CHAPTER I

SMALL STATES IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS : A REFLECTION ON CONCEPTUAL AND CONTEXTUAL DIMENSIONS

The Anglo-American tradition which has dominated the discipline of International Relations Studies until recently had an explicit discriminatory bias in favour of the analysis of the foreign policies of powerful and dominant states of the international system. This scholarly orientation has resulted in an impressive corpus of theoretical knowledge on various aspects of the foreign policies of dominant states. However, in the case of small states, such orientation has been considerably weak or inadequate. With the dominant tradition having consciously neglected the study of the foreign policies of small and weak states, there is comparable dearth of theoretical literature on the foreign policies of these states. It can hardly be overemphasized that the absence of a scholarly perspective on the foreign policies of small states in the discipline has led to an inadequate and distorted understanding of international politics in general.

There appears to be four main reasons for this peculiar situation in the discipline. The first reason is that the scholarly rendering of the realist perspective, which has exercised near hegemony over the discipline, is that the course of international politics is determined by those states which possess superior military and economic capability. It virtually undermines, the effectiveness of other instruments in the conduct of external state-craft. As a consequence, studies of international politics dominated by the realist paradigm treat small states as inconsequential actors in the realm of international relations.[1] The second reason, closely related to the first, is that the research institutes and universities on international relations have been located in the major powers. Scholars attached to these institutions are much more concerned about, and sensitive to the perceptions and problems of their own countries. They theorise keeping in view the

national interests of their countries. To a considerable extent the underpinnings of this were supplied by the Cold war. The Cold war ideology reinforced the proclivities of scholars in favour of theorizing and interpreting the behaviour of major powers.[2] Thirdly, the neglect of research on the external behavior of small states has been an outcome of the rise and wide-spread hold of behaviouralism on the discipline especially from the mid-fifties to the early seventies. Behaviouralism's emphasis on exactness of definitions, which can also be easily translatable into empirical terms, placed severe constraints on studies of small states because the latter by their very nature are too varied and diverse and hence, are not amenable to precise specifications of their patterns of actions. Since it was not possible to formulate clearcut definitions of small states capable of being empirically operational, scholars of behavioural persuasion decried the use of small states as an analytic category in the discipline.[3] Finally, even within the small states there is lack of conceptual treatment of their respective foreign policies. Scholars in the small states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have mainly attempted to examine prevalent foreign policies of their countries chronologically. These studies have been highly descriptive and made little effort to conceptually interpret the foreign policies of their countries. The reason for this state of affairs is that there is no serious study of international relations in these countries. Scholars of these countries were engaged in the study of political development of their countries as there was adequate funds available particularly from the US for obvious reasons. The US was interested in promoting governments which suited its interests in these countries and allocated funds toward understanding the political processes of these countries so as to influence their policies to its own advantage. As a result there were not only a host of American scholars specializing in the politics of third world countries but also, ironically, a number of indigenous scholars studying the politics of their countries who were mainly trained in the US.

Since the late fifties, however, some scholars have begun to theorise the external behaviour of small states, though the bulk of these studies tend to be what might well be characterized as survival oriented, that is, they examine how small states resist the strong pressure of major powers during international crises.[4] Although, the focus of these studies is thus very narrow, they do sensitize us to the fact that small states are not as helpless as they are made out to be in the dominant realist perspective; and, also, that the international

political system does contain the possibility of generating instruments or resources other than economic and military strength for protecting the interests of the states.

Some scholars have equated the concept of 'small states' with the concept of 'weak state.' Although most small states in the contemporary international system are also weak states (as compared to major powers), it would be incorrect to equate the two concepts. The term 'small state' denotes smallness in the capabilities of state, while weak states relate to limitations in the institutional capacities of statehood; the limitations in the capabilities of states structure to achieve the kinds of changes in society that their leaders have sought through state planning, policies and actions. These capabilities include the capacities to penetrate society, regulate social relations, extract resources, and appropriate or use resources in desired ways. Strong states by contrast are characterized by capabilities that enable them to complete these tasks effectively. Weak states are thus at the lower end of a spectrum of capabilities.[5] To give an example India which is not a small state could be taken for a weak state as its institutional structures often floundered in penetrating, and regulating its socio-economic and political processes in the direction desired by its ruling elites. On the other hand, not all small states are weak states. Israel, Cuba, North Korea and South Korea which are all small states have a strong state structure, and cannot be categorized as weak states.

Some scholars became interested in the foreign policies of small states because of the increase in their number in the international system following the process of decolonization and, also the significant roles played by several of them in international politics after the Second World War. Contrary to the dominant realist paradigm's projection of these states as inconsequential, some of them have actively exploited competition in the international power structure to further their interests and ensured their national security and autonomy. With the two super powers trying to secure their allegiance, these states have exploited the cold war competition to further their own interests. They have also made attempts to exploit the liberal democratic values, principles, and institutions governing the international system to create for themselves a more conducive international environment. Not surprisingly, therefore, in the post-World

War II - decolonized era, several small states have pursued active and constructive foreign policies, instead of being mere objects of the foreign policies of dominant states.

The relatively active and constructive foreign policies of small states have baffled many theorists who, governed as they were by the conventional perspective of power politics, doubted their survival in the competitive and anarchic international system. These theorists had suggested the creation of confederations of various small states to ensure their viability and security.[6] But even without significant changes in the distribution of economic and military capabilities in the international system, the post World War II period has witnessed the proliferation of small states and their significance in international politics. Presently, more than half of the states in the contemporary international system are small by any yardstick and the understanding of their foreign policy concerns and interactions is imperative for any theorization in the field of international relations. Without this intellectual effort, our knowledge of international politics will remain incomplete and distorted.

Likewise, the sub-discipline of comparative foreign policy analysis will have a major gap if theorising is not attempted on the foreign policies of small states. The field of comparative foreign policy analysis, then, will largely be confined to the study of the foreign policies of dominant states. The field cannot have this bias as it aspires to build theories of all categories of states in international politics. If so, how can the serious study of the foreign policies of small states which constitute an overwhelming majority of the international system go unattended?[7]

SMALL STATES, THE PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION : A CRITICAL SURVEY

Given the salience of 'small states' for a holistic and integrative viewpoint on international relations and the peculiar gaps in the existing literature on the subject, we need to, in the very first instance, come to terms with the notion of 'smallness', that is seen to be the constitutive feature of such states. What then are the characteristics of a 'small

state'? While small state studies may not have gained wide popularity among scholars of international relations, there still exists an appreciable body of literature on the subject. Mostly these studies belong to the aforementioned 'survival tradition' relating to the recourse taken by small states to survive against the pressures of dominant states. In these studies small states and small powers are used synonymously. A perusal of the literature underlines the difficulties in identifying the criteria for 'smallness.'[8] While some scholars have attempted to define small state as a separate analytic category, others have sought to locate it within typologies of states in the international system.

Small State in the State Typologies

In the typologies of states, scholars have ranked states in terms of their differing capabilities or patterns of interaction. In this hierarchy of states, small states have been placed in the lowest category. The typologies do not highlight the strategic environment of small states and place them permanently in the lowest category. Thus these types of definitions of small states are quite static.

Keohane assigns the lowest place to the small states in his four-fold classificatory framework based upon state-capability. At the apex are the 'system determining states' (super powers) who through their foreign policies play critical roles in shaping the nature of the international system. The second category consists of the 'system influencing states' (great powers and regional powers) which significantly influence interactions within the international system through their unilateral as well as multilateral actions. But they cannot, individually, or collectively, alter the basic structure of the system. In the third category are the 'system affecting states' (middle powers) which acting alone cannot affect the system but can exert significant pressures on the system through their collective behavior in international and regional organizations. The last category consists of the 'system ineffectual states' (small states/powers) which neither individually, nor collectively, can influence the international system or inter-state behavior therein.[9]

As far as identification is concerned, in the first category states such as the United States, the erstwhile Soviet Union and possibly China during Mao would figure. The second category would include states like Japan, Germany, France, the UK and India, while the third category would comprise states like Canada, Sweden, Australia and Pakistan. The last, residual, category consists of that large body of states who perforce adjust their foreign policies to the external environment with little or no hope of altering or controlling it.

The problem with Keohane's classification is that it is based on the traditional perspective of the power appeal and, also, eschews assigning any precise meanings to terms like 'critical' roles and 'significant' influence. This makes a theoretical or empirical evaluation of the scheme difficult. Furthermore, it is not easy to agree with Keohane on the perennial 'ineffectiveness' and 'vulnerability' of the small states especially when the international system is characterized by interpolation of varied interests or to borrow another of Keohane's concept, 'complex interdependence.' Empirically, for instance, the cartelization of petroleum products by Arab countries in 1974 undermines his contention that small states are ineffective. The action of the Arab states and the subsequent hikes in the price of petroleum has had a major impact on the international system. Likewise, the sustained struggle by North Vietnam to free South Vietnam from the presence of the United States eventually forcing the latter to withdraw equally disproves Keohane's position that small states merely adjust to their environment. By common reckoning, both the Arab oil-producing states and North Vietnam are small states. Taking the argument further, it can also be suggested that some of the 'system ineffectual' states, especially those located in the competitive sphere of influence of the dominant states, can create international instability, thereby inviting interference or intervention from the competing powers resulting in mutual adjustments or confrontations with global implications, as was evident in the case of both Indo-China and Lebanon. Such a situation is not merely hypothetical. Political instability in these countries has entailed external interference which has shaped the pattern of external politics in these regions. For these reasons it is difficult to accept the definition of small state put forward by Keohane which is rooted in stasis.

While Keohane has used the conventional perspective on capability to categorise states into four groups, Galtung emphasizes mainly the nature of interactions to rank them. Describing the international system as 'consisting of states ranked according to a number of dimensions such as size, wealth, military power, degree of development, etc.,' he maintains that such ranking has a tendency to be 'concordant.' Thus, in a world divided into 'top dogs,' 'middle level dogs' and 'under dogs' in descending order of capability, Galtung builds his scheme of international stratification which is pinned at the top and prized at the bottom and wherein the interaction pattern is that the 'under dogs' depend on the 'top dogs' but the 'top dogs' inter-depend on each other.[10]

In a subsequent article, Galtung equates 'top dogs' and 'under dogs' with the powerful and the small states, respectively. He remarks that 'international politics… is big power politics and that initiative is concentrated on the big and taken away from the small' because 'if you think it over it is only the USA and the USSR that really count, the other countries are of little or no consequence.[11]

Although the observations of Galtung provide valuable insights into the structure of the state system, his propositions need more elaboration and also modifications, particularly in relation to the inconsequential and pessimistic roles ascribed to small states. The leaders of small states being well aware of the structural differences that exist between small states and big powers, they tend to minimise the restrictions upon their autonomy and maximise the benefits they may derive from the international system through shrewd foreign policy manoeuvres. Moreover, the interaction patterns in the contemporary international system are intensely complex. No small state is exclusively dependent on a single great power, whereby inviting unnecessary constraints on its foreign policy autonomy. A small state may depend upon one great power for its security but it diversifies its economic dependence. Finally, Galtung envisaged a static position for small states, that is, once a state is small, it is small for all time to come. An undue emphasis on the size factor is what is behind this view. In this context, Singer's remarks is apt: "Galtung's model sees the power system as essentially static – that is, he assumes implicitly that 'under dogs' in a particular subsystem will remain in that subsystem – (whereas) I see the relationships are constantly changing."[12] His criticism of Galtung's

typology makes clear sense. Small states are not permanently dependent on a particular dominant power. Their dependence changes in accordance with changes in their domestic politics as also changes in the existing external environment. With assertive ruling elites most small states attempt to diversify their external dependence. Hence, the multidimensional behavior of states cannot be properly explained by such a scheme and the problem of identifying a small state and hypothesizing on its international behavior still remains an open question.

Small State as an Analytic Category

Developing an independent analytics of small states seems to be a cogent way out of frameworks rooted in assumptions of hierarchy of states. Hence, unlike Keohane and Galtung, some scholars have attempted to define a small state on the basis of quantitative and qualitative variables. Going by the notion of key variables, the analytics of small states can be divided into four groups. However, there is obvious overlapping among definitions, and hence grouping involved in such definitions are not entirely free of subjective elements.

The first group of scholars adopt a highly negative attitude towards formal definition of the concept of small state. The category, in their opinion, defies definition in formal terms. Moreover, they argue that a formal definition is not an essential prerequisite for undertaking research on the external behavior of small states, and that an instinctive or common sense categorization would suffice the purpose.

The proceedings of the seminar on small territories organized under the auspices of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in 1962-64, edited by Burton Benedict, concluded on the following note: “it proved impossible for the seminar to decide what smallness means with any precision, it is a comparative and not an absolute idea. Whatever scales of magnitude are employed seemed arbitrary and it is difficult to pick out on them where smallness begins and ends.”[13] Similarly, Annette Baker Fox, the pioneer of contemporary

small states' studies, has 'viewed small state as a relational concept.[14] In her study she has avoided defining the concept and allowed herself to be guided by the common sense and conventional usage in the selection of the empirical cases.

Although David Vital adheres to some extent to the Benedict-Fox school, he has nonetheless attempted what may be called a indentificatory definition of small state on the basis of two major variables: population and level of economic development. In this scheme, states with developed economies and a population not exceeding 15 million, and states having underdeveloped economies with a population of 20 million can be considered as small states.[15]

In his subsequent work, Vital has found the above criteria inadequate, and has underlined the fact that the small state is one 'which in long term, in itself and as a satellite or client or close ally i.e. as a non-autonomous participant in international politics – can constitute no more than a dispensable and non-decisive increment to primary state's total array of political and military resources, regardless of whatever short-term, contingent weight as an auxiliary (or obstacle) to the primary power it may have in certain circumstances.'[16]

Vital is not clear on the differentiation of middle powers from small states. There are several middle powers who as allies of the super powers would not significantly contribute to their capability in the long-run. Pakistan, Indonesia, and Egypt could be readily cited as examples here. Should these countries then be treated as small states? It would be quite absurd to consider either of these three countries as a small state. Further, Vital indirectly subscribes to the view that small states are ineffective in international politics, though in the empirical part of his work he has disputed this idea.

Unlike the modified definition of Vital where the attempt is to define small states in terms of relative capability, a second group of scholars represented by Reid, Barston, Azar and Rapaport attempt to define small states in objective terms. For Reid, the major

determinant of small state is size;[17] for Azar it is GNP,[18] and a combination of both the factors forms the core of the definition provided by Barston, according to whom, small states should have a population ranging between 10-15 million and GNP equivalent to one billion US dollars.[19] To GNP and population Rapaport adds a third variable, the size of the state, to define smallness.[20]

The highly mechanistic basis of such quantitative definitions prevent them from serving the purpose of explicating the external behavior of small states. As an illustration of the mechanistic quality of these definitions, we may think of Norway whose population of close to 5 million qualifies it for small state status, but its GNP does not. Likewise Sweden with a population of 9 million, and Kuwait with populations of less than a 2.5 million, but with a GNP of US $ 275 billion and close to US $ 60 billion, respectively, fall out of the definitional frame of small state. Similarly, countries like Bangladesh and Malaysia do not qualify for small state status because of their huge populations. Yet these two states are by no means middle powers. Such mechanistic definitions also ignore the economic-technological capability dimension of the state.

These lacunae have been taken note of by some of the scholars forming the third group who maintain that small state and big state differentiation cannot be explained by quantitative factors exclusively. Instead they maintain that various other parameters like international power structure, geographical location, and character of polity of a country should also be considered in deciding its place in the international stratification. Bjol suggests that the small states should be defined, firstly, through their relative disparity in capability vis-à-vis the middle and great powers and secondly, through the limited range of their national interests. He also stresses the fact that adequate importance should be given to geographical factors.[21] However, he does not attempt to elucidate the term capability nor does he specify the interests of small states and the constraints on them.

Such constraints have been taken note of by Rothstein who defines a small state as ‘one which recognises that it cannot obtain security primarily by use of its own capability, (and) must rely fundamentally on the aid of other states, institutional processes and

developments; small powers' general inability must be recognized by other states involved in the system.'[22] While Rothstein's stress on the perceptual dimension is worth appreciating, his emphasis on the dependence of small states on others as a major definitional attribute is quite antiquated because in the contemporary international system there are only a few states that can take care of their own security all alone. Rothstein, also, deserves appreciation for introducing the military capability factor into the discourse, though he has not been able to articulate it properly.

The fourth group consists of a lone scholar from Scandinavia, Raimo Vayrynen. He attempts to integrate various approaches to the definition of small state and suggests a classificatory scheme consisting of five different dimensions: (i) low rank measured either by hard data or by perceptual data; (ii) high degree of external penetration; (iii) specific types of behavior; (iv) specific interests of small states compared with other states; and (v) specific role conceptions of the decision makers of small states.[23]

Vayrynen does not find the five dimensions to be of equal importance and is inclined to regard rank and role element as the basic definitional elements and considers the interest approach very promising but to a large extent unexplored. Although Vayrynen's effort to formulate an integrative definition overcomes many of the shortcomings in the definition of small state, while in the absence of systematic data on the specific roles and interests of small states, a Vayrynenian definition cannot be formulated at the present juncture. When there is systematic and reliable information on the international roles and interests of small states then only such a definition can be attempted. What is required at the moment is systematic accumulation of data on the international roles and interests of small states. It is only then that one can attempt a Vayrynenian definition of 'small' which of course will be both identificatory and explanatory in nature.

