch Hospital in Colombo was opened in 1681 and has been reinforced by its exceptional architecture as one of Europe's most advanced medical facilities. The hospital is renovated, and currently houses upscale shops and restaurants. Furthermore, there is the beautiful building of the late 17th century that houses the Museum of the Dutch period, originally Count Carl Van Ranzow's residence. And in 1749, in Wolvendaal, in Sri Lanka's oldest Protestant church, the Dutch built a remarkable Christian Reformed Church. The fort in Galle is very well preserved in the Dutch period. The main entrance to the fort crosses the first floor and makes it a memorable place on your walk around the Galle Fort. And, there are still some Dutch houses with their unique architecture: low roofs with ornate gables, wide guest doors, colonnaded street stalls (*verandahs*), and courtyards with plants. Galle is also home to De Groote Kerk, or "The Great Church," which, with its gables and stained-glass windows, is possibly the most beautiful architecture of the Dutch period. (*Boyle, 2014*).

ROMAN-DUTCH LAW

The Dutch have introduced Roman-Dutch law, which is now used as the law of Sri Lanka with the combination of English Law. It was established through the combination of the early modern Dutch legislation and Roman civil law. The Dutch Law was first exported by colonists to the Cape of Good Hope, where modern South African legislation was established. (*Boyle, 2014*).

CUISINE

The Dutch introduced a wide variety of food to the island. The *lamprais*, whose name was founded in the Dutch *lumpiest* and was refined in Java by the Hollanders, is the

most popular. In Lamprais, the conventional rice and curry is an improved version. The rice is cooked in stock with hot *sambals* and *frikkadels* (Dutch for meatballs). The whole is moistened by coconut milk, wrapped in a banana leaf for a better taste, and baked to perfection and lamprais is often cooked for special dinners. Then, there is a *breudher* (a broodje from the Dutch, "bread"), a kind of cake usually eaten on Christmas with plums and sultans. The 'Kokis', made from the batter made of rice flour and coconut milk, is deep-fried in a mold in a wheel or flower form. Its name Kokis is derived from Dutch meaning cookie. 'Egg *rulang*' is a spicy chip and *poффertje* a small round chip with grapes. The modest stew appears to have been introduced by the Dutch as a Sinhala title for the dish, and "ismor" is derived from the Dutch smoor, which means "smothered." (Boyle, 2014).

SOCIAL IMPACT OF COLONIALISM IN SRI LANKA DURING THE BRITISH ERA (1796-1900)

All three colonial powers have influenced Sri Lanka, but the influence of Great Britain, the last colonizer of the island before independence, is even more pronounced. Three notable milestones can be identified in making Sri Lanka a British Colony:

1. Establishment of the English East India Company in the coastal areas of Sri Lanka in 1796.
2. In 1802, the British government colonized the coastal areas of Sri Lanka which had been under the control of the English East India Company until then.
3. Conquest of the Kandyan Kingdom by the English in 1815. In 1796, the British were able to oust the Dutch strategically.

Before the British invaded the entire island of Sri Lanka in 1815, only the coastal areas were colonized. Until then, the inner areas were ruled by the Sinhala kings. Between 1815 and 1948, Sri Lanka was known as Ceylon. There were several significant reasons for the British to colonize Sri Lanka. They wanted to expand their territory, export raw materials, expand their trading routes, spread their culture and religion, and mainly for political, economic, social, and cultural purposes. In particular, they knew that Sri Lankan cinnamon was in high demand in the European market and that the Dutch were making huge profits from the Sri Lankan cinnamon trade. When considering the impacts that have taken place in society, we can see Sri Lankan culture is mostly shaped by British culture and style (Schrikker, 2007).

British colonialism changed the social structure of Sri Lanka and introduced modern western ideas and concepts into society. These included Western culture, Western-lifestyle, education, human rights, and religion. The economic activities in the country throughout the colonial period were growing rapidly. Then, to meet the demand corresponding to labor forces to provide the raw materials and industrial plants, populations were in the growing trend. As a result, immigration triggered changes in certain areas of the country. For example, the British hired South Indian Tamil laborers to work in estate cultivation in Sri Lanka who soon accounted for ten percent of the island's population. Likewise, the Tamils lived in some areas, up-country and hill-country. By the 1990s, the bulk of Tamils had acquired Sri Lankan citizenship (*Ekanayaka and Guruge, 2016*).

EDUCATION

Aside from changes in the social structure, the British introduced western education to Sri Lanka, which turned Sri Lankan traditional education into modern education. Sri Lankans were able to learn about western concepts such as liberty, freedom, and nationalism. Under the British rule, industrial and craft schools were formed in Sri Lanka to teach people handicraft skills. Furthermore, the British education system promoted education among the urban middle class, resulting in widespread literacy in the country during the colonial period. The expansion of education fueled the growth of the teaching profession. It also resulted in the rise of an English-educated middle class in Sri Lankan society. The British developed that educated class in Sri Lanka to provide administrative and professional services to the colony. By the late nineteenth century, the bulk of this emerging class had a direct or indirect relationship with the government. Thus, during the colonial period, the country's social structure had changed due to population growth and immigration, and western-styled education had introduced the modern education system to Sri Lanka (*Wickramasinghe, 2003; (Ekanayaka and Guruge, 2016)*).

Economic growth and the spread of education caused changes in culture, including changes in social group relationships. A group of capitalist entrepreneurs and professionals fluent in English arose as a new class that cut across caste lines. This group, generally referred to as the middle class, produced many leaders of social movements in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (*Ekanayaka and Guruge, 2016*).

LANGUAGE

The introduction of the British language was the most important and infamous impact the British had on Sri Lanka. Although Sri Lanka has some words that sound similar to Dutch and Portuguese, only English left a lasting impression.

The opening of the Ceylon Civil Service to Sri Lankans necessitated a shift in focus on English education. Over time, the opening also aided in the formation of a Westernized class, the members of which led the drive for freedom in the twentieth century. The Colebrook-Cameron Commission stressed curriculum standardization and called for the use of English in place of local languages. Local English schools were established, and missionary schools that had previously taught in vernaculars began to teach in English as well. In the present context, English has become an indispensable language in Sri Lanka (*Wickramasinghe, 2003; Velarde, 2018; Prasangani, 2014*).

RELIGION

During the British colonial period, the British had a significant impact on religion. The influence of Christianity in Sri Lanka was remarkable during the British era. The arrival of Christianity brought by the British has affected Sri Lankan society and culture (*Schrikker, 2007*).

Following the British conquest of Ceylon in 1815, the government welcomed institutions that could assist in education and welfare. The government also introduced the denominational school system, which aided the rapid expansion of Christian schools. Missionary nuns were asked to work in public hospitals in 1886 (*Ekanayaka and Guruge, 2016*).

The roots of Christianity in Sri Lanka can be traced back to trade, migration, and missionaries-migrants, traders, and missionaries. Because of their vast landholdings, Catholics largely exercised economic influence. At the same time, they dominated education in the country, resulting in Catholics' central role in society and influence on the culture and life of Sri Lankan people (*Ekanayaka and Guruge, 2016*).

SPORTS

The British officers settled in Ceylon brought with them many things, including their recreational sports. Cricket, golf, and rugby were three notable sports carried from their motherland. Today, cricket in Sri Lanka seems to be better than in England. In

Colombo, Nuwara Eliya, and Kandy, British officials designed three unforgettable golf courses with adjoining rural clubs, all of which are still operational. (*Velarde, 2018*).

From language to food, attire, and sports, the Sri Lankan people continue to live and practice British-style customs. While the Portuguese and Dutch governed the Sinhalese and Tamil Kingdoms separately, British Colonialism culminated in the unification of the entire Island under a single political-administrative entity. It was a watershed moment in Sri Lankan history and society, with far-reaching consequences for subsequent ethnic relations as well.

That is why Britain's influence is the most visible, as the last colonizer before the island's independence. Among the Portuguese and Dutch, the British were the most prominent and influential colonial power in Sri Lanka. Besides, the immigration of numerous Tamil and Burgher people into the country and the English-educated Sri Lankans transformed Sri Lanka into a multicultural society. As a result, Sri Lanka evolved into a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious nation.

CONCLUSION

The Portuguese (1505-1658), Dutch (1658-1796), and British during these 443 years (1796-1948) ended the colonial rule in Sri Lanka in 1948. The three periods had a significant impact on Sri Lankan society. As a result of the colonial influences, Sri Lanka transitioned from traditional kingdoms to modern traditions. The aspects of cosmopolitanism were brought to Sri Lanka by colonial rule. This impact paved the way for Sri Lanka to be a country that is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious. Even today, the influences of European powers exist in Sri Lanka.

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About the authors



Harish Sagar is an undergraduate day-scholar studying Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. He is interested about the history of Sri Lanka owing to the uniqueness of the country. This is his first research, and he hopes to study intensively about the history of Sri Lanka through his future academic involvements.



Erandi Manorathna is a student at General Sir John Kotelwala Defence University, where she is pursuing her bachelor's degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations. She completed her Advanced Level examination in the Commerce stream at Anula Vidyalaya Nugegoda. She earned a Diploma in Business and Information Technology at SIBT Nugegoda and a Preliminary Certification of Marketing at the Sri Lanka Institute of Marketing (SLIM) in 2019. She is passionate about world history, diplomacy, security, and strategic studies.



Chamali Silva is a second-year undergraduate at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She is currently studying for her bachelor's degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations at KDU. She completed her A/Ls in the Arts stream at Visakha Vidyalaya, Colombo. After her A/Ls she worked as an ICT trainer at the Ministry of Education and the National Apprentice and Industrial Training Authority Head Office, Rajagiriya. She is passionate about diplomacy, world history, tourism, geography and strategic studies.

PRACTICES OF CEREMONIAL RITUALS RELATED TO DEATH IN SRI LANKA: ANCIENT TIMES UP TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Arthana U. Medawatte

Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

Death is the only certainty in an uncertain world equally applicable for all living things irrespective of their orientation in the world. Mankind has no exception when dealing with this natural occurrence despite the reluctance to accept it. The notion of funeral offerings in terms of burial and non-burial has been interlinked since the prehistoric era as a way to respect the lives of the fallen and with expectations to achieve a better rebirth. Death is often interlinked with death rituals accustomed to the cultures of the perished. Practice of ceremonial rituals on death dates back to the period of Neanderthal and has undergone changes gradually to become sophisticated over the time. Ancient Sri Lankan sources depict ancient funeral practices of the state and with time, the rituals on death adapted a culture-centric approach. The Coronavirus Pandemic which affected the entire world strongly demonstrated the uncertainty of life as millions of people perished after battling with the invisible enemy in the technologically and medically advanced twenty first century. The pandemic left an uncertainty regarding the funeral proceeding of the victims of Covid-19. Sri Lanka as a country in which different ethnicities follow their own ethnical funeral proceedings in particular, had to face certain challenges regarding the conduct of funeral rites of Covid related deaths. Thus, the research expects to highlight the salient changes in ceremonial rites practiced since the ancient times in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) up to present, a comparison between the funeral rituals of the four major ethnicities in the state while portraying the pandemics impact on performing funeral rites. The pandemic has depicted the commonality of death across cultures, as all the Covid-related deaths were cremated or buried without having the usual funeral proceedings. The research is conducted using both primary and secondary data available.

Key words: *Ceremonial Rites, Ancient times, Pandemic, Ethnicities*

INTRODUCTION

Death is a universal human experience as it marks the end of a person's existence in the world. Since the ancient times, the primitive mind reacted to the notion of death in different ways. Deaths caused due to natural causes were understood according to the level of knowledge possessed by the ancient man, but unnatural deaths caused fear and considerable reservation among them. The belief in life after death and the inception of future existence as more of a continuation of the very existence were sufficient to make the primitive man to take funeral proceedings and ceremonial rites in a serious manner. With the ideology of reincarnation, mankind considered that the last thought possessed by the dying person and the funeral rituals that followed the

death, will be decisive in the process of ensuring a better life in the next world. The funeral offering was either burial or non-burial and the process was based on cultural background.

Evidence of ancient pre-historic man's funeral rituals has been recovered from grave excavations. Despite the oldest evidence relating to the prehistoric period in Europe, it is safe to acknowledge that beliefs regarding death must be old as humanity itself. The ancestors of *Homo sapiens* showed a significant improvement in giving more importance to death rituals with time and it is evident in the practices of Palaeolithic man and the Neanderthal man in Europe. Palaeolithic man might not have had the consensus on the belief of life after death as they left their dead behind without burial. Yet Neanderthal man in Europe became the first to bury the dead. The skeletons discovered from excavations were tightly pleated together, knees to chin (Wijesekara, 1962, p.226). The reason for this peculiar structure is yet unknown.

The burials since ancient times differed according to the dead person's status in the social hierarchy. Social stratification paved the way for the ordinary man to be buried in ditches, sometimes without any burial ceremony, while chiefs and their families were buried in long barrows. Different positions were used to bury the dead and food, pottery and ornaments were usually found at the excavation sites of ancient graveyards. It is plausible to believe that the ancient man believed that death was not the ultimate end and the artefacts buried with the dead will be helpful in their afterlife. They believed the spirits lived in a separate world and if conciliate with the needed rites it would help the living (Sellman as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p.226). The practice of burial rites reached new heights during the ancient Egyptian civilization in which the kings and queens were buried in tombs. King Tutankhamen's tomb is one of the spectacular pieces of evidence which demonstrate the strong belief accepted by the man regarding the afterlife of the perished.

With the advancement of human civilizations, society was divided between different ethnicities and each ethnicity consisted of a unique culture with significant traditional values attributed to them. These cultures followed their own traditional practices when performing funeral rites. Unlike the Egyptians, Indus Civilization did not appear to have taken afterlife seriously as no signs of cemeteries belonging to that phase of history have been discovered so far. It is possible to consider that the dead might have been cremated; ashes thrown and the remaining deposited in jars (Mackay as cited by Wijesekara, N.D, p.228). Vedic only used cremation and only buried children under the age of two. According to the Vedic culture, hair and nails of the dead are cut off and the body is anointed and clothed with new garment as they believed it can affect the afterlife of the deceased. Men borne the dead body and took it to crematorium which is placed on the funeral pyres usually amidst three burning fires. If a Kshastrian dies, his bow is placed in his hands. According to them, funeral offerings were given on every full moon day to ensure a better after life.

Ramayana depicts three main methods of disposal of the deceased, namely cremation, exposure and burial. Among all the methods, burial was the main tradition practiced by both non-Aryans and Yakkhas. Ramayana provides a detailed description regarding cremation of the Epic period. It depicts that when it comes to kings and

royalty, preservation of the body is essential and they have used sesamum oil to preserve the body for a few days (Wijesekara, 1962, p.230)

The religious beliefs of different cultures played a prominent role in terms of funeral ceremonies. Sri Lanka as a nation which shelters a variety of religions acknowledges and respects the cultural identity of each religion and possesses a history shaped by generations of interaction and conflict of cultures reflecting the transitions associated with funeral ceremonies with the influence of Aryans, Indian invasion and colonial empires.

DEATH RITUALS IN ANCIENT CEYLON

Before the Aryan migration Sri Lanka was inhabited by Nagas, Yakkhas and Rakshasas yet no historical records on their burial rituals were discovered by archaeologist during excavations. In Ramayana, it states that Ravana was cremated according to Aryan rites. Yet it is controversial as it is very unnatural for Yakkhas or non-Aryans to perform Aryan rites as it was not a general practice at that time. The Aryan and Vedda were the prominent cultures that gave satisfactory evidence on the death rituals and beliefs of ancient Ceylon.

The Vedda religious beliefs which were built on the concept of death, considered the deceased ancestors are living in a different world and can affect the living decedent's life directly or indirectly. Thus, it was crucial for them to perform the necessary death rituals. In Vedda religion it was customary to abandon the place the death has occurred, and the body was usually covered with leaves. Unlike the Aryans, the body was not washed or garlanded and was covered with branches, leaves and sometimes stones. The cave would carry the status of abandonment till twelve years pass after the death. The dead body will be carried by brothers of the deceased and will be buried in an around four feet depth grave. Bodies will be wrapped in a cloth and bows, and arrows will be buried with the dead. The ancient man believed that the spirits of the dead can haunt the living, thus they always buried the dead far from chena which is at least a *hoo*⁷ distance from the settlement (Seligamann as cited by Wijesekara, N.D, p.224). One might be certain that the beliefs that existed prior to the Vijayan settlements might not make a drastic difference with comparison to the practices of Ceylon and India as the Veddas symbolised the primitive culture at that time. King Pandukabhaya was the first ruler in Sri Lanka to execute a proper town planning system and cemeteries were an essential component of town planning. Historical records depict he has employed one hundred and fifty *Chandals* to bury the dead and an equal number of workers to conduct maintenance of the cemetery (Mahavamsa Ch. X as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., P.234). Social stratification was accepted when performing burial rituals as special areas were demarcated for different people (Mahavamsa Ch. X as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p.234). The less fortunate families buried their dead in the forests while the well to do families cremated their dead in the respective cemeteries.

