

**SMALL STATES IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS:  
A CASE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY OF SRI LANKA (1948-1988)**

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA  
FOR THE PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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**MARCH 2014**

## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, “Small States in International Politics : A Case Study of Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka (1948-1988),” submitted by Sivananda Patnaik is for the *Degree of Philosophy in Political Science*, incorporates the result of independent investigation carried out by the candidate himself. This thesis has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of any degree or diploma within India or abroad.

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

In completing this work I am indebted to many. My supervisor Professor Anand P. Mavalankar went through my drafts with great patience and critical acumen and constantly provoked me to present my ideas clearly and cogently. I am particularly thankful to him for his abiding personal concern and care for me. I am deeply beholden to my mentors, Professor A. P. Rana, Professor S. D. Muni, Professor K. J. Holsti, Professor A. H. Somjee and late Professor Urmila Phadnis who exposed me to the fields of International Relations and Comparative Politics and inspired me to take-up a career in teaching. My colleagues Professor P. M. Patel, Professor Amit Dholakia, Professor Lajwanti Chatani, Dr. Thomas George, Ms. Deepti Acharya and Ms. Palak Vyas generously provided encouragement and timely cooperation during the course of this work. Ms. Nidhi Shendurnikar Tere extended to me much needed bibliographic assistance. My friend Dr. Iftikhar Ahmed Khan put in his valuable time to discuss ideas as they formed in my mind and incited me to give them concrete shape. I especially thank him for his editorial assistance. Dr. Ashok Rajshirke and Dr. William Nunes went through the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions to improve its quality. Professors H.C. Shukul, S. Hasan Mahamud, and Kanti Bajpai were sources of constant encouragement and support. My friends Raisinh Dahima, Hitesh Chokshi and Mahendra Kumar Samal were at my beck and call tackling the nitty gritty of writing a thesis. Mr. P.R. Chalke has patiently and carefully converted my illegible handwriting into print. My thanks to all of them and to the staff of the Smt. Hansa Mehta Library (the Central Library of the M.S. University) and Jawaharlal Nehru Library for efficiently giving me access to their invaluable resources.

I am at loss for words to express my gratitude to my wife Dr. Vineetha Menon and my son Vivekanand for their unfailing encouragement and inspiration to complete this work. They patiently bore my absence without grudge. My brother Krishnanand and sister Sabitri provided me much needed emotional support.

Finally, a word of profound gratitude to my spiritual preceptors Saibaba, Datarbaba and Khwaja Sahib.

March 20, 2014

Sivananda Patnaik

## **PREFACE**

Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis has come of age. It is now a major subdiscipline of International Studies. There exists a sizeable corpus of theoretical literature. However, this literature relates to the foreign policies of dominant states – super, major and regional powers. The subfield is conspicuous by the marked absence of theoretical literature on the foreign policy of small states which comprise the vast majority of state actors in the international system.

But the sheer preponderance of small states elicited the attention of a group of scholars, notable among them being Barston, Fox, Rothstein, Singer and Vital. However, their work did not generate adequate scholarly response. In addition to the dominance of the realist perspective and the Cold War, the problem of defining the concept of small state came in the way of its acceptance as an area of research in its own right. Notwithstanding this, the existence of small states and their international roles and behaviour merit distinct attention, without this the subdiscipline of Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis will remain lopsided.

The present study is an effort to overcome this lacunae by undertaking a systematic inquiry into the foreign policy of Sri Lanka (1948-1988) as a case study of a small state in international politics. It incorporates materials and findings from my M.Phil. dissertation and builds upon it by extending both the chronological and theoretical frame of reference of the initial study. However, the present study does not aim at providing a chronological narrative of Sri Lanka's foreign relations. Instead its focus is on delineating the dominant patterns in the external interactions of Sri Lanka and the domestic, regional and international contexts in its making.

The study comprises of seven chapters:

*Chapter One* is mainly concerned with critical examination of existing literature on the small states as well as on foreign policy analysis. The idea is to formulate a workable definition of small states along with a framework that is conducive to promoting comparative analysis of their foreign policies.

*Chapter Two* deals with motivation, determinants, objectives and strategy of the foreign policy of Sri Lanka. The domestic, regional and international factors and forces shaping Sri Lanka's foreign policy have been elucidated within an integrated framework. Various determinants like geopolitical, political, economic, cultural and international setting have been identified and their impact on foreign policy objectives and strategy has been discussed.

*Chapter Three* examines the structure and processes of foreign policy making in Sri Lanka. It analyzes the roles various institutions and organizations play therein from time to time.

*Chapters Four and Five* concentrate on Sri Lanka's behavioural patterns and trends in the international system during the governments of the UNP and the SLFP, respectively. The two chapters analyze Sri Lanka's attitudes and responses to issues and events of significance. Further, Sri Lanka's relationship with major powers has also been discussed.

*Chapter Six* discusses Sri Lanka's interactions in the South Asian sub-system during the governments of the two major political parties of the island, the UNP and the SLFP. Sri Lanka's relations with India and extra-regional actors have been examined.

The last chapter, summarizes the discussion and analysis of the preceding chapters and attempts to validate or modify the propositions put forward in the first chapter.

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