Although the task of defining small state has proved extremely difficult at present, it should not deter scholars from researching on the foreign policies of small states. It cannot be denied that small states exist in the international system and their foreign policy

interests, behavior and roles in international relations are different from the middle and great powers. It is for this very reason that small states need to be studied, however, vague may be the conceptualization of small state as an analytic category at the present juncture.

Guided by the above reasoning, an attempt has been made here to formulate a working definition of the term small state. To begin with, it must be taken note that small state is a relational term, that is, it is small vis-à-vis the middle, great and super powers. It must also be taken note of the fact that small state cannot be meaningfully defined in quantitative terms exclusively, because of the existence of complex differences among states which are neither middle, great nor super powers. Furthermore, it must also be recognized that the structural and contextual differences among small states, that is to say some small states that are in relative terms economically and technologically more developed than other small developed and developing states. Finally, the definition must take note of the specific nature of the interests of small states in international politics and also the limitation of their economic and military capabilities. Of course, there is some problem in the generalization that small states have limited economic capability with regard to the small states of the Middle East. These states because of their possession of oil, an energy resource on which the vast majority of international state actors are dependent, have acquired some economic capability. However, at this juncture of small state studies it will be reasonable to keep such subtle dimensions out of the purview of the working definition, but without in the least suggesting that these aspects are inconsequential. They are being bypassed at this juncture of small states' studies in the hope that they will be accounted for in the future when the field gains a sound conceptual foundation.

In the light of the above reasoning the definition of small state put forth by Singer is useful. Adopting a sociological rather than political perspective on the notion of power, he defines it in terms of 'wealth' (material and human), 'organization' (formal and informal), 'status' (ascribed and acquired) and 'will' (conscious and unconscious). The small states are deficient in all these four components of power according to Singer.[24] The deficiency of the small states in the component of wealth indicates their low economic and military capability which is further corroborated by their paucity in the 'organizational'

and ‘status’ components. Moreover, limited size of the ‘organizational’ component of small states also suggests the smallness of their economy and size, without fixing any arbitrary quantitative criteria. Their lowness in the ‘will’ component reflects the limitedness of, as well as enormous limitations on, their international interests. Thus Singer presents a relatively flexible definition to identify small states and thereby overcomes the shortcomings of the rigid objective definitions based on quantitative criteria.

However, Singer does not delve into the differences between small developed states and small developing states on the one hand, and the distinction between small states and micro states on the other hand. The first problem can be resolved within the definitional scheme of Singer. Those small states which stand relatively favourably in the components of ‘wealth’ and ‘organization’ are developed, but they share with the small developing states the deficiencies in ‘status’ and ‘will’ components. Consequently while there are differences between the small developed states and small developing states in their interests, international behavioural patterns and foreign policy roles because of the differences in their levels of socio-economic and political developments, there is considerable commonality in their international behavior because of their shared smallness in the ‘status’ and ‘will’ components.

Although Singer has successfully overcome some of the problems in the definition of small state, his definition is quite unclear on the differentiation of small developing states from large developing and under-developed states. This type of shortcoming can be overcome by supplementing Singer’s definition with the perceptual attribute emphasized by Rothstein. This would provide a good working definition of small state, having identificatory as well as explanatory capabilities.

Thus, small state viewed in relational terms can be defined as one which lacks in all components of power, that is, ‘wealth,’ ‘organization,’ ‘status,’ and ‘will’ and its smallness being recognized by members of its own subsystem and that of others as well as by its own decision makers. This would be a dynamic definition. It does not place small

states permanently in the small state category. Their position would change in the hierarchy with augmentation in specific areas of their power, in turn bringing about corresponding changes in the perceptual attributes.

Many of the small states are rich in one resource or the other. But their needs for other items, particularly basic commodities, is acute. While basic needs production is below consumption level, many of them are faced with the problem of high demographic ratio. They are also faced with the problem of mobilization of human and material resources in the implementation of their state and nation building goals. Their weak organizational network further incapacitates them in achieving these goals so far as 'will' of small state is concerned, their socio-economic and ethnic cleavages pose severe challenges to their political system. Thus enormous internal and external constraints operate on the small states. Externally, they have to ensure their security and autonomy. Internally, they have to ensure stability and economic development. These constraints impel them to depend upon the international system, with the accompanying fear of their autonomy and independence being compromised. Thus these states adopt divergent foreign policy strategies to overcome their dilemma.

Choice of an Analytical Framework for the Analysis of Small States' Foreign Policies

What analytical framework, then should be adopted to study the foreign policies of small states? The answer to this question should take note of the fact that the objective of research on small states is formulation of explanatory generalizations of their foreign policies. To achieve this objective, empirical analyses of foreign policies of small states should be carried out systematically so that analyses of several small states' foreign policies will be rendered comparable. This exercise in turn will make it feasible to identify the significant determinants of, as well as the main patterns in, their foreign policy behaviour and roles. Consequently, generalized explanations can be formulated on the foreign policies of small states. Accumulation of systematic knowledge along these lines will facilitate formulation of theories on foreign policies of small states.

The analytical framework adopted for studying small states' foreign policies is required to possess adequate descriptive and explanatory capacity. There are several contending analytical frameworks in the field of comparative foreign policy analysis which claim to possess these characteristics. The existence of a plethora of analytical frameworks makes the task of choosing an appropriate framework relatively complicated in the sense that one is required to justify one's preference for a particular analytical framework, and rejection of the others. This calls for a brief critical evaluation of descriptive and explanatory capacities of the contending analytical frameworks.[25]

The Contending Framework for Foreign Policy Analysis : A Schematic Appraisal

The contending frameworks can be categorized on the basis of their principal explanatory perspective into four generic groups. This four-fold categorization obviously involves unavoidable oversimplification of the conceptual intricacies of these frameworks. The four analytical approaches are (i) idiosyncratic; (ii) governmental; (iii) societal; and (iv) systemic.

The Idiosyncratic Approach

This perspective has a vast body of literature depicting sophistication in conceptualization and rich innovation in technique for data collection and analysis which it has attained over the years. It contends that foreign policy is the product of the perceptions and responses of the leadership or foreign policy decision-makers.[26] The foreign policy decisions are based on the perceptions of the decision-makers of the international environment as well as the goals of the states. The decision-makers' perceptions are formed by their world view, ideology and personality and the like. Therefore, this perspective explains foreign policy by analyzing the mindsets of the main actors in the foreign policy making edifice.

The idiosyncratic perspective has the merit of systematically drawing attention of the students of foreign policy to the important role played by the decision-makers in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy. This has been ignored by the realist approach because of its assumptions that states in the international context are unitary rational actors. Notwithstanding this merit, the idiosyncratic perspective because of its exclusive emphasis on psychological aspects suffers from the drawback of making foreign policy appear to be an erratic and irrational activity.[27] It suggests this picture of foreign policy because it neglects the domestic, regional and international contexts, which not only shape the foreign policy agenda and options but also play down considerably on the autonomy for individual eccentricities in foreign policy making and implementations. In other words, the internal and external determinants have a major bearing on encouraging or discouraging idiosyncrasies of decision-makers in foreign policy-making and conduct. Furthermore, this perspective does not provide analytical categories and schemes for conceptualizing foreign policy strategies and foreign relations. Thus, the idiosyncratic perspective as an independent approach has very limited explanatory and descriptive capacity. It needs to be situated within the domestic and external contexts of foreign policy for providing meaningful explanations.

The Governmental Approach

This perspective has a relatively limited body of literature which is of course steadily increasing, reflecting its growing popularity among scholars. Like the idiosyncratic perspective, the governmental approach, or bureaucratic politics model as it is also referred to, is an effort to correct the shortcomings of the realist approach. It refutes the claim of realism that state is a unitary actor in the international context and also foreign policy is an act of 'rational' choice. Instead, it contends that foreign policy is a political resultant of a 'complex bargaining process' involving different government departments, military services, and subdivisions thereof.[28] The political resultant which receives the greatest consensus, and support of the main participants, becomes the foreign

policy decision. In other words, the bureaucratic politics model explains foreign policy by analyzing the foreign policy-making organizational structure and processes therein.

This perspective does not emphasize the psychological dimension of the decision-makers but stresses that they are guided by their own career and departmental interests while participating in the making of foreign policy. The decision-makers try to influence foreign policy making in such manner and direction which would maximize their own and their departments' involvement and influence. This perspective is also appreciated for its empirical relevance.

Yet it suffers from a number of shortcomings. Firstly, it ignores the influence of domestic and external sources of foreign policy. Secondly, it overemphasizes the significance of inter - and intra-bureaucratic interests and interactions, and underplays the role of the leadership. Some recent studies on the relationship between leadership and bureaucracy have shown that the ultimate say is with the former. Finally, it does not offer much help for the conceptualization of foreign policy strategies and relations.

The Societal Approach

This is a relatively recent approach though its philosophical antecedents are old. It explains foreign policy by considering the socio-economic, cultural and political structures and processes within the state. It focuses on factors such as size, location, resource endowments, culture, socio-economic structure, class and elite structures, socio-economic development, economic and military capability, political institutions and processes and the like.[29] Depending upon the ideological underpinnings of their frameworks, scholars have alternately argued that a state's foreign policy behavior is meant to strengthen and stabilize the ruling-elite or the ruling classes in addition to protecting the territorial integrity and independence of the country.

Some students of foreign policy have argued that this perspective provides better understanding of the foreign policies of third world countries than the realist approach which explains their foreign policy in terms of protection of national security only. The exponents of this perspective have argued that foreign policies of developing countries have three major objectives, namely defence of the nation's independence from a perceived threat, mobilization of external resources for its socio-economic development and achievement of domestic socio-political stability and leadership legitimacy.[30]

The societal perspective is, no doubt, an improvement on realism which neglects the domestic structure in the explanation of foreign policy. However, the societal approach suffers from the reverse shortcoming of neglecting the role of the external factors.

The Systemic Approach

This is the oldest and most enduring approach to foreign policy analysis. It has undergone several modifications and refinements over the years. Earlier it was called realism but with the inclusion of terms and categories from system theory, it is now called systemic perspective. It views foreign policy as a function of the conditions that prevail outside the country. The international system lacking a central political authority is anarchic. It is a self-help system where all states have to protect their security and independence from encroachment by other actors. In addition to building military capability, states resort to foreign policy to mitigate the perceived threats and expand the sphere of their independence. For this purpose, states adopt various foreign policy strategies such as alignment, non-alignment, neutralism or isolationism, which guide their external interactions. The foreign policy strategy and ensuing interactions are mainly shaped by the distribution of power in the international system, or what is referred to as the international system structure.[31]

There is no denying the fact that external power realities in the anarchic international system are important determinants of foreign policy. However, explaining

foreign policy exclusively in terms of international power structure would be myopic. More specifically, the systemic perspective is wanting in two respects. Firstly, it excludes international institutions, laws, and normative processes such as ideological and political movements. Secondly, it underplays the domestic sources of foreign policy. These omissions have severely limited the explanatory capacity of the systemic perspective including being responsible for its inability to provide explanation of the assertive foreign policies of small and weak states.

This brief review of the contending approaches clearly indicates that none of the approaches can provide comprehensive explanation of foreign policy, and also there is the need to integrate them for acquiring adequate and holistic explanation.

Towards an Integrative Framework

Some scholars recognizing the partial explanatory character of these approaches have attempted to formulate overarching frameworks which integrate the insights of the various perspectives discussed earlier. While it cannot be denied that there are differences between these overarching frameworks it can also be easily recognized that there are not many substantial conceptual differences between them, at least in their general construction.[32] Based upon the realist assumption that international system is anarchic and states are the principal actors in international relations, these frameworks divide foreign policy activity into five inter-related analytical categories: (i) motivations; (ii) determinants; (iii) strategy and objectives; (iv) decision-making structure; and (v) foreign policy behavior constituting of interactions and roles. This five-fold categorization is self-explanatory, requiring no detailed clarification.

It will suffice to briefly state the denotation and connotation of these terms. Motivation describes the desires of states in the international system. These desires are shaped by the international system structure, the capability of the states, and their history, traditions and ideology. Determinants indicate the factors and forces both internal and

external, which shape foreign policy. Foreign policy objectives refer to the specific goals which a state pursues in the international system, and the term 'strategy' means the line of action or the general orientation a state adopts to actualize its foreign policy goals. Thus foreign policy strategy shapes the external behaviours, and roles of states. Both objectives and strategy are shaped by the interactions between the motivation which are relatively abstract and the determinants which are substantial factors and forces.

Foreign policy decision-making structure includes the formal organization for foreign policy making and implementation as well as the processes that go within it, including influences from outside which have bearing on the processes. It includes interactions between the leadership and official as well as non-official foreign policy elites. The foreign policy motivations and determinants are mediated by the decision-making system to formulate the foreign policy objectives and strategy. Likewise, it translate the interactions between foreign policy objectives and strategy and the changing internal and international settings into specific foreign policy actions and roles. Although the structure of the decision-making system and processes therein significantly shape the nature of the mediation of the decision-making system between foreign policy motivations and determinants as well as strategy and the changing domestic and international environment, its mediatory role is considerably constrained by the strategy once it has been clearly spelt out.

In the background of the conceptual and analytical appraisals of the category of small state, and approaches to foreign policy study, an analysis of Sri Lanka's foreign policy between 1948-88 will be attempted within the confines of the integrated analytical framework. The reasons for adopting this time-frame are two fold. At the domestic level, it limits the study to the end of J.R. Jayewardene's Presidency and at the international level it limits the study to the pre-globalization era. After 1989, the international system marked a drastic change signaled by the breakdown of the Soviet Union culminating in a paradigm shift in international politics with global consequences. The proposed study will not account for the post 1988 period as it will make the research project unwieldy both in its focus and its scope pertaining to the range of significant issues involved. Indisputably, Sri Lanka is a small state. It is small in both material and human aspects of 'wealth.' It has a

low G.N.P. and is predominantly a dependent plantation economy, specialized in the export of tea, rubber and coconut. Sri Lanka has limited military capability in comparison to the military might of India, which is its immediate neighbour.

Organizationally, Sri Lanka has a democratic polity with a plural party system. But the multi-party system is not an asset in the mobilization of human and material resources in a desired direction. Furthermore, the island has a fractured political culture in the sense it is confronted with the conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamil sub-nationalisms. While the Sinhalese endeavour to create a homogenized Sinhalese national state, the Tamils, who are next in strength to the Sinhalese, have expounds separatist aspirations. Status-wise it is a small state in its region as well as in the world. Its 'will' is limited to the protection of its territorial integrity, maintenance of stability within its polity and promotion of its independence and autonomy in the international system. It has no ambition to be recognized as a power to be reckoned with, within the regional and global contexts.

In this thesis, an analytical study of Sri Lanka's foreign policy will be made to test certain propositions which may also be of relevance to foreign policies of other small states. These propositions are as follows:

1. The smaller the state is in terms of power – wealth, organization, status and will – the greater are the constraints on its national autonomy;

2. The greater the constraints on its national autonomy, the higher may be its dependence on the external environment for support. Such dependence may circumscribe its active initiatives in international politics;

3. Generally speaking, participation of small states tends to focus at two levels – the international and the regional spheres:

   (a) At the international level, small states manifest a marked desire to refrain from actions which would necessarily antagonize the dominant powers but they are seriously concerned with international peace and social justice which they try to

achieve through multilateral actions in international institutions and organizations; and

(b) In the regional sphere, small states attempt to assert greater autonomy *vis-à-vis* the powerful regional powers through strategies which create balance of power situations; they may; (i) adopt nonaligned strategy to exploit their geopolitical, historical and economic attributes as well as the regional and global power distribution to catapult themselves to a relatively advantageous position; (ii) form regional organization or join international organization which would help them to gain confidence and at the same time act as restraint on the regionally powerful states; and (iii) become an ally of a powerful state, thereby borrowing power for themselves. These three strategies are not mutually exclusive and can operate in conjunction with each other; and

4. Dependence of small states is more acute in the economic sphere but generally there is an urge to diversify such dependence. Effectiveness of this objective depends as much upon domestic factors as international. If the state is located within the competitive zone of a number of powerful states and, or, offers better opportunities in terms of cost-benefit calculations for investments, it may have more options for such diversification.

The examination of Sri Lanka's foreign policy within the integrative framework will facilitate systematic description and analysis of the subject. It will render Sri Lanka's foreign policy comparable to the foreign policies of other small states which have been similarly processed and analyzed systematically.

The next chapter discusses Sri Lanka's foreign policy motivations, determinants, objectives and strategy.

NOTES

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3. Wilhelm Christmas Moller, "Some Thoughts on the Scientific Applicability of the Small State Concept : A Research History and a Discussion" in Otmar Holl (ed.), *Small States in Europe and Dependence,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983) pp.54-68.

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5. J.S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States : State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 4-5.

6. Karl W. Deutsch, et.al., eds., *Political Communities And North Atlantic Area : International Organization in the Light of Historical Experiences,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

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13. Burton Benedict, (ed.), *Problems of Smaller Territories,* (London: The Athlone Press, 1067), p. 29.

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15. David Vital, *The Inequality of States : A Study of Small Power in International Relations,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p.8.

16. Vital, no.1, p.9.

17. George L. Reid, *The Impact of Very Small Size on the International Behaviour of Micro States*, (London: Sage, 1974), p. 20.

18. Edward E. Azar, *Probe for Peace : Small State Hostilities,* (Minneapolis, M.N.: Burgress Publishing Company, 1973), p. 29.

19. Ronald P. Barston, (ed.), *The Other Powers : Studies in the Foreign Policies of Small States,* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1973), pp. 7-8.