⁷ A distance which a sound of a human scream can be clearly heard.

Sri Lankan society is composed of different ethnicities since its earliest times, yet the rituals proposed by the Buddhist ways of teaching was followed by many since the 3rd Century BCE due to the fact that majority of the local population were Buddhist.

During the 2nd century B.C., the cremation of the royals reached great heights as they wished to be cremated according to the Buddhist practices. Buddhists believe that the last thoughts before the moment of death affects the next life of the dying, thus the dying person is reminded of his/her admirable actions. King Duttagamini was also reminded of his meritorious deeds before his death followed by the preaching of the doctrine. The literature sources of ancient Ceylon portraits limited number of records regarding death rituals and most of them depict rituals based on Buddhist.

During the medieval period two rites were performed at the death bed. Firstly, as the dying person was on the death bed, almsgiving was done by the son. This is known as the *jivabaththa* (Saddharmaratnavaliya as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p. 237). The other rite was to remind the dying person about his good deed in order to provide him some positive psychological impact (Saddharmaratnavaliya and Pujavaliya as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p.237). It was also a custom if the father is dying, he would entrust the responsibilities of the household to the eldest son (Saddharmalankara as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p.237). Crying over the death body always took place after the death and medieval society men and women untied their hair and spread them on their backs while crying (Pujavaliya as cited by Wijesekara, N.D, p.237). On the day of the funereal, drummers were used to convey the message to the neighbourhood (Saddharmalankara as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p.237). The monks played a significant role during the funeral ceremonies to perform the ritual of almsgiving (Saddharmalankara as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., p. 237). In the 12th century a cloth was used to cover the face of the dead. Cremation was the prominent method of disposal while burial was also in practice. Burial places were situated maintaining a reasonable distance from the habitations and monks were cremated in a grand manner similar to the royals (Saddharmaratnavaliya as cited by Wijesekara, N.D., pp.237). Use of coffins for burial was not present at that time.

The Kandyan kingdom gave rise to certain changes in the funeral proceedings as a result of the influence of the colonial influence. By the time of independence in 1948, four major religions were influential in Sri Lanka, namely Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. These ethnicities conducted and practiced their own funeral rituals in accordance with the values of their respective religions.

THE CULTURAL IDENTITIES OF FUNERAL RITUALS

As a country which practices co-existence among different ethnicities, Sri Lanka has experienced different aspects of diverse cultural identities existing in harmony. An occasion of a death reflects the diverse ethnic differences among the diverse cultures. This section will draw a comparison between the funeral practices of each main ethnic and religious population in the country to understand the differences between their practices on death rituals. The four major ethnical identities existing in the contemporary Sri Lankan society are mainly Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. The necessity of a funeral to take place as mentioned before is

psychologically an opportunity for the relatives of the deceased to express and share their grief and sorrow and come into the state of accepting the death and uncertainty of life. Despite Sri Lankan community adhere to separate funeral rituals due to their religion; there are some traditional customs which are followed irrespective of the religion.

Buddhist practice of reciting *pirith*⁸ to the dying person is usually performed by the members of the family along with a monk. In Catholicism it is the parish priest that blesses the dying one. Hindus believe the dying should be surrounded by their closest family members as they chant *mantras*⁹ expecting his soul to be at peace. The Muslims recite prayers with the intention of helping the dying person to confront death peacefully (Rathnayake, 2019). When a Muslim is approaching death, closest family members should be present at the situation and they encourage the dying person to say *shahada*¹⁰, in the belief that the deceased soul would enter heaven. Once death occurs the people present at the site should close the eyes of the perished and should cover the body with a white sheet. Universally Muslims prepare “dua” (supplication) with the aspirations that Allah would forgive the sins of the deceased (Everplans, 2021).

In an event of a sudden death, the relatives of the deceased need some time to psychologically prepare themselves to accept the death. Therefore, the custom of allowing the relatives to view the dead body and pay their final respect became a commonly accepted ritual among many religions. The body of the dead is usually kept for two-three days at a funeral parlour or the house of the deceased for viewing and both Buddhists and Christians abide by this. Many who knew the deceased person generally attend the funeral and it provides a chance for the relatives to share their grief and accept the misfortunate event. It is also said that food should not be cooked at the perished person’s house and at a time of a funeral the neighbours provide food for the attendees for the funeral. Hindus generally allow the viewing of the body before cremation and the body is usually laid in a simple and inexpensive cast (Everplans, 2021). Unlike Christians and Buddhists in Sri Lanka, Muslims do not keep the body of the deceased person at a funeral parlour or at the deceased person’s house as they bury the body as soon as possible after the death. Local Islamic community organisations are consulted to make the necessary arrangements regarding the death (Rathnayake,2019).

If the death takes place in a Buddhist household, the body is laid with the head positioned facing towards the West. They believe West symbolises the direction of “yama”, the chief of the evil and believe Yama decides the merits and the demerits of the perished based on his deeds in life on Earth. Buddhist households also over-turn the family photographs to prevent any possibility of any close relative becoming possessed by the spirit of the dead. Most of the funeral rituals and beliefs associated with them share a religious twist as well as customary practices with a touch of mythical attributions (Rathnasinghe, n.d).

⁸ *Pirith* has derived to Sinhala form the word *paritta* in Pali. The meaning is protection. According to Buddhists chanting or reciting *Pirith* protects one from all evil.

⁹ Vedic stanzas

¹⁰ Meaning testimony

Cremation was introduced to India by the Aryan nomads in 2nd millennium BC and at present Buddhists, Hindus and sometimes Christians choose to cremate the dead (Rathnasinghe, n.d). Cremation is prohibited for Muslims under the Islamic law known as the “Sharia law”. All the religions allow organ donations, as it is considered as a noble deed. Yet performing autopsies is prohibited under Islam. As they expect to bury the death as soon as possible, Muslims are against embalming as well (Everplans, 2021). The body is prepared for the burial according to each religion’s own customs. First the body is washed and shrouded and usually it is the close family members or the funeral home that does this. Muslims wash the body trice or an odd number of times while Hindus wash the body in a mixture of milk, yogurt and ghee.

According to Muslims, the body will be taken to the mosque for the funeral prayers and unlike Buddhists, Hindus or Christians the body will not be viewed before the funeral. Muslims will recite funeral prayers outside the mosque, and they will chant it facing the direction of Mecca. Once the prayers are over, the body will be taken to the cemetery and same as Hindus usually only men attend the burial, sometimes women also attend it. The grave of a Muslim should be perpendicular to the *qiblah* - the direction of the *Kaaba* (the sacred building at Mecca), to which Muslims turn at prayers and once the body is buried a layer of wood or stones are used to avoid soil meeting the body immediately. Hindus and Buddhists generally use the method of cremation. Each person present at the burial will place three handfuls of soil into the grave; the closest family will do it first. A small monument will be placed to identify the site of burial (Everplans, 2021).

Once the funeral is over, Buddhists offer “dana” (almsgiving) to Buddhist monks in remembrance of the deceased on the seventh day and on the third month of the death. An almsgiving will also be given at the end of one year since the death as well. Buddhists believe such offerings will guarantee a better after life for and a recantation for the perished one (Rathnasinghe, n.d). Hindus observe a memorial event “shradda” after a year passed since the death, which pays homage to the demised.

THE IMPACT OF THE PANDEMIC ON PERFORMING CEREMONIAL RITUALS RELATED TO DEATH

It was in the year 2020 that the world realised the necessity to accept and deal with the natural phenomenon of death as the entire world collapsed in front of the novel Coronavirus, which brought death to millions of people in the world. With each passing day the number of covid-19 patients increased in drastic numbers and community spread was beyond the grasps of concealment in some countries. The world both economically and politically faced countless consequences as the pandemic unfolded, marking magnificent numbers of total deaths in front of many states. Due to the highly contagious nature of this pathogen, many countries across the world wanted to ensure the disposal of Covid related deaths would be done in a secure manner. The pandemic did not only limit the free movement of the community but also brought up a crisis of faith in the final journey of humans.

As the majority of the population in the world preferred burial rather than cremation, the protocols used by certain counties to cremate the dead was challenged by many families of the deceased. The World Health Organization (WHO) also did not prohibit

burial as a method of disposal of Covid related deaths and issued detailed instructions regarding the protocols of burial. Yet states like the People's Republic of China, India and Sri Lanka were more adamant on imposing only cremation due to the nature of the virus (Dutta, 2020). It is scientifically proven that novel coronavirus can transmit from one person to another by droplets. This denotes that body fluid is essential for the virus to transmit to a new individual. Burial usually takes around 7-10 days in the decomposition of the body while the body retains fluid for three-four days (Dutta, 2020). Thus, it is safe to acknowledge that the virus can transmit during the preparations for the process of burial. Also, if the grave is shallow over three-four feet it can also increase the chances of transmission. Thus, theoretically it is safe to cremate rather than burying the dead (Dutta, 2020).

Considering all the safety protocols, the government of Sri Lanka made cremation mandatory if the deceased is a covid-19 patient. Though there was an upheaval against it from Christians as well, it was the Muslims that were against the idea as according to their religion cremation is prohibited. Taking all facts in to consideration it is obvious that the government took this step to avoid repercussions in the future, yet it was discredited in the international arena as many framed that action as a violation of human rights of ethnic minorities in the country (Dutta, 2020). Death is genuinely a situation in which the families of the deceased want to perform their final rituals in the best way as the religious beliefs depicts it as the only way to ensure a better afterlife for the deceased. Muslims believe the righteous deeds performed by a person will yield entry to heaven and believes that it is usually decided on the Day of Judgement, also known as the Last Day, when the world comes to an end. They believe till the Last day, dead will remain in their tombs and the ones who did good will experience the feelings of peace while the rest will feel the horror of hell. This is a strong belief shared by the Muslim community and thus resulting in their reluctance for cremation of the dead (Rathnayake, 2019).

On 5th of March 2021, the Sri Lankan government lifted the rule of compulsory cremation after imposing it for almost a year (The new Indian Express, 2021). The policy of compulsory cremation ended as a result of lobbying of the Muslim and Christian minorities in Sri Lanka and international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International (Aljazeera, 2021). The government designated a burial site at Iranathivu islet situated in Northeastern region to bury two Covid-19 deceased patients on the 5th of March, 2021 (The new Indian Express, 2021). Yet the community in that area opposed the idea due the fear of social contamination, making the government to search for possible alternative sites. Two local councils in the Eastern province came forward to provide a burial site and finally the two bodies were buried at the Ottamavadi in Baticaloa district (The New Indian Express, 2021). Despite the fact that some political parties in the country and non-governmental organisations framed the act of compulsory cremation policy as a racist act, the government was only making sure that the water table of the country would not be endangered due to burial of Covid-19 related deaths.

The pandemic has clearly prevented many to execute the funeral proceedings as planned and due to travel and social gathering restrictions imposed within Sri Lanka, funerals were held with the limited participation of the closest family members. If a

Covid-19 related death occurred, the family would not get the opportunity to view the deceased or to keep the death at home for viewing as general customs and have to cremate the body as the earliest time.

Death rituals and beliefs which were created and designed as a way to accept the death and release the grief of the close relations for the demised person has become obstructed with the pandemic. The final moments of a Covid-related patient would be very different to the general practices as they will not have any close family member to comfort them. The pandemic has obviously made a massive impact on psychological wellbeing of the close relations of the perished as well as the dying person himself, denoting the worthy life lesson of uncertainty and vulnerability of life.

CONCLUSION

Death as a fundamental attribute of all living things has evolved to be an important occasion for humans to pay their last respect to the perished. From abandoning the dead in caves to cremation and burial, the rituals regarding dead has evolved with time. Funeral rites started to be more professional and were practiced according to the teachings of each religion with the expectations of ensuring a better after life for the dead. While both Buddhists and Hindus used cremation as the method of disposal, Muslims only accepted burial according to their laws. The Covid-19 pandemic situation created a crisis to the performance of funeral rites to all the religion, especially to Muslims as the government of Sri Lanka imposed compulsory cremation to the Covid related deaths to avoid consequences of burial. Despite burial being accepted later on, the world framed the Sri Lankan government as racist and viewed the action of compulsory cremation as a violation of minorities' rites. The situation would have been controlled without reaching the international sphere if the government approached the community and reasoned out the facts behind the decision in an understanding manner as death in the contemporary society is attached to many responsibilities and rituals to ensure the afterlife of the deceased.

Thus the research depicts that the pandemic has created the necessity to ensure that the covid-19 related deaths should be safely disposed and the community should adhere to the safety protocols irrespective of the ethnic beliefs. The governments also should engage more with the general public and ensure that all the decisions made by the ruling party is not to discriminate against any ethnic community but to safeguard the society. The present pandemic will last longer than predicted, making it essential to follow safety protocols when dealing with both dead and living, irrespective of gender, religion, ethnic differences and age. Death is universal and so is the pandemic, making it crucial to take decisions based on facts rather than sentiments.

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About the author



Arthana Medawatte is a second-year undergraduate, reading for the degree of BSc. in Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Rathmalana. She completed her school education at Visakha Vidyalaya, Colombo and completed her G.C.E A/Ls in the science stream. She was a prefect at school and represented the school student parliament. She held the positions of secretary and treasurer of School Gavel club and batch committee respectively.

2019 EASTER SUNDAY ATTACK IN SRI LANKA

Apoorwa Sharadishashi Jayasinghe, A.V. Sathini Jayathma Jayawickrama &
M.R. Pramudi Paboda Kumari
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

This paper primarily examines the Easter Sunday bombings plotted and executed by a group of Sri Lankan Muslims and the impact of post-war conditions in Sri Lanka towards the Muslims in the country. Aimed at Christians and tourists, a string of bomb blasts was orchestrated killing hundreds of people in Sri Lanka as they gathered for Easter Sunday Mass. It is a controversial fact that the post-war violence, organized Islamophobia among overall non-Muslim communities and the Sinhalese in particular, has increased their fears and distrust towards Sri Lankan Muslims in general and state enterprises of Muslim political leaders who supported the successive Sri Lankan ruling class from independence through the defeat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in 2009. Although having meant an isolation of the community from the two main ethnic communities, the concessions that the Muslim community had won, has actively helped them to be proactive in their religious practices and thus paved the way for exclusive social and political choices. However, prior to the Easter Sunday attack there were still many motionless conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims in the country. After the Easter Sunday bomb attack, these tensions heightened and spread through whole of Sri Lanka.

Keywords: *Easter Sunday, bombings, conflicts, Muslims, non-Muslims*

INTRODUCTION

Britain's decision to replace cinnamon culture with tea and coffee had implanted roots for the Sri Lankan civil war. In search of cheap labour, the British resettled Tamil workers from the lower castes of southern India on the island. Tamil workers settled in the closed plantation world and on the Jaffna Peninsula and the east coast of the island. They retained their language, traditions, and religion. Most of them were Hindus and Sinhalese were mainly Buddhist.

According to a census established in 1946, there were nearly 800,000 Tamils in Sri Lanka, who make up 12% of the population. In 1972, the country adopted the Sanskrit name of Sri Lanka as 'Rich Island'. However, with time ethnic tensions escalated into a civil war. The extremist movement, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), led by Velupillai Prabhakaran provoked a wave of attacks and waged a guerrilla war against the Sri Lankan army. At the same time, the Tamil people set aside moderating and started to engage in democratic political movements. However, in 2008 Former President Mahinda Rajapaksa decided to launch an all-out offensive that led to a "final attack". The conflict ended on May 17, 2009. The challenge for the country at present is to find ways to achieve peaceful reconciliation. After such a long series of conflicts, post-war Sri Lanka was developing very successfully. There have been no such conflicts in

Sri Lanka since then, as such, Sri Lanka has been peaceful for some time, despite having problems with Muslim disputes over certain ethnic and religious differences. Three Muslims were killed in clashes between extremist Buddhists and Muslims in Aluthgama on 16th June 2014. Anti-Muslim extremist Buddhist groups have been active in Sri Lanka for nearly two years, and this is the first time such a riot has erupted.

The single most important holy day of the Christian faith Easter Sunday Signifies resurrections and redemption for billions around the world but in Sri Lanka 21st of April 2019 was a day of horror. The biggest and the worst damage to Sri Lanka took place on that day. And it was the Easter Sunday attack. On Easter Sunday, 21st of April 2019, three mosques in Sri Lanka and three luxury hotels in Colombo were attacked by a series of suicide bombings by Islamic terrorists. Their target was mainly Christians and tourists. Attack type was Suicide bombings and the weapons they used were Acetone peroxide and Explosive Shrapnel. At least 267 people were killed and at least 500 were injured, including at least 45 foreigners, three police officers and eight bombers. President Maithripala Sirisena invoked emergency laws, providing police extensive powers and president later stated that emergency laws would be confined to dealing with the current terrorism threat and would not be used to impinge freedom of expression.

The locations of the bombings are as follows,

- 8.45am- St. Sebastian's Catholic Church, Negombo
- 8.45am- Kotahena, Kochchikade Catholic Church
- 8.47am- Kingsbury Hotel, Colombo
- 8.54am- Shangri-la Hotel, Colombo
- 9.10am- Zion Church, Batticaloa
- 9.12am- Cinnamon Grand Hotel, Colombo
- 1.30pm- Topical Inn Lodge, Dehiwala
- 2.25pm- Housing Complex in Dematagoda.

One of the Shangri-La bombers was Saharan Hashim, the leader of a local Jihadist group responsible for ISIS attacks. Hashim is the leader of the banned National Thowheeth Jama'ath (NTJ). He attacked Shangri-La, along with another Islamist, Ilham Ahmed Mohammed Ibrahim. The man who bombed the nearby Cinnamon Grand Hotel was Ilham's older brother, Inshaf Ahmed. The third hotel targeted was Kingsbury, bombed by a man named Mohamed Assam Mubarak Mohamed. A local named Ahmed Mouas targeted St. Anthony's Church. The St. Sebastian bomber was Mohamed Hasthun. Abdul Latif, who was educated in Britain and Australia, failed to detonate a bomb at a luxury hotel, but detonated it at a guesthouse situated near the Dehiwala Zoo.

The series of suicide bombings that started at 8.45 am in Kochchikade and Katuwapitiya churches ended with the explosion at the Dematagoda housing scheme at 2.25 pm. The attack, which targeted three Catholic churches and three hotels, killed 277 people (including eight suicide bombers) and wounded more than 400 others. The dead included 40 foreigners and 45 children. The police named Saharan Hashim, the leader of the National Thowheeth Jama'ath extremist Muslim organization as the main suspect of the attack. Saharan Hashim is suspected to be a member of ISIS and to have received support and even weapons from ISIS members to execute the blast. The SITE Internet Intelligence Unit has stated that it has been published on social media. Three people who were present at the house before the bombing have released a video to the internet stating that they are ready to sacrifice their lives for their organization at any moment. Meanwhile, the Islamic State (ISIS) has once again warned on its social media networks that there will be "surprising" attacks around the world in the future and that this will not be the end of the attacks. ISIS has carried out attacks in 15 countries around the world in the week since the attack in Sri Lanka. Cardinal Malcolm Ranjith condemned the terrorist attacks that morning. He called on the public to remain calm and not to take the law into their hands. During his Easter service, Pope Francis expressed his condolences to all those affected by the terrorist attacks, including the Christian community. Cardinal Malcolm Ranjith was more concerned about the plight of the people than the government had shown at this time. According to Al Jazeera the special committee of parliament has reported at length on the intelligence received in connection with the attack, and the special committee of parliament has observed that the State Intelligence Service has failed to alert the state security apparatus on the importance of the intelligence it has received regarding possible attacks. A year has passed but no one has yet been properly identified as responsible for the planned act of violence. It was revealed in the media at the time some Members of Parliament and Ministers of the Sri Lankan Parliament were aware of such a serious situation, but they did not take any action before the bombings to safeguard the lives of the people. Example: "The Sri Lankan government was aware of some foreigners arriving in Sri Lanka to spread what justice minister Wijeyadasa Rajapakse called Islamic extremism. In November 2016 he told parliament that 32 Sri Lankan Muslims from "well-educated and elite" families joined the ISIL." On the 4th of April 2019, the Chief of State Intelligence revealed to the Parliamentary Committee that he had received initial intelligence about the attack via WhatsApp from his source, and that he had received similar information in writing on April 5th, 2019 but did not disclose to the Committee the source of the information received. The Commander of the Armed Forces and the Commanders of the three-Armed Forces had participated in the discussion after the Chief of the National Intelligence Service had provided the information to the Secretary of Defense, and it was revealed that no intelligence had been paid to the attack. However, these incidents show that it is unfortunate that Sri Lanka is facing such a crisis at a time when it is slowly developing with foreign aid from countries such as China, even after years of war with the LTTE. It is also a crucial matter of concern that even the true falsity of the unfortunate incident has not yet been properly discovered. At the time of the incident, the government was reluctant to carry out legal research on the matter, but a year later it has now resumed research.

MUSLIM OCCUPATION IN CEYLON

With the arrival of Arab merchants in the 7th century, Islam began to spread in Sri Lanka. Arab merchants and their native wives, whom they married after having them converted to Islam, were the first to embrace the Islamic faith in Ceylon. When considering the history of Muslim occupation in Ceylon, there were almost no outstanding problems with Muslims in the history of Sri Lanka as the two major contributors to the intra-state conflicts in Sri Lanka were the black July followed by the Sri Lankan Civil war. Despite these conflicts Muslims living in Sri Lanka maintained a healthy rapport with other ethnicities.

The Sri Lankan flag's green band reflects Islam and the Moorish ethnic community. About 1,967,227 persons adhere to Islam as per the census of 2012. Islam is a minor religion in Sri Lanka with 9.7% of the Sri Lankan population practicing Islam. Ramadan festival and Haj festival are the main festivals celebrated by Muslims in Sri Lanka.

According to M.C.A. Hameed, president of the All Ceylon Thareekathul Mufliheen, a Sufi order whose name means "path of the fearless victorious," Sri Lankan Muslims then began to find employment in Saudi Arabia, and many young Sri Lankan Muslims were awarded scholarships by Saudi universities. As a result, it is conceivable that the Muslim community in Sri Lanka has changed somewhat. Before the Easter bomb attack no one was told not to wear the niqab and the burka-which cover most or whole of the face, on the contrary to their culture but with the bombing the Sri Lankan society underwent changes completely. When analysing about the Easter bomb attack, Sri Lankan government authorities acknowledged all eight suicide bombers were Sri Lankan citizens affiliated with National Thowheeth Jama'ath, a local radical Islamist organization accused of having international links. "National Monotheism Organization" is a Sri Lankan Islamic terrorist jihadist group implicated in the 2019 Sri Lanka Easter bombings. It is believed to have ties to the Islamic State.

THE POST-EASTER SUNDAY BOMB ATTACK AND THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The post-Easter attack affected the Muslim community in Sri Lanka in unprecedented levels and showed a clear shift, in comparison to previous life they enjoyed in the diverse social structure of the country.

The Muslims who were engaged in their own businesses had to close their shops with this bomb attack. During these events, Sheik, an ordinary citizen, felt it was best to travel to his mother's house in Colombo for a couple of days. Sheik returned home after five nights. But he was still worried as his two young daughters are attending a Catholic school, and he is not sure whether they're still going to be admitted. "I offer my deepest condolences to all those who lost loved ones, and I understand their feelings," said Sheik. "But I am begging them to please tolerate us, bear us, and not to think that we are terrorists," he said, holding back tears. Mohammed Iliyas was leading a prosperous business in his hardware store in western Sri Lanka. Trade has now collapsed, and its losses are increasing. Muslims minority live in Sinhalese majority communities in this region. For ages, Mr. Iliyas, who is a Muslim, has spent

his days helping people coming from all religious backgrounds. Yet it changed since the Easter Sunday bombing of Sri Lanka in April. "Since the Easter Sunday bombings, almost 90% of my Sinhalese customers have stopped buying from my shop. My business has gone down significantly, and I have lost hundreds of thousands of rupees," Mr. Iliyas said. It is very unfortunate to be looked with suspicion even when they were not the ones who committed the crime. And, he said that "Though some customers have started coming back in recent weeks it is not enough. If this trend continues then I am in big trouble". Most Muslims believe that they have been demonized since the suicide bombings, and group merchants claim they have become potential targets.

Regarding the inconvenience caused to Muslim women, the perceptions of Muslim women vary greatly across social-cultural atmospheres. At the same time, their commitment to Islam is a mutual force that influences their life to different degrees and gives them a collective identity that can help to transcend the wide spectrum of ethnic, social, and economic gaps between them. Muslim women traditional Islamic clothing were also aimed after Easter Sunday as the government explicitly prohibits face headwear in public, due to matters of security. While niqab and burka-which cover most or all the face and are worn by some Muslim women-were not expressly identified, right-wing organizations argue that even those wearing head scarves have been abused. Muslim women working in government offices are facing problems. In some places, those who are wearing only headscarves are being asked to go home and come back wearing a saree," said Juwairiya Mohideen, director of the Muslim Women Development Trust. It is unfortunate that Sri Lankans have restored a feeling of fear even to sit next to Muslim women in a bus, who is wearing the traditional Abaya, thus embarrassing even those who have not been wronged. One Muslim widow said that "I have stopped wearing the abaya and hijab in the last few days because of the comments and looks I was getting".

Another point that has been blamed on Muslims is the bombings that happened in churches and hotels in Sri Lanka are retaliations for the New Zealand's Christchurch Mosque shootings. Most of these protests were against Muslims who were innocent, most of whom were refugees from Pakistan. Someone had hung up signs in Sinhalese and English that read, "We don't need Pakistanis here." This is what Muslims expressed about their sorrow. "We are innocent people who didn't do anything wrong," he said. "I feel pain after this terrorist attack, only pain. I don't know what happened, what is going on now" said Ahmed, a Muslim who fled Negombo after Easter bombings. Javid Yusuf, a talented lawyer in Sri Lanka representing works in human rights and peace and conflict resolution. He said that "From the time of the ancient kings, Sri Lanka has been in my view a model of co-existence of harmony for centuries — Buddhist, Sinhalese, Muslims," Yusuf said. "Unfortunately, after independence, we had a war; a lot of innocent people were killed."

This move comes in the midst of rising Islamophobia and anti-Muslim protests across the world, which was not widespread in Sri Lanka prior to the Easter bombings, and concerns rise that Muslim student might be targeted at campuses. It also comes as massive demonstrations erupted on campuses against the planned private Muslim university in Batticaloa, locally known as 'Sharia University'. However, in the

heightened environment of the bombings, university students unleashed a series of demonstrations demanding that the government shut down the infamous 'Sharia University,' a private school in the Batticaloa district of Punani, also known as the Batticaloa Campus, saying that it would promote extreme Islamic religious doctrine.

POLICE INVESTIGATIONS

Sri Lanka's inquiry further into April 2019 Easter bombing attacks is in its "final stages," officials said, raising suspicion that the suicide bombers were funded by "two foreign outfits." 200 suspects have been arrested; the investigation is now focusing on financial networks connecting suicide bombers; the role of extremist powers is suspected. Over 200 individuals have been apprehended by the Colombo Crime Division, Criminal Investigation Department (CID), and Terrorism Investigation Department (TID) after last summer's attacks. For allegedly failing to act on intelligence about the assaults, the country's then-police chief and Secretary to the Ministry of Defense have been charged with murder. 135 people have been arrested in connection with the explosions, which have been blamed on the "National Thowheeth Jama'ath extremist organization." They have not been charged yet. Easter celebrations were tempered this year due to a state-wide indefinite curfew enacted to combat the new coronavirus. The current investigation team took over after President Gotabaya Rajapaksa won a landslide victory in the November 2019 presidential elections, where he campaigned on the platform of national security and won with 52.25 percent of the vote. His campaign pointed the finger squarely at the previous government of President Maithripala Sirisena and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe for failing to act on a prior intelligence report, including one from India, about a possible terror strike.

Mr. Rajapaksa's recently established government reformed the CID to continue the investigations. More arrests followed soon after. The previous CID squad had already apprehended over a hundred people. According to a former official, its officers collected and analysed data from all the phones and gadgets confiscated from the suicide bombers' network with the help of the Australian Federal Police and the FBI. It aided the CID in mapping out the command structure, he told The Hindu, declining to be identified due to the sensitivity of the investigation. Colombo, 1 February 2021 – Sri Lankan President Gotabaya Rajapaksa received the final report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry set up to investigate the Easter Sunday attack in 2019. The Chairman of the Commission, Supreme Court Judge Janak de Silva, presented President Rajapaksa with the final report this morning at the Presidential Secretariat. Last year, Cardinal Ranjith called for the government to resign over its apparent refusal to examine the assaults as an "international conspiracy." President Maithripala Sirisena's government lost the November elections, and former President Mahinda Rajapaksa's younger brother Gotabaya took charge. President Sirisena first blamed the bombs on Islamic militants, but later claimed foreign drug dealers were behind them, ostensibly to destabilize his anti-narcotics campaign. "We showed love to the enemy who attempted to destroy us," Cardinal Malcolm Ranjith said at an Easter mass. "We forgave them," he added, adding that rather than retaliating, the country's

Catholic minority had pondered Jesus' message of hope, which had helped to calm tensions.

CONCLUSION

In Colombo, the commercial capital city of Sri Lanka, eight bombs blasted during the Easter Sunday in 2019 in famous hotels and ancient churches; hundreds of innocent people were murdered in a brutal manner in other coastal towns in the west and the east. The attack was a surprise to terrorism experts as the Islamic Government reported that the country was not aware of the jihadi violence. Many of the assailants were well educated and two were scientists with rich family backgrounds which gave advantages for the plotting of cells. However, there were evidence from January 2017 that persons affiliated with the Islamic States and National Thowheeth Jama 'at were increasingly supporting and lacking local law enforcement. The Sri Lankan attacks may be an early proof of a significant and revived interest in South Asia by the Islamic State after defeats in Syria and Iraq. Meanwhile, cabinet branches have thwarted attempts to overhaul the fragmented police and security services which could not deter threats, prompting concerns from international allies. Instead of bringing the nation back to an era of conflicts and cliffs, Sri Lankan leaders should work on repairing the failed state security apparatus. They should avoid alienating legally respectful Muslim people, who account for 10% of the population. The Easter Sunday bombing underwent as the deadliest day in the history of Sri Lanka associated with the jihadist activity, and the original experience from Muslim to Christian mass violence. It also turns the spotlight away from the need for the state security apparatus to correct vulnerabilities found during Easter attacks.

The government must depoliticize the intelligence and police approaches to react more efficiently to potential threats. It must end activities and policies that destroy innocent Muslim families and must discourage abuse against Muslims—including taking responsibility for those who commit violent crimes. The Sri Lankan government has many potential explanations for complacency. The state has implemented nothing to deal with the instability, probably obstructed by the police and intelligence authorities. Public wrath was aimed toward nearly two million Muslims in the world whose leaders are suspected that Saharan and his leaders have not predicted, nor prevented radicalization. A harsh and dangerous reaction against Muslims has been taking place since the Easter terror attacks. Muslim companies were boycotted in the island in the months after the attack. Complicate investigations into the attacks and their inability to deter them is the competition between President Maithripala Sirisena and Premier Ranil Wickremesinghe. The rise of Islamic movements and mosques galvanized Muslims after 1977. Through time, the re-energy of Muslims whose ethnic identity has been built up by Islamic elites has reinforced this alienation. The Muslim Community was not able to use Islamic traditions and principles to establish stability in the course of this re-emergence which would have contributed to the alleviation of unrest from the 30-year-old ethnic war. In the broader sense of settled disputes, certain positive ways are addressed in Islamic traditions to alleviate tensions between Islamists and non-Muslims.

In general, Sri Lankan State should regulate all religious education materials and institutions, including Madrasa. Unless the State monitors schools, similar to private schools, there should not be any support from other countries to eradicate religious extremism. College students with a greater understanding of a given religion should be eligible for every religious school. It is time to turn around, lower tensions in the society and focus on the vital and unfinished work of connecting an ethnically divided community. Sri Lanka is a war-scarred society and has seen extreme violence for many decades. The powers state government seeks to confront are nevertheless unseen, motivated and funded probably by global terrorist networks. The war is likely to be lengthy and prolonged and many fears that as long as politics are broken and anarchic, the country will remain to be weak and vulnerable for terrorism and insurgencies.