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24. Singer, no.12, pp.54-63. In this book he deals with only three components, 'Wealth,' 'Organization,' and 'Will' dimensions. See his article "Foreign Policies of Small Developing Countries" in J.N. Rosanau, et.al., (eds.), *World Politics: An Introduction*, (New York: Free Press, 1976), pp.263-299.

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29. For a comprehensive survey of this literature, see Michael P. Sullivan, *International Relations : Theories and Evidence,* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976), Chapter 4, "National Attribute Theory : Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, pp.102-142.

30. See Franklin Weintein, "The Use of Policy in Indonesia : An Approach to the Analysis of the Foreign Policy of Less Developed Countries," *World Politics*, Vol. 24, no.2, 1972, pp.356-382; Baghat Korany, *Social Change, Charisma and International Behaviour*, (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1976) and also his articles such

as, "Foreign Policy Models and Their Empirical Relevance to Third World Actors : A Critique and an Alternative," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 26, no.1, 1974; and "Take Off of Third World Studies? The Case of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 35, no.3, 1983, pp.465-487. It must be mentioned that there are major differences in the conceptual frameworks and theoretical reasoning of the two analysts.

31. For a representative sample of this perspective, see, Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations : The Struggle for Power and Peace,* (New York: Knopf, 1985); Mortan A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics,* (New York: Wiley, 1964); Richard Rosecrance, *Action and Reaction in World Politics,* (Westport: C.T. Greenwood, 1977); and Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, The State and War : A Theoretical Analysis,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); and his other book, *Theory of International Politics,* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979). There are major and significant conceptual differences among these scholars but it is not possible to discuss them here.

32. For example, see, K.J. Holsti, *International Politics : A Framework for Analysis,* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988) and Dessouki and Korany, no.27.

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN POLICY OF SRI LANKA : MOTIVATIONS, DETERMINANTS, OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY

This chapter analyses the foreign policy motivations, determinants and objectives and strategy of Sri Lanka. Like an individual's social behaviour, the international behaviour of a nation state is shaped by the interaction between its motivations and the society around it. This interaction between its motivations and determinants shapes its foreign policy objectives, strategy and behaviour.[1]

Foreign Policy Motivations

Seen schematically, small states have three principal foreign policy motivations: security, stability and status.[2] Sri Lanka being a small state has these three motivations latently guiding its international interactions.

The security motivation has two dimensions: protection of territorial integrity and promotion of autonomy in decision-making. The first security dimension has military and strategic connotations. It calls for defence of the territory from internal and external threats. The second dimension requires mitigation of external pressures and influences on decision-making structure and processes.[3]

Likewise, the stability motivation has two dimensions. The first dimension is stability within the state apparatus. This requires cohesion and harmony between the

forces managing political authority. The second dimension is stability at the level of the civil society, which requires the government to prevent the growth of forces challenging the legitimacy of the state, either its territoriality or its governance, or both. This involves using foreign policy for economic development in order to prevent alienation of citizens such that they begin to question the legitimacy of the government or the state system.

Concern of status refers to promotion of the independent identity of the state in the sovereign state system. This motivation has special salience in the case of small states because they perceive considerable constraints on their independent identity and role in international politics.

Although these three motivations are found in Sri Lanka's foreign policy, they are not of equal importance at all times. One or more motivations acquire great importance or precedence at a given time. The motivation acquiring prominence depends upon the determinants of the foreign policy. When the island faces threats to its integrity or autonomy, the security motivation assumes primacy. On the other hand, when Sri Lanka faces the danger of political instability, the stability motivation figures prominently in its foreign policy.

The three motivations interact with Sri Lanka's foreign policy determinants within the contours of its decision-making system, to shape its foreign policy objectives and strategy.

Foreign Policy Determinants

The identification of the determinants of foreign policy, especially the domestic determinants is not an easy task. Foreign policy theorists have listed numerous factors which potentially have a bearing on foreign policy.[4] Should all these factors be analyzed in a systematic account of a country's foreign policy? If this task is undertaken, then the

analysis will be caught up in the examination of the determinants and will provide little scope for the analysis of foreign policy interactions. It was precisely this problem which led Frankel to observe that 'theoretically the environment of foreign policy is limitless, it embraces the whole universe.' But in the same vein, he added that in practice, 'the environment is circumscribed by the range of interests and limitations of power of every single state.'[5] Taking a clue from the reasoning of Frankel, we may say that the foreign policy environment of Sri Lanka is limited by its socio-economic capability and geopolitics. The factors which have significant bearing on the three motivations are geopolitical setting, socio-cultural milieu, political economy, nationalism, character of political regimes, and the international environment. These factors can be further categorized as those which have a permanent and stable character such as geo-political setting, socio-cultural milieu, and political economy, and those which are subject to variations and fluctuations like nationalism, political regimes and international milieu.[6]

Stable Determinants

Geo-political Setting

Sri Lanka is a pearl shaped tropical island of about 25,000 square miles and 20.2 million people, situated off the southern tip of peninsular India with no other neighbour except the little Maldives which was administered as a dependency of Sri Lanka during British colonial rule. Located some 200 miles southwest of Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, and comprising in the main of 12 coral islands with a total area of 175 square miles and a population in the vicinity of 0.4 million, Maldives offers no strategic advantage to Sri Lanka but also poses no threat to it.[7] Sri Lanka is separated from India by a narrow defile of water called the Palk Strait, which at its narrowest is no more than 22 miles wide.

The close proximity of Sri Lanka to India had provided it easy access to a diversity of socio-cultural influences from the mainland of India.[8] Most present day Sri Lankans have descended from one of the two ethno-cultural groups of India, namely the Aryans of northern India or the Dravidians of southern India. Although Sri Lanka shares cultural

features with India, the intrusion of sea separating it from the mainland has ensured that civilizations and cultures which evolved in Sri Lanka were not mere replicas of their Indian counterparts but possessed features that harboured a distinct cultural consciousness and identity enabling the island to establish its political and socio-cultural autonomy with regard to India as well as its independent identity in the international system.

India imposes severe constraints on Sri Lanka's autonomy and independence because of the wide disparity in the size and capabilities of both the countries. India has an area of 1,261,567 square miles and a population of over a billion. It is bigger than Sri Lanka 50 times in size and nearly the same in population. India has a fast developing economy with its economic capability second only to the developed industrialized countries. India is a military power to be reckoned with in the Afro-Asian region. Its military capability is overwhelming compared to the small poorly equipped defence force of Sri Lanka.[9] Thus, India is a colossus compared to small Sri Lanka, and it casts an overbearing shadow on the island, which not unnaturally, has generated fears and anxieties among the Sri Lankans.[10]

This fear is further compounded by the presence of a Tamil minority in the island who have close cultural and linguistic affinity and association with nearly 7.5 million Tamil speaking population centred in India's southern state of Tamil Nadu. This has made the Sinhalese, the dominant community in Sri Lanka to perceive themselves as a minority surrounded by a huge Tamil majority which would impair their survival as an independent autonomous community with Sri Lanka as their homeland.[11] These fears of the Sinhalese, acquired from their minority complex, have amplified in recent years with the growing sub-nationalist consciousness among Sri Lankan Tamils who want a separate state of Eelam for safe-guarding their culture, language and common interests from encroachment by the Sinhalese because of their domination of the island's political power structure. The Tamils of Tamil Nadu have been consistently supportive of the sub-nationalist aspirations of their Sri Lankan co-ethnics.[12] The Sinhalese fear of the Pan-Tamil cultural group has led them to conjure up images of the Tamil population of Tamil Nadu influencing India to invade Sri Lanka. The Tamils of Tamil Nadu have been consistently supportive of the sub-nationalist aspirations of their Sri Lankan co-ethnics. The Sinhalese fear of the Pan-Tamil

population in support of the sub-nationalist aspirations of Sri Lankan Tamils has acquired momentum in recent years.[13]

These fears have found sustenance in the invasions of the island by South Indian Tamil kings in the hoary as well as in the not-so-distant-past. During the 10th and 12th centuries, Sri Lanka had on several occasions been incorporated within the imperial orders of South Indian kings, and also these invasions had led to the rise and consolidation of a Tamil kingdom in northern Sri Lanka with its capital at Jaffna, which had endured for nearly four hundred years, that is, till the advent of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka in the 15th century. Buddhist monks who have chronicled these invasions have depicted them as attacks on Sinhala language, culture and Buddhism by the Tamils and also have convincingly argued that the Tamil speaking populations have designs on Sri Lanka. Thus, these writings have nurtured and sustained the Sinhalese fear of invasions from the Tamil population of South India.[14]

But this view of Sri Lanka history is contested by some contemporary Sri Lankan scholars. These scholars do not give much credibility to historical myths. They strongly refute the contention that Tamils and Sinhalese had cultural conflicts in the ancient and medieval periods. Instead economic clash of interests occurred between the two communities as a result of the rise of middle classes in both these communities. The protagonist of a pure Aryan Sinhala race, Anagarika Dharmapala, a Buddhist monk, is referred to indicate that there existed an economically based 'sons of soil' consciousness among the Sinhalese against Tamils, Muslims etc. as early as 1922.[15]

Kumari Jayawardene emphasizing the role of a weak Sinhale middle class in the communalization of the island's social and political life says:

> There was no 'national bourgeoisie with basic contradictions with imperialism. ….This weak bourgeoisie was thus incapable of creating among the people a national consciousness based on rationalism and scientific outlook…. They were thus more susceptible to the traditional

> ideologies and superstitions that were dominant among the other classes. In this situation, where a Sri Lankan consciousness could not arise, the need of the new class for an identity… was met by a revival of older identities based on familiar traditional categories of religion, caste and ethnicity. Rather than being swept away by the winds of nationalism and national unity, the older forms of identity were given a new lease of life resulting in communalism, casteism, a distortion of history, a revival of myths of origin and neo-myths along with the creation of visions of a past golden age.[16]

The vulnerability of Sri Lanka to India also arises because of its location within the security perimeters of India.[17] This imposes limitations on the foreign policy initiatives of Sri Lanka to balance the overbearing presence of India on the island. It is handicapped from promoting foreign policy interactions which in India's view might jeopardize the security of India. The recourse to such measures by Sri Lanka will give rise to tensions and conflicts in its relations with India, which in turn will not augur well for Sri Lanka's territorial security and autonomy.

This perception has been articulated by persons like Nehru, Menon and Panikkar on whom fell the early responsibility of defining India's security concerns in relations to its neighbours. In a way this perception is a continuation of the British Legacy in India's strategic thinking, since its roots and even the manner in which it has been articulated can be traced to the records of the East India Company and the British Colonial Office on the one hand and speeches of British Strategists like Lord Curzon and Olaf Caroe on the other.[18]

The geopolitical setting offers opportunities to Sri Lanka too. By virtue of its location in the periphery of India, Sri Lanka holds much strategic promise to the rivals and adversaries of India. Driven by the logic of power politics, these countries will make efforts to reduce India's influence on Sri Lanka as well as win Sri Lanka to their side to gain strategic advantages over India. This situation offers Sri Lanka leverage for generating power for itself to reduce its vulnerability from India and also overcome its fear

psychosis. But it is equally true that it has to take particular care to ensure that its actions do not impair India's security or present it as a country hostile to India.

Sri Lanka can also look to India for support and assistance in its stability maintaining activities because political instability in the island is not in the interest of India's security and independence. Political instability in Sri Lanka will not augur well for India as it will provide room for external interference in the island. Such external interference in Sri Lanka will encroach on the autonomy and freedom of India especially when India thinks of Sri Lanka as part of its sphere of influence. Furthermore, the rise of separatist tendency among Sri Lankan Tamils can fuel such tendencies in Tamil Nadu. On the other hand, if India supports Sri Lankan Tamils, it would lend legitimacy to separatists in India. The plight of Sri Lankan Tamils has support only in Tamil Nadu. It is not a pan Indian issue. It has no support even in the remaining three states of South India. India's support for the maintenance of stability in Sri Lanka is clear from India's responses to the 1971 and post 1983 crises in Sri Lanka. In 1971, the Janata Vimukti Peramuna(JVP) staged an insurrection. India openly supported the Colombo government even to the extent of providing military aid to Sri Lanka. Although in the developments following 1983 anti-Tamil riots in Sri Lanka, Mrs. Gandhi was concerned about the safety and security of Tamils in Sri Lanka, she did not openly support the Sri Lankan Tamil separatists. Her concern about the plight of Tamils there was because she wanted to have good working relations with the ruling party in Tamil Nadu as there was popular fury in Tamil Nadu over the vicious attacks on Sri Lankan Tamils. Rajiv Gandhi, like his mother, was concerned about the plight of Sri Lankan Tamils but he too was not supportive of their separatist movement. He was keen on finding a political solution to the problem of Sri Lankan Tamils within the framework of an united Sri Lanka.[19]

Sri Lanka is centrally located in Indian Ocean occupying a strategically important position with regard to the sea lanes connecting the West with the East. From time immemorial, trading nations had cultivated their presence in Sri Lanka to oversee the smooth and safe operation of their trading activities. The British had been enticed to Sri Lanka for the same very reason. The British did not want the French to establish control over Sri Lanka because this would have had an adverse effect on their activities in the East

and also endangered their empire in India.[20] The strategic importance of Sri Lanka to trading nations had received some setback when Egypt had closed down Suez canal for international navigation.[21] However, the closure was a short-lived affair. Sri Lanka also has the potential for attracting international capital for using it as a manufacturing base for exports – in the pattern of Singapore and Hong Kong.

During the Cold war period, Sri Lanka acquired importance in the global strategic calculations. Its natural harbor in Trincomalee on the east coast offered excellent shelter for war vessels and submarines; and strategic analysts found that submarines operating in the south of Sri Lanka would be ideally placed for launching nuclear attacks on the Soviet Union as well as on China. Consequently, at different times the Americans, the Soviets and the Chinese cast a covetous eye on Trincomalee and attempted to persuade Sri Lanka to permit them base facilities there. Furthermore, the strategic importance of the region had led to intense naval rivalry between the three major powers and their allies. The presence of naval rivalry in the surrounding seas and the interests of the rivals in gaining foothold in Trincomalee made Sri Lanka vulnerable to adverse developments in the region. Its vulnerability has required it to keep away from the rival powers as well as to promote peace in the Indian Ocean region.

Thus, Sri Lanka's geopolitical features such as location, size and capability impose constraints as well as provide opportunities to it. Its foreign policy initiatives are limited by its vulnerability to pulls and pressures from India, and also the power rivalries in the Indian Ocean region. It also offered Sri Lanka opportunities to reduce, if not overcome, its vulnerability; but within the overall frameworks of India's security interests and avoidance of promoting power rivalry in Indian Ocean. In this sense, Sri Lanka suffers from what can be called geopolitical determinism because of its location, size and capability.[22]

Topography and Climate

Sri Lanka's topography and climate too have important bearing on its foreign policy. Although Sri Lanka is small in size and compact, it exhibits wide climatic and topographic differences. The variations in its geographical features affected the historical processes and have produced regional imbalances in the social economy of Sri Lanka, which have proved detrimental to the economic growth and political stability in the island.[23] The removal of the regional imbalances is necessary from the economic and political perspectives but financial resources required for the purpose have to be sought from abroad since as a developing economy Sri Lanka suffers from shortage of capital.

The climate of Sri Lanka is controlled by its location within the tropics, its proximity to the Indian subcontinent, its insularity and the presence within it of a centrally located mountain mass.[24] The tropical location of Sri Lanka ensures a relatively high temperature but its surrounding seas free it from the extremes of great heat that is characteristic of sub-continental interiors. The temperature in the lowlands range between 78^{o}F. and 85^{o}F. with little seasonal variations. In the highlands, the temperature ranges between 55^{o}F. and 70^{o}F. In the absence of marked temperature differences within the region and between seasons, rainfall becomes the factor of climate variations spatially and seasonally.

In terms of rainfall patterns, Sri Lanka exhibits four zones.[25] The southeast part of the island, known as the wet zone, receives normally 100 to 200 inches of rain annually. It is recipient of both the southwest and northeast monsoons. Besides, it receives some amount of rainfall throughout the year. The south central mountain land mass too is favourably endowed in terms of rainfall. It is also a beneficiary of the southwest and the northeast monsoons, averaging around 100-150 inches of rain annually. The northern and eastern parts of the island receive around 75 inches of rainfall annually. The rainfall is mainly during the northeast monsoon season. In the northwestern plains, rainfall is below 50 inches annually. This region is referred to as the dry zone.

Topographically, the south-central part is distinct from the remaining portions of the island. It is marked by series of mountains and high plateaus and is nearly 6000 feet above sea level. The rest of the island consists of relatively level coastal plains with rolling hills and a land mass that rises as one moves towards the centre of the island.[26] But varying rainfall patterns divide the coastal plains into four regions : the southwest plains, northern plains, eastern plains and northwestern – north central plains.

The south-central high lands host the tea plantations. The region has reached near saturation in use of land. Likewise, the southwest region which is the main rice producing area has reached saturation in land utilization. The region has a very high population density which has adversely affected agricultural productivity. The area also has high degree of agricultural landless labourers and unemployment which have provided the base for social tension and political conflicts. The situation is no better in the northern plains.[27] But the north-central and north-western parts have sparse population, and abundant unused land due to the lack of availability of water in the region.[28]

Since the days of colonial rule, it has been recognized that the development of the dry zone holds prospects for easing of the twin problems of the island: population pressure in the southwest and northern parts and deficiency in domestic food production. Efforts have been made from colonial days to develop irrigation facilities in the dry zone and settle landless population from the densely populated parts.[29] But these efforts were on a very modest scale.