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About the authors



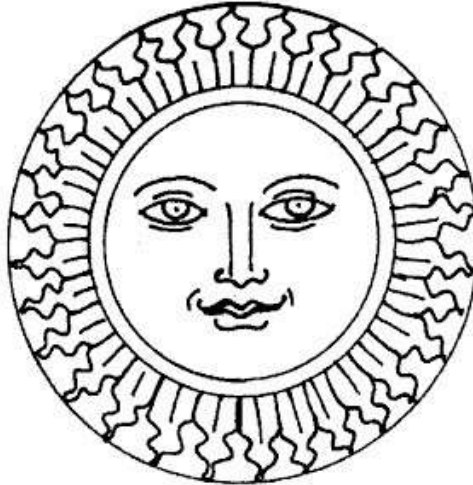
Apoorwa Sharadishashi Jayasinghe is an undergraduate day-scholar following the Strategic Studies and International Relations degree at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She is very enthusiastic about the subject because it is an intriguing and important subject which places great emphasis on economics, culture, education and political science and the impacts they have on society.



Sathini Jayathma Jayawickrama is an undergraduate day scholar studying Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She is much interested about Sri Lankan history. She believes that research is something that creates new knowledge with new experiences designed to induce new improvements.



M.R. Pramudi Paboda Kumari is an undergraduate day-scholar at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University studying Strategic Studies and International Relations. She is very interested in acquiring new knowledge that would help bring insight to existing and uprising issues.



SESSION THREE

RESILIENCE

SRI LANKAN ECONOMY AFTER THE TERRORIST CONFLICT

W.M. Dilshani Wijekoon, Senuri Chanma Hapuarachchi and M.V.A. Shehan Gunasekara
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

Sri Lanka fought a war for three decades that resulted in the loss of many lives. Expenses for recruiting and maintaining a large military and the purchase of technically advanced weapons were inevitable for the government. Lack of security in Sri Lanka, discouraged tourists from visiting the country and this reduced the amount of revenue generated through tourism. Infrastructure development underwent a considerable decline due to the situation in Sri Lanka; therefore, the material wealth of the country was not conducive with underdeveloped roads etc. Agriculture and livestock farming was affected and foreign investments were not visible due to the climate of uncertainty. The purpose of this paper is to study the economic effects and consequences of the Sri Lankan civil war primarily based on secondary sources.

Keywords – war, terrorism, economic, infrastructure and development

INTRODUCTION

The ethnic conflict that commenced in 1983 between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of Sri Lanka, paved the way for the formation of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), to rise as an extremist group that promoted security of the disreputable Tamils in the northern and eastern parts of the country. The movement that started as resistance to tensions in politics, transformed into acts of terrorism within a short period of time due to various visions, policies and actions followed by the LTTE. The vision to create a separate state with their own government was the main slogan used by the LTTE when recruiting new members to the organization and this resulted in them receiving monetary support from international organizations such as the Tamil diaspora and Sri Lankan Tamils who had similar sentiments (Kapur, 2020). The external funds constituted “about four-fifths of the total revenue of the LTTE” (Manoharan, 2004). Indian politicians too extended their support to the group until late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was murdered by a suicide bomb initiated by a member of the LTTE in Tamil Nadu (PTI, 2019). This led to the banning of LTTE in India; being the first country to do so.

From 1983 to 2009, many lives, inclusive of those of the armed forces, terrorists and innocent civilians were lost. Many valuable and influential personalities such as former foreign minister Sir Lakshman Kadirgamar and Cabinet Minister Jeyaraj

Fernandopulle of Sri Lanka were attacked by the terrorists. Minister Gamini Dissanayake was assassinated in 1994 when he was named as a presidential candidate in 1994. The LTTE victimized clergies and innocent civilians popularizing their abilities. The Aranthalawa massacre in 1987 where 33 monks were killed and the assassination of Kithalgama Seelalankara Nayaka Thero, the highest priest of Dimbulagala Forest monastery, were inhumane attacks on Buddhist monks instigated by the LTTE. The Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi was severely attacked killing around 146 civilians (Goldfm News, 2014) while the suicide bombing at the Temple of the Tooth Relic caused serious damage to the temple and killed 17 devotees there (CNNin, 1998). These situations depict the cruelty and antagonism of the Tigers towards the Buddhist monks and the Sinhalese community. Meanwhile, in certain instances it was clear that the rebels targeted other religious leaders and their followers. The attacks in Kattankudy, which killed around 150 Muslim men and boys is a prime example of this (AP, 1990).

Furthermore, attacks such as the Kabithigollawa bus attack that killed a large number of civilians, prompted the government to take action regarding the increase in violence towards the citizens of the country. The humanitarian mission commenced in 2006 as a counter measure to the military exploits of the LTTE on civilians in the north of the country. The authors intend to give a brief understanding on how the war has influenced the development of infrastructure and other economic ideals of Sri Lanka during and after war in the country with reference to a few aspects that help to determine the economic stature in laymen terms instead of an economist's point of view.

INFRASTRUCTURE

The main reason for the war between the Sri Lankan government and LTTE “was to create an independent separate state known as Tamil Eelam in the north and east of the country” (Garg, 2021). As obvious as it is, it had directly affected to the infrastructure of the country. Sri Lanka entered the international system as an independent state on February 4, 1948. It was not fully independent, but it had allowed to take necessary actions and had the chance to improve hard and soft infrastructure of the country. A few insights about the social and economic infrastructure of Sri Lanka before 1948 are that; electricity and water was limited only to commercial cities. However, after independence the Sri Lankan government paid

attention to distribute electricity and water to rural areas as well. In order to do that, the government built new power stations and distributed cable lines all over the country. To achieve this target, the government introduced development schemes like the Mahaweli development programme. The main objective of the Mahaweli Development Programme was to build dams, to improve agriculture and produce electricity for the country. A few innovations of this project were New Laxapana, Canyon, Bowatenna, Ukuwela, Randenigala, Kotmale and Victoria power stations. During the war, buildings, roads, and electricity supply chains in the Northern and Eastern provinces of the country were destroyed. Infrastructure development in North and East provinces was halted. People who lived in the Northern and Eastern provinces were limited to their homes, whilst also watching their homes being destroyed. They lived as refugees in poverty, while millions were spent on defence requirements. War immobilized all infrastructural developments in the country. Before the war, the goal of the Sri Lankan government was to develop infrastructure of the country and uplift the citizen's standard of living. Although this is true, once the war started, the government gave more attention to the defence budget of the country. Post-war government regimes have accounted for a large amount of national wealth for military budgets. Different war-specific tax schemes, such as the 'Defence Levy,' 'Save the Nation Levy,' and 'Nation Building Levy,' were enacted to cover a large percentage of the defence budget (Jayasundara-Smits, 2018). Unlike some other countries at war who reduce expenses through the creation of domestic armaments, Sri Lanka's war did not benefit the country's economy. Importing weaponry had consumed a significant portion of the military budget. The military budget in 2016 was roughly around US\$ 289,160,000. The disparity between the 2015 defence authorization which was about US\$ 2.22 billion and its military spending in 2016, which is anticipated to be US\$ 2.89 billion, demonstrates the growth in the budget (Jayasundara-Smits, 2018).

During the war period, development projects like Mahaweli development project in Sri Lanka seemed like, it had non-continued existence due to economic barriers. Conversely, after the culmination of the war, the several development projects were still under constructions and most of them were handled by MAGA. Nonetheless, as a whole, development indicators of the country showed a gradual growth of the economy in the Northern and Eastern provinces only after the war ended.

Prior to 1948, the British government only considered to develop roads that economically supported them based on their “export-based plantation agriculture” (Caldera, 2005, p.86). Therefore, were not keen on developing rural roads. However, after independence, the government paid attention to improve transportation in rural areas. Nevertheless, infrastructure development in Jaffna was affected during the war. Areas like Kilnochchi and Mulativu where the Tamil tigers used to hide are now largely uninhabited. After the end of the war, there has been massive progress in the reconstruction of roads and bridges in the Northern and Eastern provinces in the country under projects such as the ‘Uthuru Vasanthaya’ and ‘Negenahira Navodaya’. Thirty-five villages in the Vavuniya district were constructed under the ‘Uthuru Vasanthaya’ scheme, and it was a part of the government's 180-day expedited effort to resettle Tamil civilians. Under this development project, the pre-identified infrastructure of these villages were planned to improve to give additional facilities for the Tamil civilians who would be resettled in the area immediately post-war (ReliefWeb, 2009). ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ began shortly after government forces defeated the LTTE in the Eastern front, and ‘Uthuru Vasanthaya’ followed after the LTTE's base in Vanni was taken. Shortly after the LTTE was defeated in the Eastern province, the government launched ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ as a three-year rapid programme to restore normalcy and stability in the area (Chaaminda, 2012). These projects arose at a critical historical moment, with the defeat of the LTTE and the re-establishment and consolidation of state power in the Northern and Eastern provinces. They constitute an important case study for examining the political aspect of development. According to D. Weerakoon (2013), “international financial markets and bilateral partners such as China” provided loans to the state to facilitate the construction of infrastructure and economic development. These constructions not only promoted the building of relationships between the North and South physically, but also between humanity, economy and also between the Sinhalese and Tamils. Today, thousands of people pass through Vavuniya city to enter the North from the South as well as from the North to the South daily without fear of obstacles or violence. Throughout the years, government had arranged for people who lived in those areas to have access to food, shelter and the privilege to live a healthy life under one roof as a family.

War expenditure raised year after year, but Sri Lanka's income did not increase simultaneously. According to the reports of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka (CBSL),

economic support to and from the north and east were restricted due to the war. War had become a heavy strike to our economy as well as social structure. War completely changed the mindset of humans and, their ambitions in life changed into ambitions to survive.

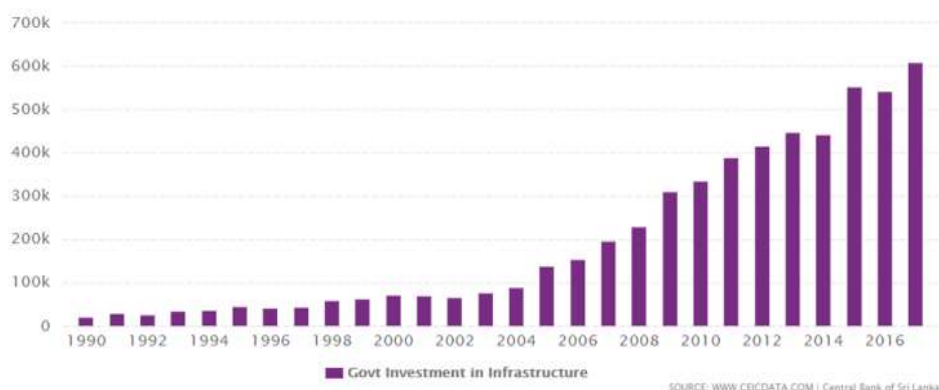
The government had undertaken action to build and restore the railway network into the Northern Province with the assistance of the government of India alongside the development of roads within the country by late 2009 and early 2010. Northern railway lines from Vavuniya to Kankasanthurei and Madawachchiya to Talaimannar were already constructed. The Mannar railway line was completed, and the train service commenced in 2015 and ever since the passengers and goods transportation have been greatly improved in the Northern Province. This could not be done during the period of war. The train service has traditionally been the most popular mode of transport between the North and South since earlier times and it has been a fascination for thousands of people, tourists and pilgrims, including the locals over the years. After the construction of the Northern railway line and restoration of the service, people destined to Jaffna and vice versa have been able to travel with ample comfort and safety.

With the end of war, the government of Sri Lanka had also allocated significant amount of funds to reconstruct and develop the district general hospitals in Jaffna, Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Kilnochi and other additional base hospitals in Northern and Eastern provinces. Health services were compatibly neglected during war and the injured soldiers and civilians had to be treated and taken care of under dire situations according to war veterans. The healthcare framework is an important aspect in determining the status of development of a country, but the involvement of the extremists made it impossible for the development of suitable infrastructure related to the health sector.

Social and financial foundations had to be recreated in the war influenced zones of Sri Lanka, since they had been unfortunately influenced by the 26 years of common war. The Sri Lankan government has given an incredible consideration to satisfy this errand in the Northern and Eastern regions with the assistance of various governmental organizations. A significant number of activities were associated with the general national improvement program too.

The main economic crisis happened immediately before and after the end of war. The graph below (Fig. 1) demonstrates the patterns of investments on infrastructure in

contrary with monetary separations for war. In spite of the fact that there was a progression in financial sector of the country in the previous years, various deficiencies were showed up in war influenced areas in the immediate years after war.



*Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 1 Government Investment in Infrastructure: Bar graph depicting the Sri Lanka government investment in infrastructure from year 1990-2016 (source: CBSL Report, 2016)*

Production of goods and services of the country was annihilated due to war. This was mainly because the lack of reliable modes of transportation. Companies and factories were unable to transport their finished goods and raw materials, thus breaking off the production process. As a result, investments and other modes of money inflows into our economy had a massive dropdown. Investors were unsure of their return profits and no individual would take a massive risk of that kind knowing the obvious results. Subsequently the war expenditures were decreasing in 2009, but up until 2015, the economical portion of defence budget was not cut down. Citizens' ambition to develop their lives increased because of the government's focus on developing the infrastructure of our country. Sri Lanka with conviction had lot of challenges to win. Infrastructure of North and East were destroyed by the war. Aimed at the enhancement of social and economic infrastructure, the government of Sri Lanka initiated a number of projects in the war affected zones. Basic necessities such as social and economic infrastructures were very much needed to resettle families and to enable them to follow their daily routines and embrace new technology.

Right after the end of war, Sri Lankan government was more absorbed in developing the infrastructure of Northern and Eastern parts of the country which gave rise to the project "Uthuru wasanthaya". This project mainly focused on the development of infrastructure and to increase the living standards of civilians in Northern and Eastern areas of the country and thankfully the results of the projects were far better than expected. "Uthuru wasanthaya" turned out to be one of the successful projects

initiated after war. It brought many international cash flows into the country in various forms including foreign donations and foreign loans. In addition to “Uthuru wasanthaya” government started other projects like “Gama naguma, rata-naguma, Api wawamu rata hadhamu, Dayata kirula” etc to uplift and power the development of infrastructure and agriculture within the country.

Many of the projects were connected to inter-governmental organizations and institutions. They participated in the overall national development program through this. These programs have benefited the people in war affected areas as much as those in the rest of the country who have links with economic affairs in the former war torn regions. Although there was a progress seen in socioeconomic development in the former war affected areas, a number of shortages like unemployment and housing facilities in some areas still appear which is yet to receive attention from the authorities.

Seeking to restore peace in the country, the government has achieved much with the reconstruction and development of the socio-economic sectors of the war affected areas. The government had given significant consideration to implement the physical reconstruction work within the first five years of the post-war period. Those physical reconstructions represented one aspect of the post-conflict peace building process, which had aimed to re-establish the quantifiable assets of the war affected areas as that would help to rebuild the shattered economy. Although there are some negative issues related to peace dividends, the study observed that the war affected provinces have achieved significant progress in the physical aspects of post-war reconstruction. The theory of post-conflict peacebuilding has suggested that reconstruction and development as an important task to bring back the war affected community to their normal life in the social and economic fields. This does not mean physical reconstruction of the war devastated areas only, but also addressing the root causes of the conflict.

TOURISM

Tourism industry of Sri Lanka is a field that could have been well developed with the gifted location and natural beauty of the island. With its beaches, waterfalls, mountains, vegetation and plains, Sri Lanka has everything that a typical tourist or a traveller wants to experience. The culture and cuisine also add up to the factors which attract individuals towards a particular tourist destination.

Tourists were not attracted into the country due to the civil war. For thirty years, the country that could have been prosperous with the flourishing tourism industry, could not reach its expected targets with regard to tourism. Hence economy of Sri Lanka once again thrashed. However with the end of the war, Sri Lanka saw a gradual increase in the number of arrivals of tourists into the country.

Named as one of the most stunning famous tourist destinations by various tourist magazines and researchers, Sri Lanka's pride and integrity associated with its culture and wildlife are significant assets when inviting foreign tourists into the country. This was not achievable prior to post-war due to the uncertainty on the safety of the visiting tourists. Even though some amount of tourists did arrive, the war torn areas were of course left untrodden. Travel + Leisure, an American magazine named Sri Lanka as the best island for travel in its 'The 15 Best Islands in the World'. Also, 'Lonely Planet' ranked Sri Lanka number one as the best travel destination in the world for the year 2019; a decade after the end of the civil war (Andree, 2019). Yet, Sri Lanka was not even included in the list 'Best in Travel' 2020 as an after effect of the Easter Sunday attacks. This goes to show the clear impact of terrorism and violence within a country on its tourism industry.

The table below shows the numbers of tourist arrivals into the country during and after the height of war. The number of tourists that visited the country in 2018, is more than five times of them that visited in 2008. This is evidence to show that the tourist industry was heavily affected by war. Also, a clear variation between the incomes brought into the country can be witnessed with a significant increase in numbers after the war period. The tourism promotion program 'Wonder of Asia' that was conducted immediately after the end of war was able to attract many tourists to the country.

Year	Arrived tourists	Total revenue/ USD. Mn
2007	494,008	385
2008	438,475	342
2009	447,890	350
2010	654,476	575
2011	855,975	830
2012	1,005,605	1,039

2013	1,274,593	1,715
2014	1,527,153	2,431
2015	1,798,380	2,981
2016	2,050,832	3,519
2017	2,116,407	3,925
2018	2,333,796	4,381

Table 1: Number of tourist's arrivals in Sri Lanka, Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka

According to statistics from the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, employment in the tourism industry of the country has increased from 124,970 in 2009 to 388,487 in 2018. As the increase was roughly three-fold, it can be concluded that war limits the opportunities for the tourism industry to grow and develop. Many businesses of different scales have been formed around the popular tourist destinations of the country supporting the renowned tourism industry.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES

Farming of crops like paddy was halted in the Northern and Eastern regions of the country due to the conflict. The people in war zone had to face various difficulties such as landmines that limited the amount of work that they could do within their premises. The landmines had to be manually removed by the army of Sri Lanka for several years into post-war. With the encouragement of the government through credit grants for paddy cultivation that amounted to Rs. 1,918 Mn in 2009 and Rs. 5,582 Mn in 2015 and taking climate into consideration, more land was harvested from 943,000 Ha in 2009 and 1,211,000 Ha in 2015.

There has been a gradual increase in the contribution of revenue from agriculture and industries in the Northern and Eastern regions to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country after war. The Achchaveli industrial complex was opened, with its first phase targeting investments in textiles, plastic, food processing units etc. The establishment of the Mas Active Vannavil and Mas Intimate garment factories created many employments contributed massively to reduce unemployment in the North while contributing to foreign trade in the country. Additionally, many small-scale industries were established with the government's promotion for self-employment

and provision of vocational training. This goes to show the limitations to opportunities associated with advancement of industries with war and violence.

Province/ Year	Agriculture (Rs. Mn)	Industry (Rs. Mn)	Service (Rs. Mn)
Northern			
2009	28,852	14,534	112,711
2010	30,970	28,836	129,933
2011	58,423	42,275	136,814
2012	59,911	49,664	168,450
2013	66,630	68,176	176,736
Eastern			
2009	63,879	93,667	121,817
2010	73,959	98,357	161,652
2011	61,059	109,111	209,113
2012	85,452	150,339	242,610
2013	92,840	181,383	268,676

Table 2: Provincial GDP by agricultural and industrial origin 2009-2013 (Rs. Mn)

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka

EXTERNAL TRADE

In the last decade, foreign investors have shown a significant interest in investing in the country's infrastructure and industries. Due to the economic dilemma prevailed within the country during the period of war; the investors were left out with a doubt on the investment returns. This paved the way for the low interest in investment within the country. Thus, the flow of foreign money into the country was obstructed. Although this was true, following the end of war Sri Lanka garnered the attention of foreign investments. The Hambantota Port built with Chinese assistance and the earlier mentioned Achchaveli industrial complex are some notable contributions of foreign assistance to Sri Lanka. Also, the establishment of more garment factories has significantly helped increase the amount of profit through exports.

The rate of imports on consumer basis was also increased parallel to the introduction of various new goods to the Northern and Southern regions. The capita allocated for imported investment goods ranged from Rs 240,284 Mn in 2009 to 760,942 Mn in

2018. Accordingly, international trade brought revenue into the country after war as well.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Moving along, increase in the level of unemployment can be seen as another adverse economic influence of the long-drawn-out ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. In the North, there still are places where not only infrastructure, but also employment of people who wish to be employed could be handled better. Reinforcement of self-employment can be considered as one methodology that could increase the contribution of Northern citizens in the country's economy.

Level of unemployment among the youth increased during the war. This can be regarded as an impending threat to the development and stability of the country as the unemployment of youth is considered as the root cause of many other internal problems of the island. It is a known fact that how young and innocent Tamil boys in the North were victims of the Tamil tigers. Children were taken away from their families at a very young age and snatched away their right for education, right for protection and right for safety. By the time the war ended these children had not gotten proper education to get into appropriate jobs and therefore, most of them fell in the wrong paths. Ex-combatants of the LTTE were rehabilitated and equipped with knowledge that helped them earn their living. The government also took measures to establish many vocational training and skill development centres to equip not only the youth of the North and East but throughout the country.

Expansion of the construction industry with the development of infrastructure granted new job opportunities for locals which have been advantageous in terms of family units. They drove the youth from rural areas into the more developed or developing and urban areas of the country. Also, development of tourism and the industries such as the Vaanavil garment factory helped minimise unemployment especially in the North and East of the country. The data depicted below shows the decline in the level of unemployment respectively.

Year	Total unemployment (%)
2007 (a)	6.0/ 6.0
2008 (a)	5.2
2009 (a)/(b)	5.7/ 5.8
2010 (b)	4.9
2011 (b)/(c)	4.2/ 4.2
2012 (c)	4.0

- a) Data excluded both Northern and Eastern Provinces.
- b) Including Eastern province but excluding Northern Province.
- c) All districts included.

Table 3: Level of unemployment

CONCLUSION

Moreover, it has been observed that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of the country massively increased in the immediate years after the end of war. The GDP growth rate that was at 3.5% increased to 9.1% by 2012 (DailyFT, 2019), visibly indicating the effect that war had on the country's economy.

Conflict turned into a courteous war among the Lankans, the on-going period and post-war period had heavy impacts on various aspects of the economy of Sri Lanka. According to various sources, the financial breakdown that occurred within Sri Lanka had economically impacted throughout certain parts of Asia; South-Asia specifically. Post-war recovering and reformation of the economy and the country as a whole is more than hard. It has been over ten years since the end of war but the country is still recovering from the damages caused by the crisis.

Using violence to obtain one's requirements was once a practice of the LTTE in Sri Lanka. It has become a major trend in the modern world even today. In this context, war is inevitable and so is avoiding risks of putting a country into situations of war; but as a society one could always contribute to minimize those risks. May it be cold war, hot war, just war or psychological war at the current status of the world with all the availability of resources, one could always use the power vested upon them to

direct the governance of our country in the right direction. War is something that the human race has gotten used to and expects to last for years to come. When seeing from an outsider's perspective, one could argue that war is not the answer to an unsolved dispute. Although this is true, the power of violence should not be underestimated. When one violates the rights of thousands of civilians, the best way to respond to them is using counter measurements of the same calibre. One cannot spread kindness in a situation where the lives and lifestyles of many more individuals get involved, involuntarily and their rights as humans used in something that they do not wish to be part of. War is a trauma that no one ever wants to go back to.

Sri Lankans who faced major consequences as a result of a thirty-year war, certainly do not wish to put their country in such a position. Generations of the nations' people fell into nadir because of war. The economy could not be brought up to the expectations of the previous leaders. The mutual relationships among individuals were damaged to the extent where some misunderstandings exist to this day. Basically, Sri Lanka is a developing country for several decades and one reason that contributed to its lack in progress is the alleged war.

This situation is the same in any country or region that undergoes war. Be it cold or hot, war destructs and diminishes not only infrastructure, but also humanistic values as a whole. In this world where human rights are profoundly focused on and debated, war has the ability to question whether any of these rights are safeguarded. Even though there might be a thousand explanations for war, the ones that have lived through war at no time will see a justification to war.

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About the authors



Dilshani Wijekoon is an undergraduate day-scholar studying Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She is very passionate about International Relations thanks to her curiosity on the world and keen interest in different cultures.



Senuri Chanma Hapuarachchi is an undergraduate day-scholar following bachelor's degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She completed her primary and secondary education at Lyceum International School Wattala and completed her advanced levels at Viharamahadevi Balika Vidyalaya. She completed her accounting diploma from AAT in 2019 and worked at Ernst and Young until she enrolled at KDU.



Avishka Shehan Gunasekara is an undergraduate officer cadet serving the Sri Lanka Army, while studying Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. He hopes to work alongside scholars and engage in diplomacy while in service. This is his second paper, and he hopes to involve more in academics when he is serving the country.

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER

R.H.M. Imasha Lakshmiwewa & K.W.M.S.W. Wanigasooriya
Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic outbreak has negatively affected the growth of political and economic sectors of the globalized world, transcending beyond a health issue. In midst of the misfortune of millions around the globe, the virus is playing a role in shattering the economies, public policies, international politics, and world trade. Labelled as the most precarious disasters to humankind in the 21st century the depth of this calamity cannot be measured. As the world has now moved its attention to seeking a cure for this deadly disaster, the consequences of this current pandemic at the global level are also needed to be focused and the questions must be answered. Besides the disaster of the global health sector, as a response regarding the unanswered questions in the international political and economic arena, the study aims to investigate the impact of Covid-19 on the international economic and political sectors, and the process of reshaping the global order.

Keywords – Covid-19 Pandemic, Global order, Economic order, Political order

INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 pandemic outbreak has negatively affected the growth of political and economic sectors of the globalized world, transcending beyond a health issue. The pandemic is contracting the economies of many countries including that of the G7 states (reference) and affecting public policies, global governance and food security to name a few. Thus far, the pandemic is causing substantial damage, which is unprecedented. As the world concentrates on finding a cure for this deadly disaster, the consequences of this current issue require examination. This paper analyses two main areas:

- ❖ Economic Impact
- ❖ Non- Economic Impact

Due to the pandemic, the debate between national interests and collective interests has arisen. Accordingly, the choices and decisions made under these circumstances could determine where they would stand in the global order. Covid-19 has created a platform for underlying tensions between democracies and autocracies, eastern bloc and western bloc, and the north and south to surface unlike any other time since the end of the Cold War. It is widely believed that the response to the pandemic will determine the future global order. The clear failures and successes of these global powers amidst this pandemic has already created an impression on the observers as to who may be the global leader going forward (Jayawardene, 2019) With many powers on the rise and keen on leading global politics, hinting at a multipolar system.

A period of coalitions of convenience, from economic to technological and geographical partnerships where the process of globalization will be playing backwards within the global arena. The question in terms of global polarity as to whether the US will continue its leadership in the post COVID-19 international system, or whether the world will see a new superpower - China to lead the global politics where the centre of gravity of power will be shifted towards China, will be based on two argumentative questions.

- ❖ Can the cruelty of this current pandemic foretell the future of global order?
- ❖ Is it far too soon to predict the post COVID-19 world order?

PRE-PANDEMIC STATUS QUO

The world prior to the devastating novel coronavirus was largely politically inclined to the USA and economically to China. The crisis based on the first wave - oscillated global economies, directly causing a shift in international politics and in terms of balance of power which could result in the establishment of a new global power or a revision of the existing system. Aside from the worldwide health crisis, the current pandemic has also generated a few concerns in the international economic arena, which goes hand in hand with the global health disaster. A combination of fear, uncertainty, and enigma. Looking at historical precedents, it's about three times as bad as the global financial crisis of 2008 in terms of GDP decline on the annual basis. The worst downturn the world has encountered since the 1930's. The virus also pointed out some fatal flaws of democracies which authoritarian regimes were able to overcome. The biggest flaw the writer identifies was how the freedom democratic nations offer its people inevitably created chaos within it. The riots on masks and lockdowns (BBC, 2020), and opposition to public health protection through weak leadership as seen in America highlighted this. China capitalized on this flaw to criticize USA and democracy as a whole (Fukuyama, 2020, p. 28) shedding light on this weakness of democracies from all over the world but most devastatingly, affecting America which went from being the defender of democracy to the leader of coronavirus reports and deaths. Authoritarian regimes on the other hand have been more efficient in their response to the virus although China at first hid the virus from the world and even conducted campaigns of disinformation and restrictions of media freedom (Wang, 2020), seen even within the American democracy by downplaying the pandemic in the eye of the public, however the difference is that in democracies you cannot get away with it (Hamid, 2020) unlike in authoritarian regimes, highlighting a flaw in authoritarian regimes. To elaborate on the efficiency, authoritarian rulers were more freely able to initiate lockdowns and curtail the spread of the virus and efficiently implement the mass use of masks and other protective measures. This showed the world the eye-opening pros and cons that these regimes may have over democracies in terms of control and efficiency.

IMPACT TOWARDS THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The economic impact is two-fold; firstly, its impact on the supply chains of the international economy, due to the contagious feature of the virus it has resulted in the reduction of labour, supply and productivity, while lockdowns, business closures plus social distancing are in the action it causes supply disruptions. On the demand side, layoffs and the loss of income due to morbidity, quarantine and unemployment plus worsened economic prospects reduce household consumptions and firm's investment. The extreme uncertainty about the path, duration, magnitude, and impact of the pandemic could pose a vicious cycle of dampening business and consumer confidence and tightening financial conditions, which could lead to job losses and investment. There is no vaccine for fear and economic insecurity as the damage rises day by day. Observing from region to region and to each nation state, there is indication that the pandemic crisis is serious. In May 2020, the Asian Development Bank announced that COVID-19 could cost the global economy between \$5.8 and \$8.8 trillion. There have also been some issues of disinformation and resistance like in the USA toward testing and trust in its hospital systems, this in a global sense undermines the Chinese efforts of establishing the authoritarian regime as a viable alternative to democracy. Russia has taken severe steps in order to curtail the spread of the virus even to the extent of jail sentences bringing to light some of the cons of (Dixon, 2020). Brazil is undergoing a similar situation to that of Russia, resulting in the popularity of President Jair Bolsonaro. The phenomenon that took place in Brazil is unique. Brazilians did not follow what Bolsonaro said and in fact he was on the path to impeachment during the early stages of the pandemic (Casado, et al., 2020), yet his popularity increased, and the Brazilian economy too is at a far better place than the rest of South America (Rosati, 2020). The credit of Bolsonaro's popularity goes to his followers and not his policies, as the followers obeyed social distancing rules and wore masks although Bolsonaro was openly against this and had to be given a court order to wear a mask (Casado, et al., 2020). The phenomenon in Brazil is quite global in the sense the faster its economy can get back on its feet the better chances it has at securing a place in a multipolar world.

Economically Covid-19 had an adverse impact on globalization as a result of closing borders and trade wars leading up to it. The movement away from globalization has been seen through many facets such as the trade war between USA and China, and the America first attitude that shows a more nationalistic side of America. This phenomenon labelled 'slowbalization' is a pressing matter in the international economic order and with the impact of Covid-19 on global supply chains, travel, shipping and factories has contracted globalization and global economies (The Economist, 2020). The economic disruptions that Covid-19 created has affected the global supply chains negatively, therefore industries such as the garment industry focused on the Asian region to contract as they rely heavily on supply chains. The result of which is now adding to unemployment and closing down industries, but more importantly, globalization is what gave China the opportunity to rise as an economic power by joining the WTO and engaging in global trade (The Economist, 2020). Countries in the modern era are far too dependent on each other and require multilateral cooperation in order to prosper. This recession created by the pandemic

largely affected employment, with companies having to lay off employees creating a massive dent within economies leading to further political and social unrest (Fukuyama, 2020, pp. 26-28). Covid-19 seems to have boosted nationalism as countries are more aware about their borders and protecting themselves especially during a communicable virus as a result being more closed off which may have a negative impact on the future world order (Fukuyama, 2020, p. 28).