The present political situation in the island has made it imperative to develop the dry zone by diverting to it the water of the Mahaweli and other wet zone rivers. The proposal for reaching the Mahaweli water to the dry zone has been found to be technically feasible but its implementation requires stupendous investment on the part of the Sri Lanka government.[30] It is beyond the means of the government to raise this sum from its revenue. Thus, there is the need for foreign assistance for the diversion of the Mahaweli to the dry zone.

The industrialization of the island is also considered as a panacea for its economic crisis and associated sociopolitical problems. In addition to its need for foreign capital and technology, the island has to depend upon other countries for mineral resources.[31] The island is not well-endowed with mineral resources necessary for metallurgical industries like iron and steel, ferro-alloys, aluminum and copper. It is also not well endowed with mineral resources that could form the basis of agro-chemical industries. It does not have deposits of fuel minerals like petroleum and gas which could meet its energy requirements. Thus, Sri Lanka has to import most of the inputs for its manufacturing industries as well as for its regular needs. The export of manufactures is a must to avoid adverse balance of payment problems and crisis in foreign exchange, as well as to ensure continuous growth of the economy. This economic imperative predicated from geographic conditions is reflected in its foreign policy. It has to ensure good relationship with countries that supply it raw materials as well as provide markets for its export products. It has to ensure internal stability to ensure regular productive activity and free flow of trade and commerce.

Socio-Cultural Setting

Sri Lanka has a plural social structure which developed as a result of invasions and interference from abroad, especially India over a period of 2500 years. The society is divided by language, culture, religion and caste. The last is of very little consequence to Sri Lanka's foreign policy. The first three cleavages tend to reinforce each other. In the pluralist ethnic structure, individual Sri Lankans display strong allegiance to their respective ethnic groups.[32] This has resulted in a great deal of competition and conflict among ethnic groups particularly between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The conflict between these two ethnic groups has threatened the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. Of late, the Tamils have demanded an independent state of their own: the Eelam.[33] The competition and conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils have affected the conduct of politics and foreign policy in Sri Lanka.

The majority ethnic group in the island are the Sinhalese who comprise almost two-third of the total population. But the Sinhalese community is predominantly settled in the southwest and southcentral regions of the island. They are in a minority in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

The Sinhalese trace their descent to the Aryans of northern India, and claim that they are the earliest civilized race to settle down in the island. They claim to have arrived some 2500 years ago. The Sinhalese speak Sinhala which belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family but they are the only people in the world to speak Sinhala. It is spoken no where else. Buddhism is the dominant religion among the Sinhalese. Buddhism was brought to the island from India around 3rd century B.C. Patronized by the various political authorities, it developed deep roots in the Sinhalese society. A significant number of Sinhalese adhere to Christianity which was introduced to the island during the colonial period.

Buddhism has played a significant role in the shaping of Sinhalese culture, literature and identity.[34] It has generated a very potent ideology among the Sinhalese based upon the fusion of nation and religion. This ideology which provides the Sinhalese their identity, claims that Sri Lanka is the chosen land for Sinhala and Buddhism, that is Sri Lanka is the unity of Sinhadipa (island of the Sinhala) and Dhammadipa (island of Buddhism).[35] This national consciousness among the Sinhalese has given rise to the world view that Sri Lanka has to promote its unique identity in international politics, an identity which is distinct from the two major ideological alliances – the West and the East blocs led by the United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union respectively as well as from India. It has influenced the state to pursue the policy of the middle path.[36]

Some scholars have also argued that Buddhism has influenced Sri Lanka to maintain special relations with countries having predominantly Buddhist population and to champion the cause of the Buddhist people around the world.[37] While it is true that Buddhist leaders, both lay and bhikkhu, have from time to time attempted to mobilize domestic public opinion against the suppression of Buddhism under communism in Tibet

and China, it is doubtful whether they have ever succeeded in generating public opinion of a magnitude significant enough as to influence the conduct of foreign policy. Sri Lanka's response to the crisis in Tibet gives evidence that its foreign policy move was shaped by political considerations rather than by sentiments of Buddhism, the dominant religion in the country. Another indication of limited influence of Buddhism on the day to day conduct of Sri Lanka's foreign policy is that barring Myanmar, Sri Lanka after attaining independence did not establish independent diplomatic missions with any of the Buddhist states of South East Asia.

The next largest ethnic community is the Sri Lankan Tamils. They trace their ancestry to South India and claim that their arrival in Sri Lanka was in the same period as that of the Sinhalese, an assertion that challenges the Sinhalese claim of being the first 'civilized' inhabitants of the island.[38] This claim also challenges the Sinhalese ideology of 'Sinhadipa' and 'Dhammadipa.' The Sri Lankan Tamils are related to the Tamils of India in terms of language, culture and religion. Most of the Sri Lankan Tamils practice Hinduism, though a significant number were converted to Christianity during the colonial period.

Although the Sri Lankan Tamils constitute about one–eighth of the total population, they are in absolute majority in the northern province. The Peninsula of Jaffna and the areas immediately to its south are populated exclusively by Sri Lankan Tamils. Barring Colombo, other region are marked by the absence of significant presence of Sri Lankan Tamils. This concentration of Sri Lankan Tamil population in the Jaffna Peninsula and the eastern region, and near contiguous location of these two parts, has contributed to the growth of the territorial dimension in Tamil sub-nationalism.[39]

Tamil ethnicity in Sri Lanka surfaced in the political arena around the later part of the first quarter of the twentieth century when the Tamils demanded reservation of seats in the legislature and also the creation of separate Tamil electoral constituencies. These demands were made to protect the interests of the community.[40] The Sri Lankan Tamil sub-nationalism received a boost in 1956 when Sinhala was made the official language of

the island. In response to this, the Tamils demanded parity of status between Sinhala and Tamil languages, and for federal political arrangement in the island.[41] With the growing process of Sinhalization of the Sri Lankan state, a large section of the Sri Lankan Tamils have raised the demand for the creation of the separate Tamil state.[42]

The Sri Lankan Tamil sub-nationalist aspiration in its successive stages, has received support from the Tamil population in India. The leaders of Tamil Nadu have attempted to mobilize public opinion in the Tamil Nadu province to influence the Indian state to take up the cause of the Sri Lankan Tamils.[43] In recent years this linkage has significantly influenced Sri Lanka – India relations.[44]

Closely affiliated to the Sri Lankan Tamils are the Indian Tamil population who are settled mainly in the tea plantations. The Indian Tamils are descendants of the Tamil indentured labour force which was brought from India by the British in the nineteenth and early twentieth century to develop the coffee and subsequently the tea plantations. While the Indian Tamils share a common language, culture and religion with the Sinhalan Tamils, they consider themselves distinct from the latter because of their recent origin, more humble socio-economic background, and problems attending their citizenship status in the island.

Soon after Sri Lanka gained independence, the government passed legislation that denied Sri Lankan citizenship to the Indian Tamils. The rationale behind this action was that the Indian Tamils, despite the fact that many of them were born in Sri Lanka, were regarded as ‘mere birds of passage’ who were in Sri Lanka only as temporary residents for economic reasons without any long-term ties with the island. The government then wanted to deport most of the Indian Tamils to India. The Indian Tamils as well as the Indian government resisted the move. The issue of the Indian Tamils became a problem area in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.[45] In 1964 an agreement was arrived at to solve this vexatious problem by Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her Indian counterpart Lal Bahadur Shastri.[46] The Sirimavo-Shastri agreement arranged for the granting of Sri Lankan citizenship to 300,000 of the total 975,000 Indian Tamils in the island and

deportation of 575,000 to India. The status of the remaining 150,000 was deferred to future negotiations. The agreement was to be implemented over a period of fifteen years. This agreement has been implemented very slowly and continues to surface in Indo-Sri Lanka relations but is not that major an irritant any more. There are 100,000 Indian Tamils who still remain stateless. With the lapse of 1964 agreement, India has declined to consider any more applications for grant of Indian citizenship, but Sri Lanka believes that the 1964 pact remains until the citizenship cases covered by the pact have been settled.

The third largest ethnic community is of the Moors who are subdivided further on the basis of the place of origin as Arab Moors, Indian Moors and Malay Moors. Across these distinctions, the Moors practice Islam and for most part speak Tamil. They are predominantly engaged in trading and are found in most urban areas. Those residing in the Sinhalese region also speak Sinhala. However, the Moors are particularly concentrated in the east coast where they are an important counterpoise to the Tamils and have a decisive say in electoral outcomes.[47] The Moors have strong identifications with co-religionists elsewhere and they have influenced Sri Lanka's foreign policy toward a pro-Arab tilt. The Moors have been able to exercise this influence because of their importance in electoral politics. The ruling Sinhalese political parties have acceeded to Moor sentiments in order to win their support at the polls.[48]

In addition to the Moors, Sri Lanka has another small ethnic group – the Burghers who are of mixed European and Sinhalese descent. They are Christians and their mother tongue is English. The Burghers are economically well off and mostly settled in Colombo. During the colonial period they were prominently placed in the bureaucracy and educational service, but in years following independence they have lost their pre-eminence.[49] Moreover, the replacement of English as the language of administration by Sinhala has adversely affected the occupational prospects of the Burghers. In recent years, many Burghers have started to emigrate to the west for better socioeconomic prospects. The Burghers as an ethnic group exercise no influence in the conduct of the foreign policy.

Geographic diversity of the island and the varied patterns in the process of its colonization have contributed to the development of subcultures within the two main ethnic groups: the Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamils. The Sinhalese community is divided between low-country Sinhalese who were exposed to colonial rule quite early and as a result experienced much socio-economic transformation in their society; and the Kandyan Sinhalese, who for a long time resisted European rule and in the process developed a culture different from their kins living in the low-country. However, the divide between the low country and Kandyan Sinhalese has diminished in the recent years because of increasing interactions between people of the two cultures.[50] Likewise, the Sri Lankan Tamil community is divided between Jaffna Tamils and Tamils of east coast. The east coast Tamils are economically and educationally backward in comparison to the Jaffna Tamils. However, the intra-ethnic differences have little bearing on Sri Lanka's foreign policy.

The most important issue in the agenda generated by the pluralist social structure before Sri Lanka's foreign policy is the protection of the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and maintenance of harmony between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Tamils. The interaction between these two ethnic communities has become conflict-ridden in recent years following the demand for a separate Tamil state by the Sri Lankan Tamils. The Tamils have taken resort to extremist methods to achieve their separatist demand and have received support from Tamils across the Palk Strait. Sri Lanka's foreign policy has been called upon to defuse the Tamil secessionist challenge and maintain the territorial integrity of the island.

Political Economy

When J.R. Jayewardene assumed power in 1977, the economy of Sri Lanka was confronted with acute problems of growing pressure of population and unemployment of educated youth, backwardness in the agrarian sector, decreasing traditional exports, escalation of the expenditure in imports, adverse balance of payment, and paucity of capital to foster export- oriented industries.[51] These problems had plague Sri Lankan

economy for the past several decades, but what is significant is the policies of Jayewardene to cope with these problems. Boldly departing from the policies of previous governments he adopted a strategy based on structural adjustment programme such as economic liberalization, market reforms particularly reduction of the tax structure, deregulating financial markets for promoting foreign trade, reducing food subsidies and privatizing government owned industries. It was hoped that with the increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), there would be increase in the standard of living, decrease in unemployment and, in general, these market reforms would lead to a stable economy.[52] However, the success of these policies depended upon the availability of foreign capital in the productive sector and hence, the policy of structural adjustment required tweaking the foreign policy in order to attract the foreign capital and technology for manufacturing and exporting the domestic products in the foreign markets.

The Sinhalese kingdom of Kandy had fallen to British colonial power in 1825, after having successfully resisted the two preceding European powers, the Portughese and the Dutch. The British planters rushed to Kandy to develop coffee plantations because of the decline in profit in coffee plantation in the West Indies. The climate of Kandy being favourable to coffee cultivation, the colonial administration seized the opportunity of making land available to the planters at exceptionally nominal rates and encouraging the migration of Tamil labourers from India. The need for indentured Tamil labourers arose because, one, the Kandyan peasants, stiffly bound to their traditions, refused to become plantation workers, and, two the peasants of the low country could not be persuaded to move to Kandy. On the other hand, the situation in Tamil Nadu was different : Tamil landless peasants of Tamil Nadu were eager to work in the plantation in Sri Lanka and elsewhere.[53]

Given the favourable climatic conditions, easy availability of land and abundant supply of cheap labour, the coffee plantations flourished in the Kandyan region for over a half century. But the fortunes of the coffee planters evaporated around 1880s when coffee plants suffered irreparable damages at the hands of ravaging pests against whom no effective remedy was yet available. Hence, tea plantation was chosen as an alternative to the coffee plantation. But, individual planters found it was difficult to manage tea

plantation due to the employment of huge liquid capital and specialized labour force. Consequently, unable to generate the capital and the employment of specialized labour force, the individual entrepreneurs surrendered their plantations to the big companies based either in London or in Colombo.[54] It was mostly English capital that was employed, although some Sinhalese did invest in tea plantation. By 1930 the tea plantation had reached saturation point, and it accounted for 90 percent of Sri Lanka's export earnings at the time of independence.

How about the other two cash crops, rubber and coconut? Climatic and topographic considerations had dictated that rubber plantations were developed in the lower foothills, bordering the wet zone, and coconut in the southwest coastal plains. Both English and Sinhalese capital were prominent in the rubber plantations while the Sinhalese alone owned the coconut plantations.[55] Statistically, rubber and coconut are of less importance in the Sri Lankan economy as compared with tea. It has been observed that the post-independent Sri Lanka economic structure was characterized by a dual economy in which the export oriented agro-products such as tea and rubber existed side by side a semi-subsistence rural sector rooted in the cultivation of rice and a few other food crops for domestic consumption. Not to talk of other food stuffs, the country was not self-sufficient even in rice.[56] The distortion of the economy was the product of the colonial system of exploitation.

The colonial administration did not take effective measures to develop the agricultural sector so that it could acquire self-sufficiency in domestic food production as this entailed depriving the plantation sector of land. Of course, around the 1930s, it tried to tackle the problem of the agricultural sector by attempting to develop irrigation facilities in the dry zone and establishing peasant colonization there but such efforts were on a very modest scale.[57] Given the existence of trade surplus mainly arising out of tea exports, the colonial administration found it expedient to meet the deficit in food requirement of the island by importing rice and other necessities.

On the other hand, Sri Lanka experienced rapid population growth between 1940 and 1970 on account of the introduction of modern medical facilities which eradicated the fatal malaria disease from the island, decreased infant mortality and old age death rates and extended average longevity.[58] As a result, the population galloped from a mere 6.6 million in 1946 to 12.7 million in 1971 to 15 million in 1985 (and, further, to 20.2 million in 2012). The rapid population growth has increased consumption demands on the economy. In the absence of self- sufficiency in domestic food production, the island has had to import food commodities, which has been burdensome on the economy. Food has accounted for over half of the total expenditure on imports. This problem was further complicated by the prevalence of the system of food subsidy which required huge amount of the state revenue, and deprived the state of capital to promote economic expansion and growth and to create productive employment opportunities for the people.[59]

The economy of Sri Lanka has faced the problem of rising unemployment since 1946.[60] The unemployment force at that point of time was around 56,000, which between 1963 and 1977 more than doubled with the coming of age of the population born after 1940s. Thereafter the unemployment figures have gone up. In 1981, they stood at 885,000. By 2009 data, 21.03% of the population between the age group of 15-24 years were unemployed.[61] The unemployment problem of Sri Lanka is qualitatively different from that of other developing countries. It consists of educated as well as highly politicized youths due to the popular educational system that was put into operation during the Donoughmore era; but also because of the competitive nature of electoral politics. The unemployed labour force are predisposed towards white collar jobs in the government or industries as employment in these sectors carries job security, better remuneration and higher social status.[62] The unemployed youth have demonstrated that they are a political force to be reckoned with in the island from as early as 1956, when they successfully mobilized support for their demand for the replacement of English by Sinhalese as the official language of the island so as to improve their employment opportunities. In 1971, the youth discontent with the slow pace of economic growth and creation of employments, rallied under the Janatha Vimuthi Peramuna (JVP) to stage a nearly successful insurrectionary movement. Likewise, the discontented Tamil youth have taken to secessionist politics to improve their socio-economic plight.

The lack of capital formation obstructed the economy of Sri Lanka forestalling any prospects of rapid expansion and growth. Earlier Sri Lanka enjoyed trade surplus and had huge foreign capital reserves at its disposal. But on account of huge unproductive expenditure on the welfare programme, Sri Lanka faced severe adverse balance of payment problem. The imports rapidly increased in volume and costs, draining the state of valuable investment. In 1956, Sri Lanka spent Rs.2,005 million on imports but in 1977 the import bill had increased to Rs.6,061 million. Collectively, the growth in population and expenditure on imports against exports culminated in the rise in prices of imports such as food stuffs, finished manufactured goods and petroleum products.[63]

Compounding the problem of Sri Lankan economy, the prices and demands of its traditional exports, tea and rubber did not experience a proportionate increase. The demand for rubber in the international market has declined due to the availability of synthetic rubber which proved to be cheaper than natural rubber. Similarly, tea did not experience significant rise in its price in international market because of abundant supply, and competition from other beverages. The glut in the tea market was caused by spurt in production in the traditional tea cultivating areas in Asia following modernization of production processes, including cultivation of high yielding tea plants and use of fertilizers and pesticides which boosted productivity. Besides, new tea producers also entered the world market, following the development of large tea estates in some of the East African countries, notably Tanzania and Kenya.[64] Despite this Sri Lanka held on to its positions of the second largest tea exporter after India, with a world share of 30-35 percent. As a matter of fact, Sri Lanka no longer sustained its economy exclusively out of tea exports as was the situation during the colonial period.