IMPACT TOWARDS THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ARENA

First, the question mark is pointed towards the present global order where the USA plays a key role. Second, the neoliberal policy of many Western countries is under criticism due to the increases in inequalities across the world. The whole world has started the process of 'renationalization' thinking by giving up the neoliberal policies, states have provided aid for the business and workers, countries are implementing shut down and imposing sanction over free movement within or outside the country amid the spread of COVID-19 pandemic. In the case of a pandemic like this, where there are no enemies, leadership now depends on who responds better. One of the foundations of grasping the world by the USA for the last few decades is the quick global 'America First' response to any crisis across the world, either through donating wealth or exercising its military power. But as the COVID-19 shows a clear failure of such a quick response from the USA. Instead, China is following the same path of helping the coronavirus affected countries as a quick global response due to the absence of the USA or any other global power.

The argument in regard to Covid-19 vs. re-shaping the Global Order could be summarized through few arguments- The view of the international system in the current context is as below -

"Rise of China" - The pandemic has further helped China so far to accelerate its desire to create a Chinese influence on the horizon through the BRI with a new so-called 'health silk road' policy. China has started to offer medical supplies across the world to battle the pandemic collectively. China's sphere of influence has reached most of the countries ranging from Asia to Africa and from Europe to America. However, the quality of quick response which acts as a fundamental feature to lead the international politics of China throughout the globe to fight against the COVID- 19 pandemic has been immense.

"Inward policy of the United States and the decline of its supremacy" - The pandemic has also raised a firm challenge over the supremacy of the United States. Initially, the USA and other western countries did not pay any attentiveness to COVID-19. Such negligence to the COVID-19 became the biggest threat to all these Western countries. Among them, the most serious case is now in the USA. First, the pandemic shows the lack of healthcare resources in the USA that also points out the lack of coordination. The western alliance between Europe and the USA is questionable. As a result, the USA could and is facing immense economic damage. As Professor of John Hopkins University- Vali Nasr stated - "It's not the U.S. that will choose what it wants to focus on, in fact the Corona Virus is going to decide"

“The fumbling of European solidarity”- EU is considered as the most effective regional political and economic organization as it is well known for its dynamic solidarity as a fundamental value of the organization. The main basis of this solidarity, the state’s closeness and open border system, is now totally collapsed. The spread of COVID-19 pandemic shows the failure of the EU in terms of responding to the request for assistance to the member states while the EU is one of the epicentres of the current pandemic. For example, even Italy, an active member of the EU, was also refused assistance after asking the EU.

Cyber Dependency

In a very short period of time, the COVID-19 pandemic catastrophe has touched our lives and changed numerous daily activities. Due to increasingly widely accepted remote working and distance learning methods, the COVID-19 problem has increased and altered our society's reliance on ICT and the Internet. COVID-19 has presented a number of technological and organizational difficulties that necessitate a comprehensive study and re-evaluation in terms of cyberspace. Personal computing devices have been extensively utilized for work purposes. Video conferencing technologies have replaced traditional meeting rooms, dependence on distant connectivity services and corporate VPNs has increased, and cloud services have shown their worth.

CONCLUSION

The impact of Covid-19 has created shockwaves within the global economic order bringing to a halt the rapidity of economic development in the world. The countries more concerned with their economies have in turn risked the health of its people as seen in America, whereas in the case of some authoritarian regimes and within the European Union the lockdowns may have disrupted the economy whilst protecting its people. China, where the virus originated is now championing the post Covid world with the likes of the USA still battling the virus (Fukuyama, 2020, p. 28). This essentially changed their image, and the result has seemingly tilted the opinion of many countries in favour of China. USA, the country that everyone looked towards for leadership, began working more unilaterally in a time where it was needed to be multilateral (Mahbubani, 2018). The USA moving away from the WHO and other multilateral agreements which needed its leadership and aid created distrust toward America, a trust it may never recover (Haass, 2020).

Further, the failed efforts at controlling the virus when compared to its authoritarian counterparts and competitors such as the EU further dented its reputation in the world opinion giving those countries the opportunity to take over the mantle of leadership or even share power in a possible multipolar world. The rising tensions in the world are creating similar fault lines as the ones from the Cold War era. The increasing Chinese involvement in the South China Sea and the trade war between China and the USA as well as the China – Hong Kong issue are indications of such a fault line. The exploitation of these fault lines by major powers for their own benefit

may create a path to a new world order (Crawford, 2020). The locking horns of these powers who are playing the political and economic game over global power is expected as Mahbubani said in his quoting Graham Allison's book 'Destined for War' pointed out, that when two powers are rising there is bound to be a geopolitical contest between them and not a peaceful transition (Mahbubani, 2020). Applying this to the possibility of a multipolar system the contest will be greater. Though China and USA are competing over global leadership, one cannot overlook the resurgence of Russia, emergence of EU, Brazil and India as reckonable powers thus setting the stage for a multipolar world. The world moving forward requires cooperation and multilateralism which is certainly one thing the virus has taught. If countries fail to realize this the next outbreak will cripple the world further hence my argument of a multipolar system. The virus highlighted the weaknesses of democracy as well as other ideologies and over reliance of the free market, globalization, and weaknesses in the healthcare systems. Emphasizing the importance of cooperation and multilateralism and acceptance of emerging powers. The writer opines a multipolar political and economic order would emerge moving away from hitherto known unipolar and bipolar concepts shifting the sands of the global order in the post pandemic world.

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About the authors



Imasha Lakshmiwewa is currently a second year International Relations and Strategic Studies undergraduate at the General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She is a passionate rotaractor with the desire to serve the community through volunteering and an individual with a keen interest towards strategic and security studies.



Savindu Wanigasooriya is currently a second-year undergraduate, reading for the degree BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations at the General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Rathmalana. He was previously enrolled at S.Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia where he completed his Primary and Secondary education and graduated following the G.C.E. A/Ls in the Arts stream. He was a School Prefect as well as a House Prefect at S.Thomas' and was the Vice-Captain of the College Hockey team, a Senior Cadet in the College Cadet Platoon and was a member of the Squash team.

ROLE OF THE EXPORT SECTOR IN SRI LANKA'S DEVELOPMENT

Senuri Chanma Hapuarachchi

Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

Sri Lanka is a country conflicted over its resources by great powers in the past. Today the interest on Sri Lanka still remains the same and it is clear, how countries with powerful economies are eyeing to be authoritative over Sri Lanka. With independence and the establishment of embassies, Sri Lanka was given state recognition worldwide. Today embassies are increasingly positioning themselves as proxies in developing the export sector. However, it is not the case in Sri Lanka. As the export sector is systematically interconnected with diplomatic representation abroad, it is without doubt that the Sri Lankan government is on the lookout to uplift its export performance while coping with financial pressures of the country. But the responsible authorities do not seem to show the same interest. While potential Sri Lankan products like tea, rubber, apparel and other cash-crop exports dominate Sri Lanka's export economy, technology service exports have shown rapid increase as of recent times. This paper studies on the development of exports from 1949 till the present. It further analyses how exports are systematically related to international diplomatic representation and how embassies and high commissions of Sri Lanka can work to drive the export sector towards its improvement.

Keywords: *Export, economy, embassy, high commission, influence*

INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka's economy must evolve and change in order for the country's objectives to achieve a higher middle-income status is reached and realized. This can be done by adopting bold and innovative changes to Sri Lanka's existing mixed-market economic development model (Nationsencyclopedia.com, 2003). In this case, the export sector plays an important role to contribute for that purpose. When it comes to Sri Lanka's export markets, there are a few notable trends. Tea, rubber and rubber-based products, coconut and coconut-based products, apparels and textiles, spices, essential oils and oleoresins and food, feed, beverage and light are now Sri Lanka's most distinct industries. The United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, and Italy are the main export partners, however, with the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic Sri Lanka's export sector seems to have found new export destinations such as UAE,

Singapore, Malaysia (Mahadiya, 2020). According to the Central Bank of Sri Lanka's annual report, the country's export output over the subsequent four decades has been disappointing. However, in September 2016, Sri Lankan exports has increased by 5.7% year on year to USD Million (Herath and Chathurika, 2016).

HISTORY OF EXPORTS

Since 1977, Sri Lanka's embraced open economy, allowing it to engage in foreign trade. Sri Lanka has indeed made a name for itself in the international market for high-quality spices, gems and jewellery, handicrafts, aquariums, coir products, leather products, and household goods. Because of the special and high quality finishing, Sri Lanka's name stands out from the rest for such products. However, this was in the past. In the ancient times Sri Lanka had exported many categories of goods than in the recent times (Fig. 1) The economic history of Sri Lanka in the export sector can be categorized into different periods as the period of early history until independence, from independence to 1977, post 1977 period, post-civil war period till the post pandemic period.

EARLY HISTORY OF EXPORTS

The strategic location of Sri Lanka at the crossroads of east-west trade and irrigated agriculture in the hinterland, has given her a long history as a trading centre, as evidenced by historical texts and accounts from foreign travellers. For example, Fa-Hien, a pilgrim traveller and the chronicler who wrote many accounts of the ancient world travelled to India and Sri Lanka around 400 BC has noted that traders from other countries were trading with native tribes on the island prior to Indo-Aryan settlement. Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Greek voyager had visited the Indian subcontinent in the sixth century and had written extensively about Sri Lanka as a commercial hub, referring to the island as Taprobane and Sialadiba. The published work in his Christian Topography says "...and it receives silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood, and other items from the farthest countries, namely Tzinista (present day China) and other trading places, and these are then passed on to marts on this side, such as Male (present day Malabar or Southwest Indian coast) ... and Calliana (Kalyana/ Kelaniya)".

During the colonial times, in the 1830s, the British started experimenting with commercial farming. Coffee cultivation was introduced to the countryside and was an immediate success, revolutionizing the Sri Lankan economy, which had previously relied on subsistence farming. Land reform was also altered. Prior to this, permission was given for royal lands to be farmed, but private ownership was not permitted. However, under the British crown plots of land were sold to private buyers. A leaf disease that spread across the plantations from the mid-1850s to 1870 decimated Sri Lanka's flourishing coffee market. Falling coffee prices as a result of Europe's economic downturn have hurt the coffee industry in Sri Lanka. Cultivation farmers, on the other hand, did not abandon their holdings. Instead, they searched for other crops that could be grown in plantations. Rubber plantations were established towards the end of the nineteenth century as a secondary source of export revenue. Rice and coconuts, Sri Lanka's other two main crops, were primarily grown for the domestic market. In reality, domestic rice production was insufficient to meet demand, and rice had to be imported.

PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE TO 1977

The history of Sri Lanka's post-independence period is essentially that of a wasted opportunity. Sri Lanka gained independence from the British in 1948, and by this time Sri Lanka was ahead of many Asian countries and had economic and social indicators comparable to better countries like Japan. With independence Sri Lanka inherited a prosperous macroeconomic climate. Sri Lanka founded a central bank and joined the IMF in 1950, joining the Bretton Woods scheme of currency pegs. As monetary and fiscal policies weakened, the economy was gradually regulated and relaxed in response to foreign exchange crises. By 1953, a new law had tightened exchange controls. The Sri Lankan government's decision to take private property and place it under the rule of bureaucrats resulted in an economic catastrophe. Sri Lankan politics added a twist, with Trotskyite communists infiltrating the government in an attempt to establish so-called welfare socialism. By this time Sri Lanka was in a political turmoil so much that the government had to use more and more of its limited foreign exchange credits from export crops like tea to buy rice, as domestic production fell. Sri Lanka's economy was in disarray by the mid-1970s. It was a

real defenceless situation in the country. In the years following the Bretton Woods system's demise, controls were further tightened. According to Saman Kelegama in his book 'Development in Independent Sri Lanka: What Went Wrong' he states this period as a period of ".... tightening, partial relaxation, and tightening again the trade regime and related areas to deal with a perceived foreign exchange crisis."

POST 1977 PERIOD

Colombo switched to market-oriented policies and export-oriented trade in 1977, abandoning capitalist economic policies and its import substitution industrialisation strategy. From 1977 till about 1994, the country was ruled by the United National Party (UNP), which started to move away from a socialist orientation in 1977 under the rule of President J.R. Jayawardana. The government has been deregulating, privatizing, and opening up since then. Thereby the era after 1977 takes notable importance. During this period (post 1977 at around mid-80's and 90's) the main export products were tea, rubber, coconut, textiles, cotton and minerals (Fig. 2). However, with the suppression of the JVP insurgency, increased privatization, economic reform, and a focus on export-oriented growth helped the economy improve with a notable GDP growth. For example, GDP reached 7% in 1993. Plantation crops reported for just 20% of exports in 1996 (compared to 93 percent in 1970), while textiles and garments reported for 63%. Throughout the 1990s, GDP expanded at a 5.5% annual average rate until a drought and worsening security conditions slowed development to 3.8 percent in 1996. However, this growth only lasted for a while till 1999. Though the economy grew by 6.4% and 4.7% in 1997–1998, respectively, it slowed down to 3.7% in 1999 (Fig 3). By this time, it was opined that Colombo should expand market structures in non-plantation agriculture, eliminate the government's monopoly on wheat imports, and encourage more competition in the financial sector as part of the next round of reforms, according to Sri Lanka's central bank. In brief, we can explain that the immediate post 1997 period was an export-oriented liberalisation period.

<i>Major exports of Sri Lanka - 1986</i>	<i>Value (Rs. Mn)</i>
<i>Agricultural</i>	
Tea	9253
Rubber	2622
Coconuts	2389
Other agricultural products	1500
<i>Total agricultural</i>	<i>15764</i>
<i>Industrial</i>	
Textiles	9629
Oil	2358
Other industrial products	3891
<i>Total industrial</i>	<i>15878</i>
<i>Minerals</i>	
Gems	755
Other minerals	427
<i>Total Minerals</i>	<i>1182</i>
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>1249</i>

Figure 2: (Source: Sri Lanka: A country study, 1990)

POST-CIVIL WAR PERIOD

The government's effort to preserve macroeconomic stability was hindered by the outbreak of the civil war. Following the end of the civil war in May 2009, the

economy began to develop at a faster pace, reaching 8.0% in 2010 and 9.1% in 2012, owing to a rise in non-tradable sectors. The rise, however, did not last, and GDP growth in 2013 dropped to 3.4%, recovering only marginally in 2014 to 4.5%. Some of the most notable changes of post-war were the lifting of an EU ban on Sri Lankan fish products in 2016, resulting in a 200% in fish exports to the EU and the European Commission proposed to restore the GSP plus facility to Sri Lanka in 2017. Sri Lanka's tax revenues as a percentage of GDP rose from 10% in 2014, the lowest level in nearly twenty years to 12.3 % in 2015.

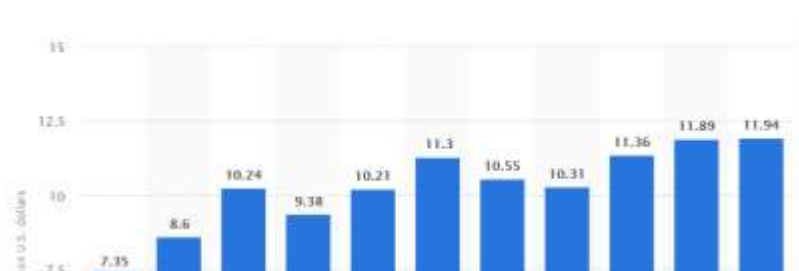


Figure 3: GDP Growth (annual %) from 1977-2009 - Sri Lanka (Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files)

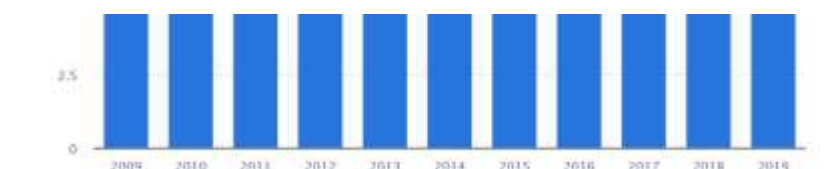


Figure 4 shows export

the statistics for the period of post-civil war till the pre- pandemic period.

Post Pandemic period

Provisional data from the Sri Lanka Export Development Board (SLEDB) shows that product exports were \$11.9 billion, up 0.13% from 2018, and service exports were \$4.2 billion, up 5.3%. With the outbreak of the pandemic SLEDB has posted new gazettes regarding exports. After the lockdowns were lifted in May 2020, Sri Lanka was making a quick recovery, but a recent Coronavirus outbreak in March 2021 hampered exports and industry.

IMPACT OF COVID – 19 ON THE EXPORT SECTOR

With the outbreak of the pandemic many Sri Lankan factories were closed. While Sri Lankan factories were shut, factories in neighbouring countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia continued to work, hurting the industry by diverting new orders to them. Despite the fact that the health crisis has opened new markets in the manufacture of personal protection equipment (PPE), COVID-19 is expected to result in a sales loss of \$1.5 billion. The global market for personal protective equipment (PPE) has not been able to keep up with the increase in demand since the outbreak of COVID-19. Supply and logistics constraints, such as export bans on PPE and materials, have led to a global shortage of PPE, as well as supply disruptions in China, a major PPE producer. As overseas orders for standard garments dry up, the Sri Lankan apparel industry is shifting to the production and export of PPE in response to the increase in international demand for PPE (Wijayasiri, 2021).

Despite a 50% decline in tea exports in March due to closures (Daily News, 2020), the outbreak of COVID-19 has resulted in a positive turnaround in the tea industry with the digitalization of the 126-year-old tea auction, which was previously conducted manually over two days each week. Furthermore, research show that black tea may help boost immunity, which is expected to increase the global demand for tea (Illanperuma, 2020). Turkey, Iraq, Russia, Iran, Azerbaijan and China are emerging as top buyers of black tea which are the main markets for Sri Lankan tea (Tea Exporters Association, 2020).

The most harmed sector from the pandemic was small and medium scale businesses. They were less prepared to deal with order cancellations and sustained demand declines. The Sri Lanka Export Development Board has

updated its 2020 export forecast in light of the unprecedented disruption to the global economy and trade caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The pandemic also had a major impact on the main export commodities such as tea, coconut, rubber, spices, food and beverages. In the first half of 2020, total exports were down by 26% than that of 2019. However, since the lockdown ended, some industries have begun to expand. For example, exports of tea, coconut-based products, spices and essential oils, as well as fish and fisheries products, increased in June (Mahadiya, 2020). Despite the global crisis and higher air freight costs, Sri Lanka's seafood exports have seen good demand and increased prices.

Thereby it can be opined that Sri Lankan exports have played a variety of roles, including strong, poor and moderate. The government began privatizing, deregulating, and opening the economy to foreign competition after 1977. To conclude, one could say that although there is no significant export or product diversification among Sri Lankan exports. Sri Lanka should not forget the hard lessons learned during the aftermath of the global financial crises. As country rich in resources, responsible officials can focus on certain industries that could bring immense wealth and prosperity into the country. Mineral sand can mention as an example for this. Sri Lanka exports raw material, but with further research we could find the technology and investments to export something more than just the raw material like a finished product for instance. If organizations like the SLEDB or foreign ministry took initiatives to push forward such deeds our exports would be of much higher value.

Moving along, Sri Lanka is a country rich in organic resources, but today we have come into a position where we have to import our own resources while we could be exporting them to bring more cash inflows to the country. For such activities to be fulfilled, SLEDB could be more connected with the producers and farmers of these products such as coconut oil. Unlike the attention given by rather developed countries to their exports; Sri Lankan ambassadors and high commissioners overseas do not seem to be setting up to the expectations in improving our export sector. It is as if the amount of contribution that can be done to develop Sri Lanka cannot be seen by the responsible officials. By what means the embassies and high commissions can do this is, by representing

themselves as agents of marketing, incorporation with media and increased collaboration with the Sri Lankan Export Development Board. Embassies and high commissions can use different means of soft power to influence its relations and through that Sri Lanka can manage itself to make tremendous growth in the export sector along with the socio-economic and human development directories and ranking itself among the best in South Asia as it was in the past. Thereby, from the above factors it is clear that Sri Lanka needs more responsible and unbiased officials to improve the export sector which could in return improve the economy of the country and raise the standard of living of its citizens.

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About the author



Senuri Channa Hapuarachchi is an undergraduate day-scholar following bachelor's degree in Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She completed her primary and secondary education at Lyceum International School Wattala and completed her advanced levels at Viharamahadevi Balika Vidyalaya. She completed her accounting diploma from AAT in 2019 and worked at Ernst and Young until she enrolled at KDU.

FIGHTING AGAINST TERRORISTS: AN ANALYSIS ON CHINESE AND SRI LANKAN EXPERIENCES

Pahani Wandana Attanayake & P.R. Dismini Premachandra

Intake 37-BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations

Abstract

Sri Lanka fought a war against domestic terrorism for three decades and defeated it physically. However, Sri Lanka had to face a lot of allegations by the western media during the post terrorist conflict period. Majority of the allegations were hyped due to the strategic media usage of anti-Sri Lankan elements working day and night from abroad to tarnish the image of Sri Lanka. There is a western media hype against the Chinese government as well. The Chinese authorities label the crackdown on dissent on the Muslim minority in western Xinjiang as "war on terror." Meanwhile, the Western media institutions in the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and France, United States and human rights organizations are labelling Chinese reaction to terrorist as "genocide." Among the allegations against the Chinese government are the mass trial and imprisonment of more than a million Uighurs and other Muslim minority groups in "re-education camps" without a proper trial. In addition, torture, long imprisonment, sentences or the death penalty after serious unjust trials, measures to prevent the birth of women and the forcible transfer of Uighur children from their community are also included in the list of allegations against Chinese. This article will draw parallels of the Chinese situation with Sri Lankan situation by using various reports published by media institutions in the West.

Keywords: *Uighurs, Extremism, Islamophobia*

CHINA'S WAR ON TERROR

Xinjiang is the largest autonomous region within China, which officially became a part of communal China in 1994. Xinjiang lies on the north-western corner of the country and borders eight countries, including Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The Westerners also refers to it as Chinese Turkistan, as it is mostly inhabited by people with a culturally Muslim identity. Xinjiang is home to more than 40 different ethnic groups, including Uyghurs, Han Chinese, Hui, Mongolians, Khalkha, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Manchu and Sibos, Tajiks, Tatars, Russians, and Tahurs, etc. Of these, the largest Muslim group in China are the Uighurs and the Hui. In addition, Kazakhs and Tajiks also follow Islam. The Uighurs are Sunni Muslims who speak their own

Turkic language. However, the Uighurs living in the area received less government attention. Although the Hui Muslim community is recognized as a Muslim community with a Chinese culture, the Chinese government is tempted to portray the Uighurs as a foreign and minority community. Therefore, Uighurs faced economic marginalization and political discrimination. As a result, a series of protests were erupted by the Eastern Turkish Islamist Party (ETIP) against the Chinese government in 1990. Then, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, separatist groups rose to prominence. The controversy escalated in 2001 when the United States was hit hard by Islamic terrorists (9/11 attacks). China's suspicion of the Uighurs grew, and Islamophobia spread around the world. China has long been a source of social and political disunity, and the Uighurs' actions have been cited as a threat to local stability. The Uyghurs are branded as radical Islamists and are seen as a threat to national sovereignty. Meanwhile, the Chinese government had witnessed an extremist flow of large Uyghur nationalist movements linked to international radical Islamic movements. According to a Chinese report released in 2002, the Uighurs had carried out more than 200 terrorist acts between 1990 and 2001, including bombings, incarceration and abductions (Zambelis, 2010). China blamed the ETIM (East Turkistan Islamic Movement) group for all these abuses. Many believe it is a group of Uighurs who fled to Afghanistan from Xinjiang during the 1990 riots. In 2003, the Pakistani military raided the hideout of a Muslim man named Hasan Mahsum, who was suspected of being the leader of the ETIM group (Zambelis, 2010). After the assassination of Hasan Mahsum, the group was thought to be non-existent, but in 2008 the Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP) threatened the Chinese government. This was due to China's continued persecution and political dissent of the Uighurs. China stated that this TIP group is affiliated with the aforementioned ETIP group. The group released a video online claiming that they were responsible for the series of bomb attacks in Xinjiang, Yunnan and Shanghai (Zambelis, 2010). In addition, there were warnings that the 2008 Olympics to be held in Beijing, could be disrupted. TIP had stated that, "Our aim is to target the most critical cities severely using the tactics that have never been employed" and it further angered the Chinese government (Anon., 2014).

Xinjiang has long been an independent Muslim state in central Asia, and with the increasing migration of Han Chinese to the area, that independence diminished, with the Han taking the lead. In July 2009, ethnic riots erupted between Han Chinese and Uighurs, unsettling the Urumqi (capital of Xinjiang). During this time, the Uighurs damaged Chinese government offices, railway stations, and open-air market, killing at least 200 people (Maizland, 2021). This was mainly due to a confrontation between Uyghur migrant worker and Han Chinese at a toy factory in Guangdong province, which caused the death of two people (Zambelis, 2010). With the intervention of the government in this issue, the Uyghurs launched protests. In 2013, Xi Jinping began to build a land route (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) under the Belt and Road Initiative project, which initially fell through the Kashgar in Xinjiang and connect to the Indian Ocean via Gwadar port. However, these major projects brought large-scale developments to Xinjiang, attracting many young, technically qualified Han Chinese from eastern province. The Chinese government was also anxious to get more and more Han Chinese to settle in Xinjiang. Therefore, they started a campaign called "Go West" (Zambelis, 2010, 4).

There was bloodshed in April 2013 and in June same year, what state media described as a mob armed with knives attacking local government buildings (Anon, 2014). Moreover, in 2014, a number of similar incidents were reported. In May, two cars crashed through an Urumqi market and explosives were tossed into the crowd. Also, in April, bomb and knife attack occurred in south railway of Urumqi. During that incident 3 people were killed and 79 got injured. Furthermore, In July, authorities said a mob had attacked a police station and government offices in Jharkhand, killing at least 96 people. Terrorist activities did not stop, and another bomb blast was reported in September in the Luntai area. According to the report, about 50 died in explosions police stations, a market and a shop in Luntai province in central Xinjiang (Anon., 2014).

China had raised suspicion that Uighurs have been linked to the Taliban and Al Qaeda in many parts of the world and China's suspicions turned out to be true when Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for the 2009 riots (Zambelis, 2010). Also, Al Qaeda spoke on behalf of Uighurs, but it was not until 2009 that their attention

was drawn to Xinjiang. At that time, The United States had been cracking down on extremist terrorist groups based in the Islamic state concept since 2001. The government, weary of the continuing terrorist attacks, started to follow the same process and launched a counter-terrorism program. As a result, re-education camps were started under the Uyghur Rehabilitation Program in Xinjiang.

SRI LANKA'S WAR ON TERRORISM

Sri Lanka is officially known as the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. It is an island lying in the Indian Ocean. The population of Sri Lanka is made up of different nationalities. Ethnicity is high to some extent and the majority of the population is Sinhalese. Among other ethnic minorities, Muslims, Christians and Burghers, the Sri Lankan Tamils are the largest minority group in the population. However, there was a perception that the Tamil people were facing difficulties under the Sri Lankan government. Thus, the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) insurgent group was formed under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran with the idea that the Tamil people should have equal rights and Tamil Eelam (a separate state for Tamils) (Anandakugan, 2020). LTTE began campaigning for a Tamil homeland in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, which is predominantly Tamil. Initially, this was supported by a host of groups. The war between the LTTE and Sri Lankan state began (in July 1983) after triggering riots and the killing of thirteen government soldiers by LTTE (Bajoria, 2009). In addition, they carried out terrorist acts, including suicide bombings and abductions of political leaders. FBI labelled LTTE a terrorist group after launching these terrorist tactics (Anandakugan, 2020). Although the Sri Lankan government initially pursued a policy of disrupting peace talks, the LTTE's violence was unavoidable. They also attacked peacekeepers sent from India (Bajoria, 2009) and were responsible for the assassinations of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Ranasinghe Premadasa, former Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar and any other political figures (Reuters, 2007). The LTTE was known to the world as an innovative, dangerous insurgency force and alternatively as 'guerrilla fighters' (Fernando & Amarajeewa, 2020). They increase the manpower by forcibly recruiting kids and young people (Bajoria, 2009). Moreover, they were receiving financial supports internationally. Thus,

the LTTE was able to operate across the country. The security situation deteriorated further due to high suicide attacks on the foreign minister, defence secretary, Pakistani high commissioner and army chiefs (Anandakugan, 2020). In response, the Sri Lankan Army carried out counter terrorism campaigns against LTTE (Mashal, 2019). However, this War lasted three decades and ended in May 2009 killing LTTE's mastermind Velupillai Prabhakaran. A number of countries in the world have proscribed the LTTE as a terrorist organization especially following the 9/11 attacks in 2001 during which a global pledge was made to rid the world of terrorism. Furthermore, the Council of European Union pursuant to UNSC Resolution 1373/2001 formulated the European Union Terrorist List proscribing the LTTE as a terrorist organization up to date (Fernando & Amarajeewa, 2020). Although the LTTE were militarily annihilated, their ideology is promulgated in other ways through an extensive international diaspora and especially warfare in the cyber domain.

LTTE: PRESENT THREATS

The LTTE political wing had been active even though the war ended in 2009. Also, Sri Lankan government has been weak in countering the legitimacy of the LTTE claim of the Eelam, 'Tamil Homeland' in the cyberspace. The LTTE cyber strategy is to conduct "cyber-attacks", use cyberspace for amassing funds, and support ideological propaganda (Fernando & Amarajeewa, 2020). The LTTE has attempted to deface and hack the government of Sri Lanka's websites several times. Moreover, according to cyber security analysts, the virtual Eelam that had been created by the post-war new generation of Tamils in exile are formulating new narratives of Ceylonese history portraying a government in exile; a different approach to reclaiming Eelam. They basically use social media networks to brainwash young people. Therefore, Sri Lankan government need much more efforts to resist LTTE-driven ideology and virtual Eelam narratives that have proliferated over the internet and social media.

The global Tamil community is one of the largest Diasporas in the world, which gather in advocacy on Tamil issues. Tamil Diaspora organizations are making requests to the High Commissioner's Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to gather evidence on human rights violations and related crimes in Sri

Lanka. Furthermore, they have suggested investigating violations under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, including the deliberate destruction of Tamil cultural heritage during the period 1977-79, when torture and disappearances began (Anon., 2021). In addition, they are pressuring other countries not to support Sri Lanka in this case. Because of this, even though the India is the most neighbouring country to Sri Lanka, they abstained from voting on the (UNHRC) resolution on Sri Lanka due to threats from the Tamil Diaspora that the turnout in Tamil Nadu could be reduced. Besides, there are invisible hands of the Tamil Diaspora behind the British government's provocation over the Sri Lankan issues.

WESTERN MEDIA HYPE: ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE ACTIONS OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS

Transforming Xinjiang into a surveillance state: According to media reports, Xinjiang is governed by a grid management system. Towns and villages are split into squares of about 500 people, each of which has one allocated police station. The people living in these villages are monitored using the latest technologies. There is a large-scale collection of data on citizens of Xinjiang, also known as 'Integrated Joint Operation Platform' (IJOP). These databases use closed-circuit cameras, face recognition cameras, fingerprint and spywares to monitor information on mobile phones, as well as Wi-Fi-sniffers (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2019). In addition, they use warrantless manual researches such as 'physicals for all' to collect biometric data. Also, special apps like 'Zapya app' (Maizland, 2021). With the help of this information collection, suspects are found and a list of criminals is compiled with the help of artificial intelligence. Later, the suspects are arrested and sent to the above-mentioned re-education camps for rehabilitation. Many observers refer to this as a 'new model of policing'. Mulvenon, who has been doing in-depth research on these issues in Xinjiang, said: "The Chinese believe that artificial intelligence and machine learning can actually predict crime by collecting large amounts of data. Also, they think that, these will be able to anticipate possible events as well as identify populations that are prone to anti-government actions" (Mulvenon, as cited in Allen-Ebrahimian, 2019). It mainly uses technologies such as machine learning,

artificial intelligence, and command and control platform. This is an incident that has taken technology to a whole new level, which is different from the methods used in other countries. It is like an 'cybernetic brain'. But media reports have accused that, the Uyghurs living in Xinjiang are facing the dark side of it. Human rights are being violated through this system. Also, they point out that, this system is very detrimental to the privacy of the people in the society and thus has a severe psychological impact.