Since the attainment of independence the effort of successive government was to increase domestic food production so as to reduce dependence on import of food commodities. These measures involved three inter-related strategies: (i) reform of land holding and land tenure systems with a view to protecting the interests of the peasant farmers; (ii) modernization of agricultural practices such as providing irrigation facilities and encouraging peasant farmers to use high-yielding variety of seeds, fertilizers and modern equipments; and (iii) introduction of peasant colonization scheme in the dry zone

for production of food commodities. These measures paid dividends. The island's production of rice and other subsidiary food commodities saw an increase; however, this still fell woefully short of self-sufficiency in food requirements making import of food items an imperative.

Under the circumstances, Sri Lanka faced several inter-related economic challenges that threatened its stability and well-being, namely, securing foreign capital assistance to promote rapid economic expansion and growth of the industrial and agricultural sectors to stem the increasingly volatile disaffected unemployed population; forging ways and means of greater self-sufficiency in essential needs of the population; and generating new sources as well as protecting and promoting existing exports so as to overcome the nagging balance of payment problem. However, these requirements were not easy to come by given the reality of the competitive and highly stratified international economic order. It was in this context that Sri Lanka forged its foreign policy, a task which proved to be extremely arduous.

In tackling these issues, the economic policies of the two dominant parties, the UNP and the SLFP differed. The pre-1977 socio-economic policies had the following features:

1. The state offered incentives to domestic agriculture and production of ancillary food stuffs for greater productivity through subsidized input programme, irrigation networks and settlement schemes, and guaranteed price for paddy.

2. The state established heavy industries while leaving manufacturing of small scale products in the hands of the private sector offering the latter incentives as well as tariff protection against import of foreign foods.

3. During the SLFP regimes, the state nationalized transportation, banking, insurance, oil, tea plantation, and many other sectors. Moreover, state corporations were set up for production and marketing of milk, textiles, steels, etc.

4. Sri Lankan economy was depended on foreign capital for its development and for overcoming the problems of balance of payments. Hence, Sri Lankan development inextricably came to be linked up with foreign trade, monetary as well as material assistance.[65]

It is in the context of this socio-economic scenario that the post-1977 economic policies have been operated upon. The basic components of the economic policy package of the UNP government of Jayewardene can be summarized as follows:

a. Formulation of free economy with accent on free enterprise based on free market forces and motives of profit maximization.

b. Liberalization of economy by removing control over foreign exchange, import regulations and permitting production and trade to operate within a free market framework.

c. Divesting import monopolies of the state excepting food items.

d. Devaluation of the currency and providing attractive incentive packages for collaboration of foreign investors in public and private sectors.

e. Abolition of the subsidies on rice and introducing the 'food stamp scheme' for those who earn less than Rs.500 a month with a view to cushioning the relatively depressed economic strata.[66]

Thus, unlike the SLFP, developmental perspective of the UNP government of Jayewardene had as its focal point not import-substitution but export-oriented economy with a heavy inculcation of foreign aid and investment. While with the SLFP self-sufficiency in food-stuffs, particularly rice, was essential for diverting the expenditure on rice imports, the UNP decided to give it greater fillip by telescoping the multi-purpose Mahaweli project from 30 years to just 6 years.

The Mahaweli project, relating to largest river in Sri Lanka, envisages harnessing the irrigation and power potential of the river as well as diversion of its water to the dry

zone. Though the initial cost of the project was estimated at about Rs.11,000 million, the revised estimate factoring in price escalation came to around Rs.25,000 million. About half of the financial outlay was provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Asian Aid Group also pledged a substantial amount and some western countries like the UK, Canada, West Germany and Norway gave outright grants for the project.

Along with the Mahaweli project, the other plank of the UNP activities focused on the Free Trade Zone (FTZ) that is geared to promoting export-oriented industrial production as per the pattern of Singapore. The FTZ operated under the authority of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission. During 1978-81, it approved 155 projects with a foreign investment component of Rs.4,268 million out of a total investment commitment of Rs.6,222 million. The employment potential in the FTZ was estimated to be about 75,000. There has also been provision for foreign collaboration outside the FTZ on the recommendation of the Foreign Investment Advisory Committee. Under the scheme, 217 projects were in operation with the foreign investment component being about Rs.2,152 million and with employment potential being about 25,000.

Along with the Mahaweli project and the FTZ, the government gave a fabulous fillip to the housing construction programme. Under its umbrella over 100,000 houses were constructed.[67] The thrust of the UNP's development is in the areas of irrigation, exports and housing which has led to increase in employment. Added to this was the factor of private remittances from Sri Lankans working especially in the Middle East which rose from 9 million in 1975 to an estimated $ 229 million dollars (about Rs.4,500 million) in 1981. Foreign employment remittances became the second largest foreign exchange earner after traditional export of Tea (Rs.6,444 million).

As evident from the discussion above, the success of the developmental programme of Jayawardene, (no less than SLFP), depended upon Sri Lanka's foreign economic policy to acquire foreign capital and technology and secure markets for its new as well as traditional exports.

Variable Determinants

Nationalism

The phenomenon of nationalism as a potent political force is a major determinant of foreign policy. The ruling elites promote the values, outlooks and aspirations articulated by nationalism through foreign policy. They cannot afford to conduct foreign policy in opposition to nationalism because this will endanger the legitimacy of their own political authority. Thus foreign policy reflects the content and concerns of nationalism. The phenomenon of nationalism is not static in nature. It is a dynamic process which changes in responses to changes in its socio-cultural, economic and political contexts. The changes in the content and contour of nationalism have a bearing on the conduct of foreign policy.

Since independence, nationalism in Sri Lanka has passed through four successive phases. The first phase of nationalism which lasted till 1956, had only territorial and political dimensions. It was concerned with the preservation of the territorial integrity and political independence. It articulated perception of threat to the integrity and independence of the island from India and the international communist movement led by the Soviet Union. The threat perception from India arose as a response to geopolitical and historical considerations. The threat from communism was perceived because of the presence of a strong communist movement within the island. Another interesting feature of Sri Lanka's nationalism was that it was pro-West and espoused the aspiration of building a model parliamentary democracy in Sri Lanka. Nationalism was favourably disposed towards Britain which was its ideal for emulation in Sri Lanka. Finally, nationalism advocated a distinct international identity for Sri Lanka based upon the Buddhist notion of the middle path.[68] During this phase, nationalism did not have cultural, economic and social dimensions. There was no move to promote Sinhala and Buddhism within Sri Lanka nor was there the demand to nationalise foreign investment in, and ownership of Sri Lanka's resources. Likewise, nationalism did not see any conflict between the English language, and Sri Lankan languages, culture and traditions.

The second phase of nationalism began around 1956. It brought to the fore Sinhala ethno-cultural and religious concerns. To the territorial-political dimensions, ethno-cultural and religious dimensions were added. It claimed Sri Lanka as the land of the Sinhala Buddhists. Sri Lanka was seen as the 'Sinhadipa' and 'Dhammadipa.' Nationalism was ill-disposed towards the continuance of English language in the administration of the island; English as the official language was perceived as repressing the growth and development of Sinhala language and culture.[69] It prevented the vast majority of the Sinhalese who were educated in the vernacular medium from participating in the administration of the island. The growth of ethno-cultural nationalism adversely affected the perception of Sri Lanka towards Britain.[70] The presence of British military installation in the island was seen to be an infringement of the independence of Sri Lanka. This phase of nationalism also did not evince much fear of India or the international communist movement. Rather, it articulated more sharply the socio-cultural distinctiveness of Sri Lanka in international politics, especially highlighting the need for correction of the pro-western bias in its foreign policy. There was the desire to promote the identity of Sri Lanka in international politics as a nonaligned country championing the causes of global peace, decolonization and global social justice.[71]

Subsequently, economic dimensions were included in the Sinhala-Buddhist ethno-cultural nationalism. This meant nationalization of foreign investment and ownership of the resources in the island. Also, there was the demand to reduce dependence on imports, and attain domestic self-sufficiency. In this regard, the demand was raised for nationalization of domestic and foreign enterprises in the island. Furthermore, efforts were made to promote import substitution industrialization under the control of the state especially in the sector of heavy industries.[72]

In turn, however, the emergence of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism enhanced ethnic consciousness among the Tamils, who feared danger to their language and culture and socio-economic interests because of the replacement of English by Sinhala as the official language. To protect their language, culture and socio-economic interests, the Sri Lankan Tamils demanded a federal form of government and parity of status between Sinhala and Tamil languages. However, Tamil subnationalism during this period did not question the

rationality of Sri Lanka as an all-island encompassing territorial unit nor did it claim any irreconcilable conflict between Tamil subnationalism and Sri Lankan nationalism.

The third phase of nationalism which began in the early 1970s and lasted for over a decade or more, was quite complex as it involved competing strands and discourses. The dominant strand consisted of the Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism, which aspired greater Sinhalization of the state. In response to this force, the 1972 constitution of the island declared Sinhala as the official language and made Buddhism the state religion.[73] The second strand of nationalism was championed by the JVP This nationalism combined Sinhala-Buddhist values and aspirations with the revolutionary philosophies of Marx, Lenin and Mao. It viewed India as an imperialist power which had designs on Sri Lanka. It espoused the overthrow of the present state power and subsequently the creation of a socialist state. Although the 1971 insurrection led by JVP failed, the organization was far from being eliminated in the island.[74] From mid-1980s there was resurgence in the activities of JVP It was opposed to the UNP. government as well as the government designs to merge the Northern and Eastern Provinces. It also opposed the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). During this phase its activities were both overt and covert. At the overt level it organized strikes and hartals against the UNP. government and also against the presence of the IPKF where it was quite successful. At the covert level it resorted to terrorism. It assassinated several UNP. leaders and others who were opposed to its politics. It looted banks and other institutions to finance its activities. It was a dominant force in the politics of Sri Lanka during this phase specially in the Southern Province threatening the political stability of the island. Eventually the army of Sri Lanka crushed the JVP between September 1989 and the end of January 1990. The army succeeded in eliminating all but one member of the JVP politbureau and killed most members of the district level leadership.[75] The third strand is that of Tamil subnationalism which had gained considerable momentum among the Tamil population. The demand of the Tamils had moved from autonomy for Tamil speaking areas within the framework of federalism to the creation of a separate Tamil state. All major Tamil political organizations had come together under a common front called the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) to mobilize support for the separation of the Tamil speaking areas. Barring occasional violence, the TULF political strategy remained civil and constitutional.[76]

The fourth and ongoing phase of nationalism is more or less a continuance of the trends of the previous decade, barring two major differences. Mainstream Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism continues to dominate the political arena, but it has shed off its economic content in so far as it is no longer averse to the presence of foreign capital in the island.[77] Tamil subnationalism had become extremist. Frustrated with the political constitutional tactics of their elders Tamil youth took recourse to extremist strategy to 'liberate the Tamil region from the Sinhala state.' Initially, several groups were engaged in political extremism. The relationship between these groups was competitive and fraught with conflict. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was able to eliminate most of the rival groups and emerge as the main organization engaged in armed struggle to establish the proposed Eelam state. The LTTE had established its control over several parts of the Jaffna peninsula, and had withstood the Sri Lankan military offensive,[78] but eventually the Sri Lankan army managed to crush the LTTE.

While the change in the economic outlook of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism led the state to invite foreign capital to Sri Lanka, the emergence of extremism among Tamils made it dependent on other countries for diplomatic and military support.

Political Regimes

The political regime is an important determinant of foreign policy. It directs the day to day conduct of external relations. Its decisions are guided by its perceptions of the goals of foreign policy in the context of the international and domestic settings. Its perceptions are in turn based upon its ideological predilections, world-views as well as its goal to remain in power. Therefore, the role of the regime in the conduct of the foreign policy can be understood by analyzing its ideology and world-view, and also its actions to ward off political rivals.

Sri Lanka has experienced two trends in the sphere of regime formation. Between 1948 and 1956 and also from 1977 to 1988, it has had governments formed by one

dominant party the United National Party (UNP). The UNP is right of the center in its ideological orientation and it is also pro-West. During the first phase, it was committed to promoting English as the official language of Sri Lanka, but subsequently it retracted on that commitment under pressure of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism.[79]

Between 1956 and 1977 the island saw governments formed alternately by the two dominant parties – the UNP and Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The SLFP is left of center in its ideological orientation, and more nationalist than the UNP. Each of these two parties in alliance with other parties successively formed the government. While the UNP allied itself with one or the other Tamil parties such as, the Federal Party (FP), Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC), and Tamil Congress (TC), the SLFP formed coalitions with the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaj Party (LSSP) and Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CP).[80]

Although the two dominant party system has given rise to a bipartisan approach in many areas, the two coalitions have not been wanting in divergences in several spheres. The UNP led governments had been pro-West but the SLFP led governments had favoured closer relations with the former Soviet Union and its allies as also with China. These two trends however, have been played out within the overall framework of nonalignment.

International Setting

The international setting has exercised a diverse range of influences on the shaping of the foreign policy of Sri Lanka. For the purpose of analysis, these influences can be divided into three groups : normative, politico-strategic, and economic. The normative influence refers to international principles and norms, international law and international organizations which collectively constitute the normative authority structure of the international society. The cardinal precept of the international normative authority structure is the principle of sovereign equality of states, that is regardless, of the obvious reality of uneven distribution in resources and disparity of capabilities, no state is subordinate to another state, or that small and weak states are not required to obey larger

or powerful states. This precept provides legitimacy to the existence of small and weak states seeking to protect them from the designs of powerful states. Thus, the normative authority structure is an important source of power for the small and weak states.[81]

The most important institution of the normative authority structure is the United Nations which was created by the community of states after World War II to protect the international normative authority structure upon which it was founded as well as to preserve the comity of nations. The UN provides the legitimate forum to small and weak states not only to assert their independence and thereby gain for themselves material and emotional support from the more powerful states but also to act collectively for expanding the scope of the normative structure authority for promoting their socio-economic and political interests. Besides the UN there are other institutions such as the Commonwealth and the Nonaligned Movement which serve the same purpose. Consequently, the international normative authority structure acquires an important place in the foreign policy of Sri Lanka.

The important politico-strategic influences on Sri Lanka at the time of the attainment of its independence were the Cold war, decolonization movements, the emergence of China as the first communist state in Asia, and its relations with Britain and India. The Cold war had already spread its tentacles to Asia. The United States and Soviet Union were actively competing with each other to spread their influences in the West Asian region and had already contributed to the rise of military conflicts in East and Southeast Asia. The rivalry between these two superpowers had burdened East and Southeast Asian regions with political instability, and violence. It had threatened the integrity of the peninsula of Korea, which was eventually bifurcated, and endangered the independence and autonomy of the political societies of Indo-China which had to experience bloody wars which went on for nearly three decades.[82] The Cold war posed serious danger to Sri Lanka's security and independence not only because of its smallness but also because of its socio-cultural and political pluralism. Sri Lanka was extremely vulnerable to the cold war because of the existence of a powerful communist movement alongside strong rightist political forces. While its socio-cultural and political pluralism carried potential for interference by the cold war rivals, its strategic location in the Indian

Ocean, already under British control till 1956, (the early cold war years) attracted the two rivals.[83] The cold war was thus not conducive to Sri Lanka's independence and security.

At this time there still were peoples in Asia and Africa under colonial subjugation. They were fighting for their political independence from colonial rule but the colonial powers were opposing the freedom struggles on politico-strategic grounds.[84] Sri Lanka as a former colony had not only emotive support for the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa and could not but associate with other newly decolonized countries who were mobilizing international political opinion in favour of the struggles for independence of the still subjugated peoples. It was, in more positive terms, in the interest of Sri Lanka to support these movements since the perpetuation of colonial rule on politico-strategic grounds would have undermined the effect of the normative authority structure of the international society which provided legitimacy to the existence of Sri Lanka as an independent political entity and protected it from domination by powerful states. If legitimization of colonial rule on politico-strategic considerations was permitted, it would have meant the availability of legitimacy to powerful states attempting to encroach on Sri Lanka's independence. Thus colonialism was not acceptable to Sri Lanka at any cost.[85]

Sri Lanka had external relations with Britain and India. Its relationship with Britain was more than cordial. Britain had granted independence to Sri Lanka without a mass-based national freedom struggle. The political leadership of Sri Lanka looked upon Britain as a friend and benefactor. They prized their association with Britain and its Commonwealth.[86] Sir Oliver Goonetilleke expressed this stance thus:

> "We ask you to think of Ceylon as a little bit of England, to look to us with confidence because the collaboration between Britain and Ceylon will be so strong and because you are dealing with men whose word is their bond. If ever another war should break out, Ceylon will rival Australia as the first Dominion to rally to the side of the Mother Country."[87]

Sri Lanka's leadership nurtured fear of India because of the latter's gigantic size and also because of the trans-state Tamil equation. All the same, Sri Lanka did not inherit any major conflicts from the colonial period which would make it antagonistic towards India. Moreover, it could not afford to have adversarial relationship with it because this would have proved detrimental to its own security and independence. Nonetheless, the neutralization of its fear of India pushed Sri Lanka to seek some counterweight and, also, to promote peace and stability in the region for eliminating any possible pretext on part of India to encroach on Sri Lanka's independence for its strategic and defence imperatives.[88]

In the economic sphere, Sri Lanka was dependent for tea export on London. Most of the tea of Sri Lanka was sold through London tea auction. This linkage with London also had its influence on Sri Lanka's relationship with Britain.