Much of the allegations about re- education camps came to forefront based on the report called "Telegram", which was leaked by a media team (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2019). The report, published in 2019 and includes a series of instructions issued by the Chinese government to the relevant authorities on how to manage the Vocational Training Centers. According to the media report, the people who are admitted to these camps are classified based on the offenses they have committed. After that, there they are rehabilitated and given vocational training under strict security. Detainees are required to spend time away from their belongings, and even the use of a mobile phone is prohibited. Another newly leaked 'Qaraqash Document' revealed the reasons for detention for more than 300 individuals. Its causes include growing a beard, wearing a veil, and violating the one-child law in China (Chavkin, 2020). Thus, western media have declared that people have been imprisoned for even the most minor offenses. In addition to these, torture, the penalty of death, force Uighur women into sterilizations, forced to have birth control pills, family planning lectures and the forcible transfer of Uighur children from their communities to state-run child welfare agencies are included in the allegations against China.

However, the Chinese government says that their process is completely different from the way the Western media portrays it. The Chinese authorities further say that there is also misinterpretation of the steps taken to promote public health in their country. Meantime, China has insisted that some of the media outlets that carry out such false propaganda are not independent but Western-affiliated (Anon., 2021). Mainly, detainees are taught China's national language (Mandarin), law and skills. Students trained in this way are referred to a professional skills development class for 3 or 6 months to further develop their skills (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2019). The Chinese government has stated that it will

provide vocational training to detainees under a 'poverty alleviation' policy. Therefore, a program is being implemented to direct students who complete vocational training to factories as professionals. In addition, the government has also launched a follow-up program to find out more about the people employed in the profession (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2019). In the struggle to fight against terrorism and maintain stability, it is a strategic, critical and long-term measure to focus on free vocational skills education and training for key personnel. However, the government says these actions have reduced Xinjiang's pre-existed extremist activities. It is aimed at perspectives of both combating terrorism and reducing poverty.

Meanwhile, western media accusing the Sri Lankan military of killing thousands of Tamil civilians in the final stages of the war. In addition, extra judicial killings, torture, rape LTTE detainees during investigations, abductions and arbitrary detention are some of the allegations against Sri Lankan Government (Channel 4, 2014). Channel 4 News first aired videos of the final stages of the war. Video footages were released of activities allegedly carried out by Sri Lankan Army battalions. Based on the videos, it has been concluded that terrorist women may have been sexually abused. Their articles further state that, a senior Sri Lankan army commander and frontline soldier stated that orders were issued from above to carry out such operations (Millar, 2010). The allegations cannot be accepted as there is no revelation from the soldiers who claim to have made those statements. The Sri Lankan High Commission told Channel 4 News that it "strongly denies" the authenticity of the video, saying "it was part of an unprovoked and unconfirmed scandal and propaganda retaliation" (Channel 4, 2014). It is now almost 12 years since the end of the war. So far, all these are just allegations made by the Western media. None of that has yet been proven to be true.

Furthermore, the Western media allege that the war was sparked by disputes between the Sinhala and Tamil communities. They also say that the origin of these matters goes back to the past. One of the western media websites have argued that after becoming independent from British throne, many Sinhalese moved to higher echelons of government (Anandakugan, 2020). The Sinhalese came to power and gradually adopted measures to expel Sri Lankan Tamils, and

one such action was the 1956 'Sinhala-only law' (Anandakugan, 2020). They have said that, it made Sinhala the only official language in Sri Lanka and barred the Tamil people from trying to get government services or getting government jobs. Furthermore, the report alleges that standardization aimed at providing more educational opportunities to Sinhala students emerged in Sri Lanka and that there was a Sinhala-dominated government in Sri Lanka. Many complain that such conditions still exist in Sri Lanka and that injustice is still being done to the Tamil minority. Since the majority of Sri Lankans are Sinhalese, the official language has become Sinhala. Tamils also live-in large numbers in countries such as Canada. But there they have to use English language. In the present context, Tamil language has been named as the second national language of Sri Lanka and Tamil literacy is considered as an essential factor in the recruitment of Sinhalese people to the public service. The Western media is keen to brand this war as an ethnic war between Sinhalese and Tamils. Sinhalese people were not the only ones killed in the terrorist bombings. The terrorists also killed Tamil political leaders. In addition, it is no secret that the LTTE terrorist group used Tamil civilians as a shield during the war. Clearly, this is not a Sinhala-Tamil conflict; it is simply an attempt to suppress a selfish terrorist group that has risen up against the Sri Lankan government.

MEDIA: THE TROJAN HORSE

In both cases, the western media seems to have acted like a Trojan horse. A trojan horse is someone or something intended to defeat or subvert from within usually by deceptive means (Anon., 2021). The western media establishment are the most powerful in creating narratives. These media establishments have good reasons to work against states that are not inclining to their interest. In such circumstances the Western media in a robust campaign of creating pessimistic narratives against independent states. Since China is a communist country with a dictatorship, the democratic West is often resentful of China. Also, Sri Lanka is a country with a special location in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, many powerful western countries are turning their eyes to Sri Lanka. However, Sri Lanka is more diplomatically annexed by China than the West. Due to the displeasure of the west on all these matters they are utilizing soft power against China and Sri

Lanka. It is perhaps somewhat surprising whether the West still lives in the Cold War mentality. Western media was in a rush to present articles citing research done by anti-Chinese. They spread narrative without any reality checks. But western media stay silent and turned a blind eye when China published documentaries on the struggle against terrorism in Xinjiang. Let's dive deeper into how the role of the Western media has indirectly affected the national outlook of Sri Lanka and China?

Sri Lanka is one of the fascinator's destinations in the map of the tourist of the world. In the aftermath of terrorist war, Sri Lanka became concerned about certain atrocities in the tourism industry. The Western media has accused the Sri Lankan armed forces of violating human rights, judicial and external killings, torture, sexual harassment, abductions, and arbitrary detention. However, later western media concerned that Sri Lankan armed forces are deeply embedded in the tourism industry, and they intimidate potential tourists to refrain from traveling in Sri Lanka (Anon., 2018).

Sri Lankan tourism has received international recognition as a premier tourist destination though the western media has been accusing that Sri Lankan tourism itself appears to have been a major component of the government's attempt to white-wash the past and to project an image of itself as an island 'at peace' following a triumphal victory over terrorism. They have compiled a list of tourism ventures that tourists should consider avoiding (Anon., 2018). Including ventures that are owned by, or have financial links to, the Sri Lankan military or other individuals believed to be complicit in grave human rights violations. Further they highlight that, Sri Lankan tourism risks the money spending in travelling the country and that money helps the lines of the pockets of war criminals and human right abusers. They have encouraged ethical travellers to ensure they are not supported, and to deny the military the financial resources with which they have been able to maintain a tight grip over civilian life, particularly in the war-affected side of the country. They delineate that Tourism in Sri Lanka has been vastly developed since the end of the armed conflict with the ulterior motive of refrain from the war crime oppositions and tourism has frequently been used by the government as part of its strategy to distort the past and to deflect attention from ongoing human rights violations (Anon., 2018).

Although these articles may seem like a tourist guide on the outside, in depth they contain lot of facts against Sri Lanka.

The influence of the Western media narratives on China is enormous. The city Xinjiang is home to natural resources. It has the boasts of the highest concentration of natural gas, oil reserves, coal, minerals and water resources. Energy and allied industries such as petroleum extraction and petroleum are industries in Xinjiang (Qian & Zhou, 2021). The renewable energy (hydropower, wind, solar) industries are also showing good growth in Xinjiang. According to estimates, Xinjiang produces more than 80 percent of China's cotton (Lehr and Bekrakis, 2019). The province is also a major sheep breeding area in China and is home to a fine wool production base. Textile products and shoes based on these industries are the most sought-after export items. There are other well-known factories that make textiles using cotton imported from Xinjiang. In addition, Xinjiang's fruits have a special demand in the export industry as well. Mainly apples, coriander pears, seedless white grapes and green melons (Qian & Zhou, 2021).

Beyond that, Xinjiang has become a hub for trade between Europe and Central Asian countries and China via the China-Europe China Rail Express freight train. This allows goods from different parts of China to gather in Urumqi and leave China by train through the ports of Xinjiang. The process covers 23 Asian and European countries and regions (Qian & Zhou, 2021). Also, Xinjiang most often attract foreign investment by utilizing its resources and geographical advantages. Furthermore, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is lining through Kashgar, a main city in Xinjiang. Kashgar connects China and Central Asia and is a major trade and supply bridge (Anon., 2017).

Considering all of the above, it can be understood that Xinjiang province is of great economic importance to China. China is one of the most economically powerful country in the world and poses a serious challenge to the West. International opposition to the abuse in the Xinjiang region is mounting due to allegations leveled through the Western media. Many major brands have expressed concern over allegations that Muslim Uyghur minority groups are being used as forced labor in cotton industry (BBC, 2021). Meanwhile, some companies' online stores have been blocked and some digital maps have made

Chinese stores disappear (BBC, 2021). Also, Several Western countries have imposed sanctions on China. Better Cotton Initiative (BCI), a cotton standardization body, has suspended the issuance of cotton licenses in the Xinjiang region due to pressure from anti-Chinese parties in the West (BBC, 2021). All of these circumstances will adversely affect China's economic development and stability. The West, reluctant to look at China's emerging economy, is hoping for an advantage here.

COLLECTIVE PAIN AS A TRUMP CARD

Collective pain is primarily about causing collective grief and collective trauma (Lee, 2020). Watching the devastation narrated by Western Media of the final months many Tamils, particularly the younger generation born in the West, grew deeply disillusioned. The same happens due to the way the western media reports Uighurs conflict in China. The Western media narratives against China and Sri Lanka propagate Collective pain in the minds of minorities. Collective pain arises in various ways: Concerns about the loss of a large number of community members, the feeling of hearing or seeing group mourning expressions (waking, walking, virtual acts of cooperation, etc.), the feeling that the opposing parties do not have a sense of community, the loss of community prosperity Anger, etc. (Lee, 2020). The Western journalist has successfully used his words and voice to evoke the sense of collective pain. The terrorist groups are using it as a trump card.

The LTTE created a dedicated organization to capture the imagination of youth. While in Sri Lanka and in India, it created the Student Organization of Liberation Tigers (SOLT), overseas it created the Tamil Youth Organization (TYO) (Nathaniel, 2014). Although the Indian youth involved have never been to Sri Lanka, Compassion and justice for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka have been instilled in their hearts. In this way, LTTE affiliates are having benefits, exacerbating the collective pain generated by Western media hype.

In the case of China, it has managed to draw the attention of Muslims in other countries to the issue of Uyghurs and they have begun to support and finance uprisings against the Chinese government. Also, terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda are advocating for the Muslim minority in Xinjiang and by taking

responsibility for some of the atrocities Uighurs have committed (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2019), they try to lure more Uyghurs to their extremist cause.

USA WAR ON TERROR

It was the United States that first began to take major measures through government to counter terrorism. Almost all former US presidents, including President George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Trump, have fought terrorism under the “war on terror” (Harris, 2020). Therefore, it seems that China and Sri Lanka are not the only countries fought against terrorists. As Human Rights Watch accused, during the War on Terror campaign hundreds of Iraqis who were detained have described abuse at the hands of UK forces. Their testimonies show a pattern of violent beatings, deprivation of food and water, religious humiliation, and sexual abuse (ECCHR, 2020). Nonetheless, the United Kingdom has failed to address the issue of Iraqi prisoners of war being abused by its troops in Iraq. And the government has not been able to find or prosecute those responsible for these crimes. Now UK has introduced a new law called The Overseas Operations Bill, which would increase the power of the attorney general, to protect soldiers from prosecution for crimes committed abroad (Natt, 2020). It puts members of the armed forces above ordinary criminal law in a way that never happened. It was an attempt to put the military above the law. The bill serves as an effective restriction on bringing in a ‘triple lock’ of measures, including war crimes, torture or other dangerous abuses (Natt, 2020).

US led Afghanistan war on terror campaign currently tops the list of the world’s deadliest conflicts. But Terrorists have been least killed and most civilians have been killed in the Iranian war. The table below illustrates it furthermore. Wars are inherently violent, and deaths occur on both sides in a war. Since the United Nations began systematically documenting the impact of the war on civilian terrorist activities in 2009, more than 100,000 civilians have been reported killed and more than 35,000 injured (Smith & Williams, 2020). There have also been allegations of alleged murder, imprisonment and deliberate targeting of civilians by the Afghan government, the Taliban and US forces. Obama, however, vehemently denied the allegations against the United States for non-compliance with torture policies. With the November 2019 decision to pardon two U.S.

soldiers convicted of war crimes in Afghanistan, President Trump also seems to have ignored the allegations.

Breakdown of Overall Deaths in the Conflict			
Category of those Killed	Sri Lanka War (1983-2009)	Iraq War (2004-09)	Afghanistan War (2001-14)
Friendly Force Personnel	29%	17%	29%
Enemy Force Personnel	37%	22%	46%
Civilians	34%	61%	25%

Table: 1 (Lyton, 2015)

THE WAY FORWARD

Sri Lanka and China Should tell their version of the story to the world. Sometimes, hard power alone can't solve problems. Therefore, China and Sri Lanka should use both the hard and soft power in fight against terrorism. It means they have to concentrate more on smart power strategies. China seems capable in countering those narratives but shown a lethargic attitude in countering them. Sri Lanka wants to act against such negative media propaganda but still have not initiated her strategic communication mechanism.

During the global war on terror, the United States frequently explained to other Muslim countries that not to consider it as an attack on Muslim countries by aggressive Christian states and that Al Qaeda terrorists had become a threat to other fellow Muslims as well. Because they were killing Muslims, who did not belong to their sect.

In answering allegations made by other media, it is important to present the truth of the inside to the world clearly. Strategic communication is part of soft power. It can be used to reduce the stiffness of hard power. Also, it helps to create attractive image of the country. It is important for the media to inform the public about the happenings in the country, the course of action to be taken and future plans. This makes it difficult for other opposition parties to reach out narratives.

CONCLUSION

Sri Lanka and China should restore a balance between the constitutionally binding obligations of international cooperation and accountability. Because another factor behind these problems is that the West views Sri Lanka as a pro-Chinese country and China as an emerging government that threatens the West. Moreover, as a non-aligned country, Sri Lanka must maintain a balanced relationship between China and the West. Also, it is a challenge for China to show other countries that China is not a threat but an opportunity for them.

The loss of life, property and genocide perpetrated by terrorists is immense. Governments prevent such crimes because national security is the responsibility of the state. It is not appropriate to describe the war in Sri Lanka as a civil war. Because it is not a Sinhala-Tamil war, it is simply an action taken by the Sri Lankan government against brutal terrorism. At the same time the actions of the Chinese government could also be act against terrorism. However, there is no way that the world can listen to the Chinese version of the story because the western media dominates the issue. This gap creates an opportunity for the popular media to 'sell well' their Channels. This type of media behaviour is an obstacle to maintain unity and peruse reconciliation between the conflicting parties. The Sri Lankan and Chinese governments should be given more opportunity to comment on the allegations and to initiate a communication strategy to solve this. Instead, western media should refrain from using those accusations for their own purposes. Ultimately, both governments should work to clear their tarnished image of the country.

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About the authors



Pahani Attanyake is an undergraduate day-scholar who studies Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She is interested in Modern world issues. This is her first research and she wants to understand and explore the causes and effects of current and future human interactions.



Dismini Premachandra is an undergraduate-day scholar who studies Strategic Studies and International Relations at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. She has a very keen interest in public affairs and issues in the contemporary world. This is her first research, and she hopes to consider the world issues in different perceptions and provide better solutions for them in the future.

Photo Gallery



Officer Cadet Thinupa Wijesekara compeering the event



Conference Chair, Dilshani Wijekoon lighting the traditional oil lamp to commence the conference



Vice-chancellor Maj. General Milinda Peiris addressing the gathering as the
Chief Guest



The Key-note Speaker Mr. Dileep Mudandanya receiving a token of appreciation from
Brigadier Upali Rajaapaksa, Dean Faculty of Graduate Studies



Maj. General Swarna Bothota, the guest of honour of the session on Resilience presenting a token of appreciation to Ms. Anuradha Herath, the guest of honour of the session on Serendipity.



An author presenting her paper to the audience



Presenting the Abstract book to the Vice-chancellor by the Editor In Chief, Sayumi Jayawardene



Arthana U Maddawatte Receiving the award for the Best Paper from Brigadier Vipula Chandrasiri Deputy Vice-chancellor Defence and Administration



The paper Presenters and the organising Committee with Col, Enoj Herath, Dean FDSS, Lt. Col. WAWT Sujith, Research Coordinator, Maj RMEK Ratnayake, Research Officer and Dr. Sanath de Silva, Senior Lecturer DSS.