Prior to independence, Sri Lanka was acutely dependent on India for its basic imports. Sri Lankan nationalism had begun to initiate steps against the acute dependence on India. This was perceived as giving India an additional leverage over Sri Lanka, over and above to what nature and history had already bequeathed it.

The recent structural changes in the international society - characterized as the Post-Cold War International Order or, alternatively, the New International Order - will have wide-ranging and crucial bearing on Sri Lanka's foreign policy. The end of the Cold war has led to the recession of the interests of the United States, Russia and China to acquire niches in South Asian international politics. Russia and China are now pursuing inward-looking foreign policies geared toward rapidly overcoming their neglected state and economy building programmes, while the United States has shown an inclination to promote stability in South Asia in cooperation with India.[89] This changed scenario in the interaction of these powers, who had occupied dominant positions in the Cold war era, has diminished the efficacy of Sri Lanka's traditional policy of manipulating them to reduce its own vulnerability, in addition to availing generous economic aid and assistance from them. Notwithstanding the changes in the attitudes of these powers, Sri Lanka continues to be confronted by a vulnerability of sorts to its national security and autonomy because of

the domestic as well as international challenges it experiences. It needs to find ways and means to tackle these challenges. Likewise, its need for foreign capital, technology and markets has not altered; in fact it has increased very acutely because of the multiple forms of crises faced by its civil society.

Furthermore, the Post-Cold War era has implied greater scope of autonomy and manoeurability for India in South Asia with the decline of interests of the United States, China, Russia and the likes in the region. India has not been able to take advantage of this situation because of its own preoccupations with its national integration and state-building problems and challenges. It is also constrained from pursuing assertive diplomacy with regard to its smaller neighbours by its policies of beneficial bilaterism based on confidence-building diplomacy to overcome their insecurity dilemma. Nevertheless this has not obviated the pressure on Sri Lanka to seek alternative mechanisms to mitigate India's over bearing presence and its concomitant implications and consequences.

The phenomenon of globalization which has attained near - hegemonic proportions in the realm of social development, through marginalization of competing theories and programmes is of great consequence to the foreign policy of Sri Lanka.[90] It enjoys almost unanimous appeal in policy-making circles in Sri Lanka and is treated as virtually synonymous with social development itself. Its foreign policy, which until the recent changes in the international environment pressed for a state interventionist approach for promoting social development and a democratic polity (conceding the fact that the policy has proved to be much wanting in its operational efficacy in the island), has now to articulate the agenda set by globalization: namely, cultivation of global capital, global market and global productive forces, and also convincingly market the comparative advantages of Sri Lanka in the international division of labour and the global geo-politics and geo-economy.

The international setting has thus exercised a diverse range of influences on the foreign policy of Sri Lanka : it has required Sri Lanka to promote the international normative authority structure; reduce and refrain from the Cold war; support

decolonization movement; maintain cordial relations with Britain and India, and yet balance out the overbearing presence of India and reduce economic dependence on it; foster economic diversification and interdependence; promote peace and stability in the South Asian region; and seek redressal of its domestic socio-economic predicaments through international assistance and opportunities.

Foreign Policy Objectives

The objectives of the foreign policy of Sri Lanka have, to some extent, been indicated in the analysis of the foreign policy determinants. What is now required for the purpose of conceptual and analytical clarity is to specifically highlight and explicate them.

I. Security Objective

Corresponding to the security motivation which includes both territorial integrity and political independence, Sri Lanka faced potential threats from three sources: (i) the Cold war – especially, the power rivalry in South and Southeast Asia, and Indian the Ocean region; (ii) India; and (iii) within the polity.

The two superpowers, that is, the United States and the former Soviet Union, individually did not pose any direct political threat to Sri Lanka. Both these powers were located away from Sri Lanka and as a result they had no direct conflict with Sri Lanka on issues of territorial claims, or direct territorial defence. However, Sri Lanka was susceptible to politico-strategic interference from them because of the Cold war, which had the potential of generating processes and forces which could have jeopardized the autonomy, stability and integrity of Sri Lanka.[91]

Although Sri Lanka did not inherit any major conflict with India from the colonial era, it was vulnerable to political interferences and military threats from the big neighbour. The presence of India in its immediate neighbourhood posed threats to Sri Lanka's identity and autonomy. Sri Lanka was susceptible to pressures from India because of the security and strategic imperatives of the latter. In fact, several prominent strategic thinkers and analysts of India, both past and present, have unambiguously advocated Indian naval presence in Sri Lanka for strengthening the defence of India.[92] Drawing attention to this aspect, for example, Panikkar wrote:

> "There has been an unfortunate tendency to overlook the sea in the discussion of India's defence problems. Until now, the discussion has proceeded on the assumption that security of India is a matter exclusively of North-East Frontier…. This is an entirely one-side(d) view of Indian history…. Ever since the sixteenth century… the future of India has been determined not on the land frontiers but on the oceanic expanse which washes the three sides of India."[93]

Since countries like Myanmar and Sri Lanka were then parts of the British Empire, he pleaded for close defence links with these countries. Other Indian defence analysts continued to demand such links between India and Sri Lanka even after their independence. The then Congress President Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya stated in 1949:

> "India and Sri Lanka must have a common defence strength and common defence resources. It cannot be that Ceylon is in friendship with a group with which India is not in friendship, not that Ceylon has no right to make its own alignments and declare its own affiliation – but if there are two hostile groups in the world and Ceylon and India are with one or the other of them and not with the same group it will be a bad day for both."[94]

This led India to accept Sri Lanka's defence arrangement with Britain as India did not have any conflicts with London.

Furthermore, India's direct politico-military encroachment of the independence of Sri Lanka may arise from the compulsions of Indian federal society and polity. The Tamil sub-nationalist forces in Tamil Nadu may persuade the Indian state to intervene in Sri Lanka to support the cause of the Sri Lankan Tamils. [95] Such threat perceptions are no longer deductions from the power politics and cultural politics perspectives; but are quite real with the rise to dominance of the culture-linguistic nationalism in Tamil Nadu since the mid-sixties.[96] Thus, Sri Lanka was required to defuse the Cold war as well as ensure its independence and integrity from India. Its foreign policy has had to promote such roles and interactions which would achieve these two objectives.

Besides, Sri Lanka had the potential to face threats emerging from its polity in the form of insurgency and secession. The island had to use its foreign policy to ameliorate the conditions which are conducive to the emergence of these political tendencies, and also to contain and resolve them when they surfaced on the political landscape of the island.

II. Stability and Economic Development

The stability motivation has led Sri Lanka to make economic development a major objective of its foreign policy. Through the conduct of its foreign policy, Sri Lanka has to promote markets for its traditional agricultural as well as new non-agricultural exports and obtain capital and technology to foster economic expansion and growth including promotion of industrialization and attainment of self-sufficiency in its basic sustenance needs.[97] This would enable the government to tackle challenges to its legitimacy and threats to the territorial structure of the state from within. The linkage between foreign policy and economy has been succinctly spelt out in a statement by the Foreign Minister of Jayewardene's cabinet:

> "Our Foreign Policy, I must say is being given a new orientation. We are a poor country, we are struggling for survival. Long economic stagnation has made it impossible for the people of this country to have a full and square

> meal. From stagnation to rapid development, it is a difficult process. Therefore, I seek to make our foreign policy an effective instrument of economic advancement."[98]

III. World Peace

World Peace is an important objective of the foreign policy of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's foreign policy commitment to world peace is not rhetorical. It arises from realistic considerations. The mobilization of international opinion for the cause of World Peace is necessary to delegitimize any form of international processes posing a threat to it. World Peace is enshrined in the Presidential Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy concerning International Affairs reads as follows:

> "The state shall promote international peace, security and cooperation and the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order, and shall endeavour to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in dealings among nations."[99]

IV. Anti-Colonialism, Anti-Imperialism and Racism

Closely related to the objectives of security and world peace is the foreign policy commitment of Sri Lanka to oppose of colonialism, imperialism and racism in international society. The existence of these phenomena would provide legitimacy to the domination of powerful states and races over small and weak states and peoples, and the presence of these phenomena provide a sanction to rivalry and conflict between dominant powers, as much as to the practice of wanton military aggression and warfare. Besides, colonialism, imperialism and racism tend to contest the normative foundations of the post World War II international society and question the viability of the existence of small and weak states. Therefore, Sri Lanka's commitment to anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racialism emanates from the imperatives of self-preservation, security and independence.[100] This was recognized by Sri Lanka from the early days of its

independence. For instance during the visit of the Indonesian President, Seokarno, to Sri Lanka in January, 1958, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in a joint statement with him asserted:

> "…the freedom and sovereignty regained by many countries in Asia and Africa should be perfected and safeguarded in the interest of all."[101]

V. New International Economic Order

Related to the objective of economic development, is Sri Lanka's commitment to the creation of a new international economic order. This objective of its foreign policy is meant to make the developed countries responsible for the economic progress of the less fortunate states by providing the latter economic assistance and market for their exports. The enshrinement of the principle of new economic order thus will help Sri Lanka to acquire market for its exports and obtain capital and technological assistance for the growth and development of its economy.[102] Successive governments of Sri Lanka have announced their support for creation of a new international economic order that will eliminate the poverty and backwardness of the Third World countries.

VI. Commonwealth

Britain and the British Commonwealth had special meaning to the leadership of Sri Lanka. They perceived the Commonwealth as a family to which they belong culturally and historically. They considered it their duty to foster good relations with Britain and other former British colonies and strengthen the Commonwealth. Of course, membership of the Commonwealth helped Sri Lanka to gain identity and confidence as well as feel secure, from India especially, when it was not the member of the UN. D.S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka emphasized the importance of the Commonwealth connection. In one of his speeches, he reiterated that:

> "My Government is keenly aware of significance and unity of the purpose of the Commonwealth in effort to preserve peace in the post-war world and will use its utmost endeavour to cherish and safeguard those valuable association."[103]

VII. Identification With Other Small And Weak States

The identification of Sri Lanka with other small and weak states is an essential prerequisite for achieving the foreign objectives of world peace, decolonization and anti-imperialism, and new economic order. It is only through identification with similarly placed countries that a common front can be formed; and a movement launched to remove the anomalies in international society which endanger the security and autonomy of the small and weak states or impose constraints on their socio-economic development. In the Asian Relations Conference of 1947, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who led a delegation remarked in the plenary session:

> "I am sure that it is the hope of us all that this conference is only the beginning of something much greater – a federation of free and equal Asiatic countries working not merely for our advantage but for the progress and peace of all mankind."[104]

VIII. Strengthening the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement (NAM)

To further the above objectives, Sri Lanka, like all other small and weak states, recognizes the importance of the UN which provides protection to small and weak states from aggression or domination by powerful states. Besides, the UN presents the small and weak states the forum to assert their group aspiration and identity as well as make their collective wisdom audible. It provides legitimacy and sanctions to their aspirations and demands. As a scholar in the context of the analysis of the foreign policy of another small state has aptly put it: "There only (the United Nations) it could plead the cause of world peace, and at the same time get recognition of its independence and sovereignty as also aid and assistance for its economic development."[105] Therefore the strengthening of the United Nations is an important objective of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. All political parties have expressed their unqualified support for the UN. However, it must be mentioned that Sri Lanka was not admitted to the UN till 1955 because of the exercise of veto to its

admission by the Soviet Union. It was only through the package deal that Sri Lanka gained membership of the UN.

And for the very same reason, Sri Lanka gives considerable importance to the nonaligned movement. Sri Lanka, a founding member of the NAM, has played a prominent role in strengthening the NAM and making it an effective force in international politics.

Foreign Policy Strategy

The actualization of these objectives required a comprehensive strategy. Theoretically speaking, three options were available to Sri Lanka in the post-World War II international relations : isolation, alignment and nonalignment.[106] The first two options were neither feasible nor efficacious for Sri Lanka. It was not possible for Sri Lanka to adopt the isolation strategy because of its dependence on the international society in security, political and economic matters. Its aspirations to play a prominent role in the movement for world peace, decolonization and anti-imperialism, group formation of small and developing states and strengthening the United Nations and the NAM also foreclosed its option for isolationism.

The domestic and international situation also dispelled the option of alignment. The nationalist resurgence in Asia as well as its own national aspiration would not have permitted it to join the American bloc with which the post-independent leadership had ideological affinity. Furthermore, such an alliance would have proved counter-productive as it would have provoked the Soviet Union into exploiting the socio-cultural and political cleavages within Sri Lanka to undermine the alliance. The communists within the island would have been too willing, if not to attempt the capture of political power, to attack the regime in Sri Lanka for aligning with the West. They would have found sympathetic supporters among the Sinhalese-Buddhist lay and bhikkhus who would have become alienated from the regime because of its preference for alignment with the West. Finally,

the alliance option would have prevented Sri Lanka from pursuing the objectives of promotion of world peace, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racism, making common cause with other developing and small states most of whom had rejected the alliance option and playing a constructive role within the United Nations system. In short, alignment would have isolated Sri Lanka from the emerging spirit of Afro-Asianism, compromised its independence and national pride and endangered its territorial integrity and political stability. Thus, Sri Lanka's domestic and international foreign policy determinants and its goals in international politics, predecided its foreign policy strategy to be nonaligned.[107]

Sri Lanka's nonalignment strategy, however, was not clearly spelt out at the time of attainment of independence as had been the case with India. Unlike India, Sri Lanka's political leadership did not have the exposure to international relations prior to independence nor had they deliberated on the foreign policy of independent Sri Lanka. Consequently, Sri Lanka took some years to clearly spell out the perception and content of its nonaligned foreign policy orientation. Although the credit for this goes to S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who in 1956 clearly spelt out the content and connotation of Sri Lanka's nonalignment, his three predecessors namely D.S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake, and Sir John Kotelawala had presented the notion of nonalignment to Sri Lanka's foreign policy, though they were quite ambiguous about its conception and content.

D.S. Senanayake described his foreign policy as guided by the conception of 'middle path' but he never clearly defined what he meant by it. He allowed the western powers such as the United States, Britain and France to use refueling and base facilities in Sri Lanka for their operations against communist movements in Southeast Asia. Dudley Senanayake described his foreign policy to be guided by nonalignment but he too continued, of course with some moderation, to pursue the pro-west and anti-communist bias followed by his father. Sir John Kotelawala more emphatically averred that Sri Lanka was guided by nonalignment in the conduct of its international relations, but at the same time he was more avowedly anti-communist. On one occasion he was seriously considering Sri Lanka's membership in the South -East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), an idea which of course he refrained from executing because of opposition

from his political opponents as well as well-wishers. Moreover, during the rule of these three leaders, Sri Lanka did not exchange diplomatic representatives with the Soviet Union and China, though it awarded the latter recognition. Thus, the early Sri Lanka leadership did not find any contradiction between Sri Lanka's nonalignment and its prowest bias and its lack of diplomatic relations with the communist states. This contradictory and ambiguous trends in Sri Lanka's foreign policy only demonstrate the lack of conceptual clarity of international relations and also perceptual conflicts over Sri Lanka's international image of the early leadership.[108]

These anomalies were, however, set right by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who clarified Sri Lanka's nonalignment as (i) non-membership in power blocs; (ii) friendship with both the blocs; (iii) committed to preserve decency in dealings between nations; (iv) committed to the cause of justice; and (v) freedom for independent stand on international issues, and concerns as well as right to evaluate the actions of other states. Thus S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike clearly clarified what nonalignment meant to Sri Lanka and also that it was not a principle mechanically guiding the island's foreign policy but a dynamic strategy for actualizing the foreign policy goals of Sri Lanka.[109] The operationalisation of the strategy meant,

(i) Maximization of the scope of manoeuvrability in international politics through dexterous exploitation of the mutual differences and competition among big and middle powers including regional actors.

(ii) Neutralization and diffusion of threat sources through various balancing tactics, like diversification of dependence in all its manifestations.

(iii) Escalation of the state's status in international arena through conscious image-building roles for acquiring alternate sources of support material as well as emotional.[110]

The operation of the nonaligned strategy to actualize the foreign policy objectives depended to a considerable extent on the decision-makers of foreign policy. The subsequent chapter deals with a descriptive analysis of the foreign policy making organization of Sri Lanka and processes therein.

NOTES

1. S. D. Muni, *Foreign Policy of Nepal,* (Delhi: National, 1973), p. 33.

2. George Liska, *Alliances and the Third World,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1968), p. 27.

3. This has been developed in detail in Muni, no. 1, p. 34.

4. For example, see James N. Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy,* (New York: Francis Pinter, 1980) and *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy,* (New York: Free Press, 1968).

5. See Joseph Frankel, *The Making of Foreign Policy,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 3.

6. See Muni, no. 1, p. 35.

7. Maldives comprises of many islands but only a few islands are habitable. See Urmila Phadnis, "Political dynamics of Island States : A Comparative Study of Sri Lanka and Maldives," *IDSA Journal*, Vol. 12, no. 3, 1980, pp. 305-322.

8. See M. D. Raghavan, *India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture,* (New Delhi, Asia Publishing House, 1969, revised edition).

9. K. Vikram Simha Rao, "Militarization of Sri Lanka : A Tabular Study," *Strategic Analysis*, (March, 1987), pp.1447-1459.

10. The first three Prime Minister of Sri Lanka perceived this fear. For detail see S.U. Kodikara, *Indo-Ceylon Relations Since Independence,* (Colombo: The Ceylon Institute of World Affairs, 1965); Urmila Phadnis, India : A Critical Variable in Ceylon Politics," *Niti*, July-September, 1971; and D.M. Prasad, *Ceylon's Foreign Policy Under the Bandaranaikes,* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1973) Chapter IV.

11. Phadnis, ibid., p. 3.

12. For this aspect see Arooran K. Nambi, *Tamil Renaissance and Dravidian Nationalism,* (Colombo: Lake House, 1980).

13. Refer Kodikara, no. 10 and his recent book *Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka*, (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1982), pp. 21-26.

14. See Vijaya Samaraweera, "The Evolution of a Pluralist Society" in K.M. De Silva, ed., *Sri Lanka : A Survey,* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1977), pp. 86-87.

15. See S. D. Muni, *Pangs of Proximity : India and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis,* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993), p. 41.

16. Cited ibid., pp. 41-42.

17. W. Howard Wriggins, *Ceylon : Dilemma of a New Nation,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 377 and Muni, no. 15, pp. 31-46.

18. Muni, no. 15, p.13.

19. Ibid., pp. 46-89.

20. K. M. De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka,* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 210-219.

21. Vijaya Samaraveera, "Foreign Policy" in De Silva, no. 14, p. 334.

22. This point has been dealt by Kodikara, no. 13, p. 25.

23. This has been dealt by most books dealing with the history of Sri Lanka. For a concise treatment of the issue see K. M. De Silva, "Historical Survey" in De Silva, no. 14, pp. 63-76.

24. See Elsie K. Cook, *Ceylon – Its Geography, Its Resources and Its People,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951).

25. Gerald Peiris, "The Physical Environment" in De Silva, no. 14, pp.16-18.

26. Ibid.

27. N. Balakrishnan and H. M. Gunasekara, "A Review of Demographic Trends" in De Silva, no. 14, pp. 114-122.

28. Ibid.

29. See B. H. Farmer, *Pioneer Peasant Colinization in the Dry Zone of Ceylon,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957).

30. M.W.J.G. Mendis, *The Planning Implications of the Mahaweli Development Project in Sri Lanka,* (Colombo: Lake House, 1973).

31. Peiris, no. 25, pp. 25-29.

32. See Robert N. Kearney, *Communalism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972).

33. Robert N. Kearney, "Ethnic Conflict and the Tamil Separatist Movement in Sri Lanka," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, no. 9, 1985, pp. 878-899; Urmila Phadnis, "The Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: An Overview," *Lanka Guardian*, Vol. 17, no. 20, February 5, 1985; and S. U. Kodikara, "The Separatist Eelam Movement in Sri Lanka : An Overview," *India Quarterly*, Vol. 37, no. 2, 1981, pp. 194-210.

34. Kitsiri Malatgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society – 1750-1900 : A Study of Religious Revival and Change,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

35. Samaraweera, no. 14, pp. 86-87. For a detailed account see Urmila Phadnis, *Religion and Politics in Sri Lanka,* (New Delhi: Manohar Books, 1976).

36. Phadnis, ibid., pp. 277-298.

37. Ibid.

38. N. Shanmuganathan, "History and Ideology in Sri Lanka," *Lanka Guardian*, Vol. 17, no. 15, December 1, 1984.

39. Robert N. Kearney, "Territorial Elements of Tamil Separatist Movement in Sri Lanka," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 60, no. 4, 1988.

40. De Silva, no. 20, pp. 426-429.

41. See A. J. Wilson, *Politics in Sri Lanka, 1947-73,* (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 163-168.

42. Kearney, no. 33, Phadnis, no. 33; and Kodikara, no. 33.

43. A Sivarajah, "Indo-Sri Lanka Relations and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis : The Tamil Nadu Factor" in S. U. Kodikara, ed., *South Asian Strategic Issues : Sri Lankan Perspectives,* (New Delhi: Sage, 1990), pp. 135-159.

44. Ibid.; also see Partha S. Ghosh, *Cooperation and Conflict in South Asia,* (New Delhi: Manohar Books, 1990), pp. 154-213.

45. For in depth analysis of this problem see Kodikara, no. 9, and Lalit Kumar, *India – Sri Lanka : Sirimavo-Shastri Pact,* (New Delhi: Chetana Publications, 1977).

46. Kumar, ibid.

47. James Jupp, *Sri Lanka : Third World Democracy,* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), pp. 30-33.

48. Ibid., pp. 151-157.

49. Ibid., p. 34.

50. Ibid., pp. 38-43.

51. For good account of the political economy of Sri Lanka refer Pradeep Bhargava, *Political Economy of Sri Lanka*, (New Delhi: Navrang, 1987) and Satchi Ponnambalam, *Dependent Capitalism in Crisis : The Sri Lankan Economy 1948-80,* (London: Zed Press, 1981).

52. Neil De Votta "Sri Lanka's Structural Adjustment Program and Its Impact on Indo-Lanka Relations," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, no. 5, 1998, p. 458.

53. K. M. De Silva, no. 20, pp. 273-74.

54. For a graphic account see Ibid., pp. 286-88.

55. See Bhargava, no. 51, pp. 36-41.

56. Ibid., pp. 37-38.

57. De Silva, no. 20, pp. 402-416.

58. Bhargava, no. 51, p. 40.

59. Ibid., p. 42.

60. Ibid., p. 50.

61. www.theodara.com/wfbcurrent/Sri Lanka/People.

62. D.D. De Souza, "Education : An Era of Reform" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 13, no. 12, 1973, pp. 1169-70.

63. Bhargava, no. 51, p. 173.

64. H. M. Gunasekara, "Foreign Trade of Sri lanka" in De Silva, no. 14, pp. 176-177.

65. Urmila Phadnis, *Sri Lanka : Issues and Prospects in the 1980,* (unpublished manuscript, 1983), pp. 68-69. Also see De Votta, no. 52, p. 461.

66. Ibid.

67. For a brief elucidation of the Mahaweli Project and the Greater Colombo Economic Commission, see N. Balakrishnan, "Economic Policies and Trends in Sri Lanka," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 20, no.9, 1980, pp. 894-897.

68. For an elaborate discussion see K. M. De Silva, "Politics and Political System" in K.M. De Silva, ed., *Sri Lanka : Problems of Governance,* (New Delhi: Konark, 1993), pp. 9-11.

69. Ibid., pp. 11-13.

70. Ibid.

71. Phadnis, no. 35.

72. See Satchi Ponnambalam, no. 51, pp. 31-43.

73. De Silva, no. 68.

74. See Gananath Obeysekere, "Some Comments in the Social Background of the April 1971 Insurgency in Sri Lanka," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 33, no. 3, 1974, pp. 367-84; and Fred Halliday, "The Ceylonese Insurrection" in Robin Blackburn, ed., *Explosion in the Subcontinent,* (London: Penguin, 1975), pp. 152-183. For recent politics of the JVP see Bryan Pfaffenberger, "Sri Lanka in 1987 : Indian Intervention and Resurgence of the JVP," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, no. 2, 1988, pp. 137-147; and S.

U. Kodikara, "The Continuing Crisis in Sri Lanka : The JVP, the Indian Troops and Tamil Politics," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 29, no. 7, 1989, pp. 716-724.

75. See De Silva, no. 68, pp. 67-78.

76. See Satchi Ponnambalam, *Sri Lanka : The National Question and the Tamil Liberation Struggle,* (London: Zed Books 1983).

77. See Satchi Ponnambalam, no. 51, pp. 142-170; and Girijesh Pant, "New Economic Policy of Sri Lanka : Conflicts and Contradictions" in Urmila Phadnis, et.al., eds., *Domestic Conflicts in South Asia II : Economic and Ethnic Dimensions,* (New Delhi: South Asia Books, 1986).

78. See Ponnambalam, no. 76.

79. For detailed discussion on electoral politics, party system and political regimes refer, Jupp, no. 47, Wilson, no. 41, and Wriggins, no. 17.

80. Ibid., and also refer Urmila Phadnis, "Politics of Coalition Governments in Sri Lanka" in K.P. Karunakaran, ed., *Coalition Government in India : Problems and Prospects,* (Dehradun: Institute of Advanced Studies, 1975), pp. 65-81.

81. For a good discussion of the international normative structure see Kjell Goldman, "The International Power Structure : Traditional Theory and New Reality" in Kjell Goldman, et.al., eds., *Power Capabilities and Interdependence : Problems in the Study of International Influence,* (London: Sage, 1979), pp. 7-36. Also refer Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society : A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1977).

82. For details see D. F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins,* (New York: Doubleday, 1961); L.J. Halle, *The Cold War as History* (New York: Chatto and Windus, 1967); Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics : 1945-2000* (New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2005); and A. Lukas, *A History of the Cold War* (New York: Doubleday, 1961).

83. Refer, H.S.S. Nissanka, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy : A Study in Non-alignment,* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1984), pp. 11-12.

84. See G.H. Jansen, *Afro-Asia and Non-alignment*, (London: Faber, 1966).

85. Nissanka, no. 83, pp. 49-82.

86. Ibid.

87. Cited by Lucy M. Jacob, *Sri Lanka : From Dominion to Republic,* (Delhi: National, 1973), p. 22.

88. See Kodikara, no. 10.

89. See Muni, no. 15, pp. 56-57; also see P.V. Rao, "Foreign Involvement in Sri Lanka," *The Round Table*, No. 309, 1989, pp. 88-100.

90. See J. A. Scholte, *Globalization : A Critical Introduction,* (London: Macmillan, 2005).

91. Nissanka, no. 83, pp. 49-82.

92. Most Sri Lankan analysts have hyper sensitively excepted such arguments in their analysis to support their contention that there is an opinion in India's foreign policy making which wants India to subordinate Sri Lanka's independence to India's national security. For example see Kodikara, no. 13, pp. 22-25.

93. Cited in Muni, no. 15, pp. 32-37.

94. Ibid.

95. This fear has been nurtured by Sri Lankan leadership ever since that island attained independence. See Phadnis, no. 10, and Sivarajah, no. 43.

96. Ibid., Sivarajah.

97. See election manifestos of various political parties of Sri Lanka.

98. *Sri Lanka Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 12, (7-12-1977) Cols. 2503-2507.

99. *The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, Article 27(15), p. 18.

100. This too is espoused in the election manifestos of all political parties.

101. See *The Foreign Policy of Ceylon : Extracts from Statements of the Late Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike,* (Colombo: Govt. Press, 1961), pp. 113-114.

102. This is articulated by all political parties.

103. See Jacob, no. 87, p. 31.

104. Cited in Prasad, no. 10, p. 148.

105. Muni, no. 1, p. 54.

106. For detailed discussion of foreign policy strategies refer, K.J. Holsti, *International Politics : A Framework for Analysis,* (Englewoodcliff: Prentice Hall, 1988).

107. See Urmila Phadnis and Sivananda Patnaik, "Non-alignment as a Foreign Policy Strategy : A Case Study of Sri Lanka," *International Studies*, Vol. 20, nos. 1-2, 1981; and also see Urmila Phadnis, "Ceylon : Domestic Compulsions" in K.P. Karunakaran, ed., *Outside the Contest,* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1963).

108. For a comprehensive discussion of this issue see Nissanka, no. 83, pp. 49-82.

109. Ibid.

110. Adapted with modification from S. D. Muni, "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy" in S.D. Muni, ed., *Nepal : An Assertive Monarchy*, (New Delhi: Chetna Publications, 1977), p. 129.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY MAKING IN SRI LANKA: INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

I

The foreign policy of a state is formulated and managed generally by the persons who are responsible for it. Other individuals and social groups who are knowledgeable on international relations or whose socio-economic interests are related to the external relations of the state try to influence the foreign policy making process. The citizens are not directly involved in the making of foreign policy. They are not concerned with foreign policy except when situations in the international arena affect their civil liberties or their religious, linguistic and cultural sentiments. However, such occasions of mass involvement in foreign policy affairs is seldom. Only in extreme situations do the mass get involved in foreign policy making process.[1] Even on these occasions it is the socio-political elites who mobilize the masses. Usually the foreign policy makers take note of popular sentiments and interests in the making and execution of foreign policy and thereby foreclose mass involvement.

The term foreign policy elite is used to describe the official as well as non-official individuals and groups involved in the making and implementation of foreign policy. While the official elites formulate the foreign policy, the non-official elites influence the foreign policy making process. Thus, foreign policy of a state emerges from the interactions among its foreign policy elites. Therefore, it is essential for acquiring a better understanding of the foreign policy making of state to know not only the formal organization of foreign policy making and implementation but also to identify the individuals and groups who play important roles in the making of foreign policy and analyze the loci of their interests and activities.

There are very few theoretically oriented studies on the foreign policy making organizations and processes in small states. Of these studies, the works of East and Reid are of special theoretical salience. It will be appropriate to discuss briefly the main contentions of these scholars before analyzing Sri Lanka's foreign policy making organization and interactions.

East has put-forth three inter-related propositions on the organization of foreign policy making in small states. Firstly, small states are bound to have a small organization for foreign policy making and implementation because of their limited economic resources. Secondly, they will maintain diplomatic relations, i.e. missions abroad, in a limited number of countries because of limited resources and also because of their limited range of foreign policy interests. Finally few people will be involved in the making and implementation of foreign policy in small states.[2] Stretching East's contention further Reid has argued that foreign policy making in small states will be highly personalized, left mainly to the head of government because of the lack of interest on foreign affairs by other leaders or elites, and also because of the smallness of the organization of foreign policy making and implementation.[3]

The observations made by East and Reid appear to be valid but not entirely without reservations. While small states lack in resources which would preclude them from having a relatively large foreign office and diplomatic missions in a large number of countries, the desire of the leadership of small states to promote their international identity and independence as well as defence of their countries will impel them to maintain diplomatic missions in a large number countries and also in international organizations. Furthermore, their economic imperatives will, on a constant basis, pressurize them for the expansion of sources for aid and assistance as well as for the diversification of markets for their exports in order to yield better returns. Consequently, small states will experience gradual growth of their foreign policy machinery that is, foreign office and missions abroad. Likewise there will be increase in the number of people involved in the making of foreign policy and the personalized style of formulating the foreign policy will tend to decrease with the growth of foreign policy traditions and the institutionalization of foreign policy machinery.

II

Background

When Sri Lanka gained independence from British colonial rule on February 4, 1948, it did not inherit any foreign policy institution and tradition. The colonial administration did not maintain diplomatic relations with any country or in international organization except having an office in New Delhi to look after the problems of the Indian Tamil immigrant labour force in Sri Lanka. Also Sri Lankan leaders belonging to the UNP, the dominant political party, had not evinced much interest on international relations during the colonial period as they were preoccupied with domestic issues. Consequently, when Sri Lanka attained independence it did not inherit a foreign policy making organization or tradition; neither its bureaucrats nor its leaders were experienced in diplomacy and international affairs.[4]

This situation was much different from that of India. The British India Administration had direct diplomatic relations with several countries and representations in many international organizations. Also the British India Administration had long experience of dealing with the Indian princely states who for all practical purposes were autonomous political entities. More importantly, the Indian nationalist leaders belonging to the Congress Party which had led the Indian freedom movement had considerable exposure to international affairs from the beginning of the century. They had developed clear positions on most international problems, issues and events then in vogue. As a result, India had the benefit of inheriting from the colonial administration some sort of an organization which formed the base for building its foreign policy-making edifice and also leaders and bureaucrats with experience in and exposure to international affairs.[5]

Unlike the Indian leadership, the prominent leaders of Sri Lankan freedom movement had not shown much interest in the international affairs of the period. They had acceptably left this area to the British Colonial Government, and generally expressed approval or support for British stands on world affairs. Only towards the end of the colonial rule did Sri Lankan leaders petition for devolution of power in the sphere of external affairs, but the request was not made with vigour and strength and also the

colonial administration was not inclined to concede to their request. However, the nationalist leaders had clearly articulated position on the Indian Tamil Labour Force in Sri Lanka whom they considered as 'birds of passage,' with no genuine stake in the socio-economic development of Sri Lanka and consequently wanted their repatriation to India.

While the mainstream leadership was ill-equipped in the area of diplomacy and foreign affairs,[6] the leadership of the Communist and Trotskyite parties, which were politically dominant in the urban areas, had well defined positions on many international issues.[7] They were opposed to the phenomena of imperialism, colonialism and capitalism. Consequently they were not favourably disposed towards the capitalist states including Britain. However, they did not have the privilege of conducting the foreign policy.[8]

The responsibility of establishing the foreign policy machinery and conducting the foreign policy fell upon the Sri Lankan leadership who acquired power from Britain. D.S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of independent Sri Lanka organized the Ministry of External Affairs which was a very rudimentary level organization co-existing with the Ministry of Defence and established diplomatic missions in a few countries – mostly Commonwealth States and the US. Since then the Foreign Office has grown into an elaborate organization and in 1972 it became an independent and separate ministry. Also there has been significant expansion in the number of diplomatic missions abroad. The growth and innovation in foreign office and missions have occurred gradually over the past forty years.

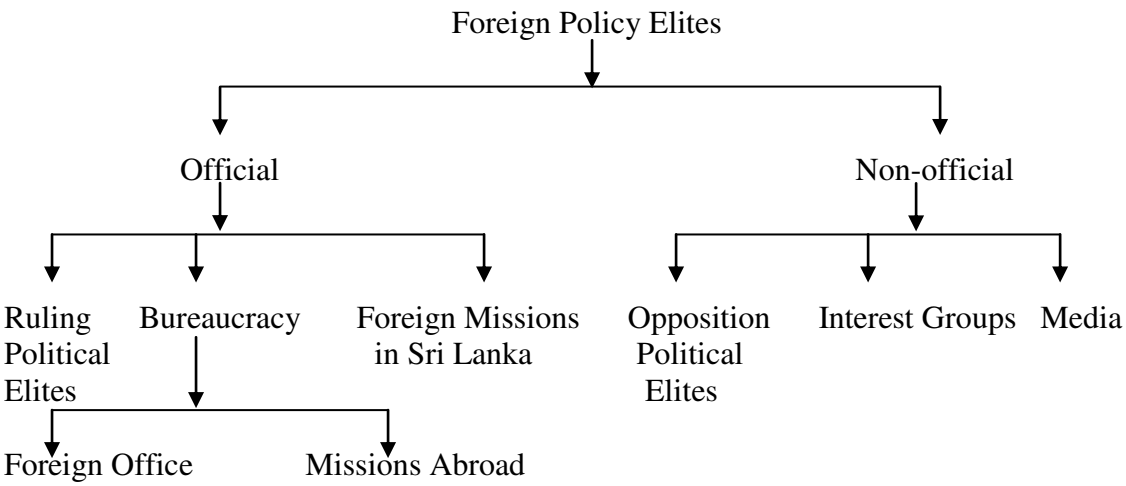
Besides, the political leaders in power and officials of the foreign office, several non-official groups and individuals have been significant actors in foreign policy making in Sri Lanka. The most important non-government source of foreign policy have been the leaders of political parties sitting in the opposition benches in Parliament.[9] During the early days of independence, foreign embassies in Sri Lanka, especially those of UK, USA, and India also made important inputs in the making of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. As Nissanka remarks based on his interview with Sir John Kotelawala. "….Foreign Affairs Division was poorly equipped… For important matters like the Bandung Conference

(1955) Sir John had to turn to a number of persons outside his Foreign Office for consultation and guidance."[10] Mostly he consulted foreign diplomats posted to Sri Lanka. While various economic and cultural interest groups have tried to influence foreign policy making. The Sri Lankan media has been a noteworthy actor in this context.

A broad diagrammatic delineation of foreign policy elites in Sri Lanka is as follows:

Table 1

Foreign Policy Elites



While the non-official political elites have been influential in foreign policy making, it is the official elites formally responsible for foreign policy who play the most important role in its formulation and implementation. During the days of parliamentary democracy which was in vogue from 1948 to 1977 the Prime Minister had been the most important actor in the making and implementation of foreign policy. The pre-eminence of the Prime Minister had occurred because of the Soulbury Constitution which was in vogue from 1948-1972 as well as the overall nature of Sri Lanka's polity. This tradition was passed over in 1978 to the Presidential system of government with President becoming the key player in the making of Sri Lanka's foreign policy, although he does not formally head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

III

The Structure of the Foreign Policy Machinery

The Head of Government

The Head of Government has been the most powerful and the most important functionary in the foreign policy making process. For a period of nearly thirty years, that is from 1948 to 1977, the Prime Minister headed the foreign policy machinery. Article 46(4) of the Soulbury Constitution stipulated that the portfolios of Defence and External Affairs should be under the Prime Minister. The Soulbury Constitution had no provisions for parliamentary approval of foreign policy except on allocation of finance. But parliament has had very little say on this matter. The allocation to the Ministry of External Affairs has increased with successive governments.[11] The increase has been an easy affair as the Prime Minister heads the ministry. Furthermore, the Prime Minister exercised unrestrained authority in foreign policy process by virtue of the constitutional provision and also by virtue of the freedom from parliamentary encumbrances.

The rationale for the inclusion of Article 46(4) in the independent constitution can be found in the nature of transfer of power in Sri Lanka. The Colonial Government transferred power to the liberal elites who were loyal to Britain. The inclusion of Article 46(4) was meant to protect British interests in the island by strengthening the hands of D.S. Senanayake whose assumption of power was a foregone conclusion. It is also a fact that D.S. Senanayake had requested for such an arrangement to enable him to have firm control over Defence and External Affairs whereby he would be in a strong position to contain the communists within Sri Lanka. D.S. Senanayake also signed External Affairs and Defence Agreements (November, 1947) with Britain which enabled the latter to guide Sri Lanka in the management of her external relations including the use of British foreign missions to represent the interests of Sri Lanka in countries where Sri Lanka did not have diplomatic representation. These agreements were also meant to provide defence to the island from any possible threats from India which had attained independence in August 1947, and from any threats from the communist countries. Thus, the inclusion of Article

46(4) and the External Affairs and Defence agreements arose from the union of the interests of the imperial authority and their local faithfuls.[12]

The power of the Prime Minister in the sphere of foreign policy was further enhanced by the lack of the custom of the Cabinet review of this subject and the absence of the system of cabinet subcommittees on foreign policy. This situation arose because most ministers, barring one or two had little or no interest in foreign policy. Sir John Kotelawala had gone on record that there were only two ministers in his cabinet who were interested in foreign affairs. Further, according to Sir John the situation was true even during the times of his predecessors.[13] Only during the United Front Government (1970-77) could one see a sizable number of prominent ministers who were very knowledgeable on international relations, showing interest in foreign affairs.[14] But this did not continue in the succeeding UNP government.

The Republican Constitution which replaced the Soulbury Constitution in 1972 did not have the provision of Article 46(4). It formally abandoned it thereby making it possible to separate Defence and External Affairs from Prime Ministership. However, Sirimavo Bandaranaike who headed the United Front government retained the two portfolios under her charge. It was only when the UNP came to power in 1977 Prime Minister J.R. Jayewardene retained Defence portfolio but appointed A.C.S. Hameed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although Hameed played an important role in foreign policy process, J.R. Jayewardene had the decisive voice.

The role of the Prime Minister in foreign policy making has varied from individual to individual. D.S. Senanayake was low profile in foreign policy matters. He opted for strengthening relations with Commonwealth countries and the U.S. He did not embark on a foreign policy which was meant to project and promote the international status and image of Sri Lanka. This was also true of his successor, his son Dudley Senanayake. It was only when Sir John Kotelawala assumed charge of prime ministership that foreign policy gained prominence. He was keen on playing a prominent role in international relations be it the Commonwealth or the Afro-Asian movement. The situation changed

after the ascendance of Mr. Bandaranaike to power. He dropped all foreign policy advisors of the previous government and began with much self-confidence to guide foreign policy matters himself. It is stated that he occasionally consulted Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. During the terms of his wife Sirimavo Bandaranaike foreign policy remained the preoccupation of the Prime Minister. Although Mrs. Bandaranaike had advisors like Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, Sunethra Rupa Singhe, and Tissa Wijeyeratne (who were all related her) all these advisors have admitted that Mrs. Bandaranaike was thoroughly knowledgeable on world problems and trends in international relations. Though she consulted her advisors, in the final instance she usually made her own decision on foreign policy matters.[15]

In 1978, the UNP adopted a Presidential form of government in place of the Westminister model. J.R. Jayewardene became the first executive President of Sri Lanka. Jayewardene, a seasoned hand at international relations having served as an advisor on foreign policy matters to successive UNP governments beginning from 1948, as the Head of State as well as the Head of Government he continued to hold the reins on foreign policy. He gave directives on all important foreign policy issues although he had a Minister for Foreign Affairs who looked after the routine foreign policy matters. Thus, there has been no change in the tradition of the Head of Government being the most important actor in foreign policy making process even after the adoption of the presidential form of government.[16]

Although the political leadership exercises the formal authority as well as the actual influence in the making and implementation of foreign policy, this does not give them the freedom to give vent to their idiosyncrasies which are not in harmony with the ideology of the ruling party and also with the national interest of the country. For example, Sir John Kotelawala wanted Sri Lanka to become a member of the SEATO, but he failed in the task because of the opposition from his own party, the UNP, as well as the opposition parties. Likewise, Dudley Senanayake though he was an anti-communist concluded the Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement with China in 1952 because of economic and political compulsions. Similarly W. Dahanayake who assumed power after the assassination of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike had to quit the government and the SLFP for

pursuing a pro-west foreign policy which was contrary to the foreign policy orientation of the SLFP. Thus, it will be wrong to assume that Sri Lanka's foreign policy is exclusively the handiwork of the Prime Minister or now the Executive President, though the person holding this post is the most important actor in foreign policy making sphere. He is guided by the ideology and political imperatives of his party as well as the challenges to the legitimacy of the government and the compulsions of the economy and the polity.

Parliamentary Secretary/Deputy Minister

To cope with overburdening of functions of cabinet ministers, the Soulbury Constitution provided for the post of Parliamentary Secretary to assist the ministers in discharging their duties. Article 47 of the Soulbury Constitution stated that the Governor General may appoint parliament secretaries to assist the ministers in their parliamentary and departmental duties. The 1972 Republican Constitution replaced the term Parliamentary Secretary with the term Deputy Minister.

Although Deputy Ministers/Parliamentary Secretaries did not have well-specified authority and functions, they have exercised significant influence in the foreign policy making processes by virtue of their intellectual, administrative and political competence and acumen. In the sphere of foreign policy, very competent persons had occupied the position of Parliamentary Secretary, for example, R.G. Senanayake (1947-1952), T.B. Subasinghe (1952-1956), Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike (1960-1965), J.R. Jayewardene (1965-70), Lakshman Jayakkody (1970-77). It may also be highlighted that persons like J.R. Jayewardene and Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike in addition to deputizing in the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs had independent charge of cabinet portfolios. They were extremely articulate spokespersons on foreign policy of their respective governments.

Permanent Secretary/Secretary

The bureaucratic set up of the foreign policy machinery is headed by the Secretary who prior to the 1972 Republican Constitution was designated as the Permanent Secretary. The Secretary is responsible for administering the foreign affairs department as well as coordinating the activities of the missions abroad. He has to attend to other formal duties such as accompanying the President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on foreign tours, attending receptions hosted by foreign missions in Sri Lanka, managing the visits of foreign dignitaries, managing international conferences hosted by Sri Lanka and preparing foreign policy statements and briefs. In addition to foreign affairs, the Secretary till 1972 had to look after Defence Department too.

At its inception senior civil servants belonging to the Ceylon Civil Service (CCS) had been appointed to this post. But with the passage of time persons belonging to the career diplomatic service namely the Sri Lankan Overseas Service (SLOS) have attained the seniority to occupy this post. The first Permanent Secretary Kanthiah Vaithianathan (1948-54), an impressive and powerful personality, had been given a free hand by D.S. Senanayake to organize and establish the Department of External Affairs. Vaithianathan had also played important role in the establishment of, and recruitment to the Sri Lankan Overseas Service. His advices were heeded to by D.S. Senanayake. Gunasena de Soyza (1954-59) who succeeded Vaithianathan was less flamboyant and assertive and usually preferred the role of policy execution and implementation than policy initiation. This was quite natural of him as he served under two assertive Prime Ministers – that is, Sir John Kotelawala and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. The period of his successor M.F. de S. Jayaratne was short (1959-60) but he attempted to eradicate many unhappy practices in the department. It must be noted that during his tenure as Permanent Secretary, Sri Lanka did not have a dominant and stable Prime Minister. The period of the fourth Permanent Secretary, N.Q. Dias (1961-65) was marked by his efforts to Sinhalize the foreign office set up. Dias was succeeded by G.V.P. Samarsinghe (1965-7) who was the Permanent Secretary of Immigration and Emigration Department before coming to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs. His successor was A.R. Ratnavale (1970-72) who served for

a brief period after which he was posted as an ambassador. W.T. Jayasinghe succeeded him as the Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The 1972 Republican Constitution changed the nomenclature of the foreign policy organization from External Affairs to Foreign Affairs. Also in the 1970s the ministry had a new post of Additional Secretary who was given equal powers with that of the Secretary in all matters pertaining to the management of foreign affairs of the country. In May, 1974, Tissa Wijeyeratne – an attorney by training and a non-career diplomat who was a political appointee as the Ambassador of Sri Lanka to France – was appointed as the Additional Secretary by special orders of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike to improve the functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Wijeyeratne attempted to introduce measures which were meant to improve the coordination between the foreign office and the missions abroad. Among his several measures to improve the functioning of the foreign office he implemented a system of daily meetings with the directors of foreign affairs. As soon as the directors came to office in the morning, they were requested to study the information sent by the missions abroad, analyze the problems that have cropped up and recommend solutions to the Additional Secretary as well as bring to the notice of the Additional Secretary any other matters which might affect Sri Lanka's interests abroad. He was also instrumental in the formulation of the policy which allowed aspirants to the Sri Lankan Overseas Service to appear at the recruitment examination in Sinhala or Tamil in addition to English. However, Wijeyeratne stay at the Foreign office was short-lived. He resigned from the government in 1976 because of differences of opinion with senior officers of the Sri Lanka Overseas Service Cadre.[17]

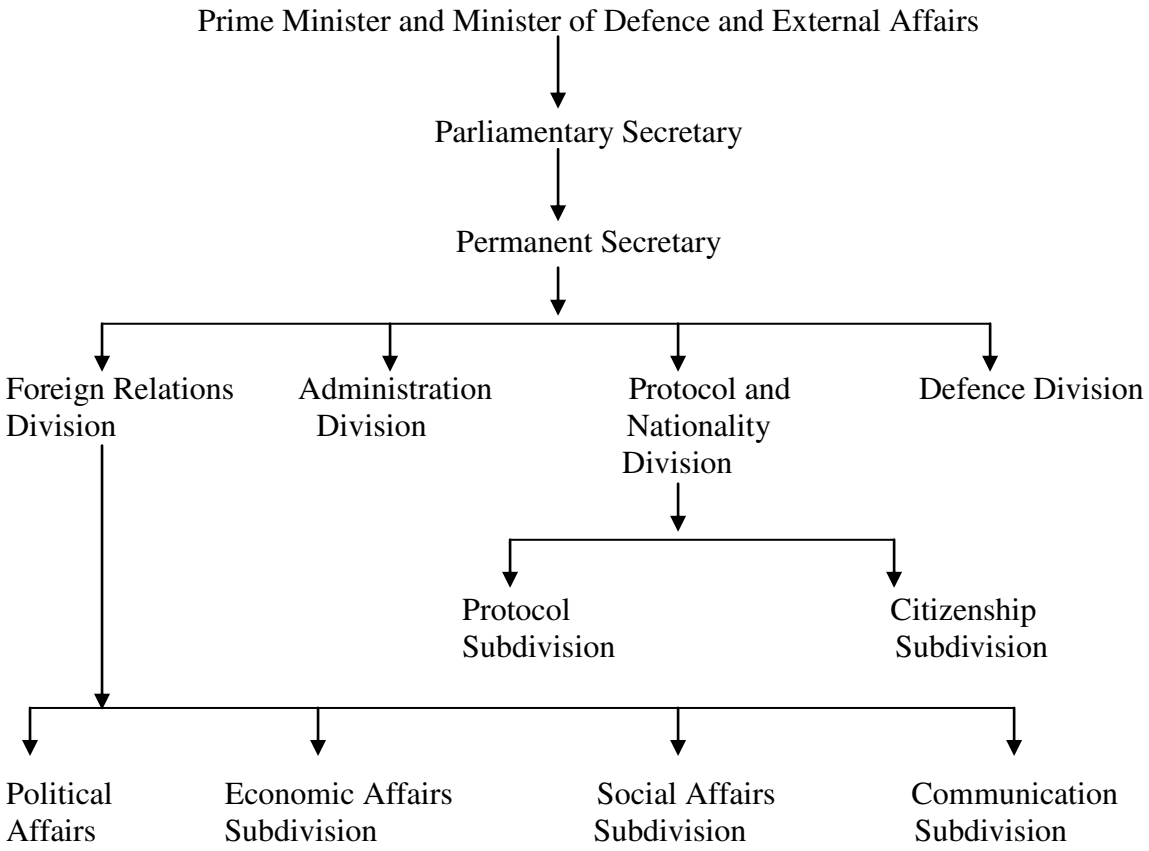
In addition to Wijeyeratne, Gamini Corea the then Secretary of Planning and Economic Affairs and an eminent economist exercised much influence on Mrs.Bandaranaike. But Corea too did not stay in the services of government for long as he moved to New York on a United Nations assignment.

Foreign Office Organization

The Foreign Office has been enlarged and its internal structure differentiated with the passage of time. In 1949, the Ministry had four divisions only three of which dealt with foreign affairs. The three divisions each headed by an Assistant Secretary were Foreign Relations, Protocol and Nationality, and Administration. The Foreign Relations Division was further subdivided into four subdivisions and assigned specific duties. The fourth division pertained to Defence which included Police, Army, Air Force and Navy. The combination of External Affairs and Defence was detrimental to the former as the Prime Minister and the Permanent Secretary had to devote much time to the Defence Division (see Table 2). Nissanka has aptly commented on this issue "Both the Prime Minister and the Permanent Secretary had to devote most of their time to internal affairs as security forces such as Police, Army, Navy and Air Force were directly under them. Prime Ministers were usually compelled by necessity to devote more time to internal affairs of the country because their position rested on the political power built by them. The Foreign Relations and Protocol Divisions were given very little space in the premises which housed the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs."[18]

Table 2

The Structure of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs (1949)

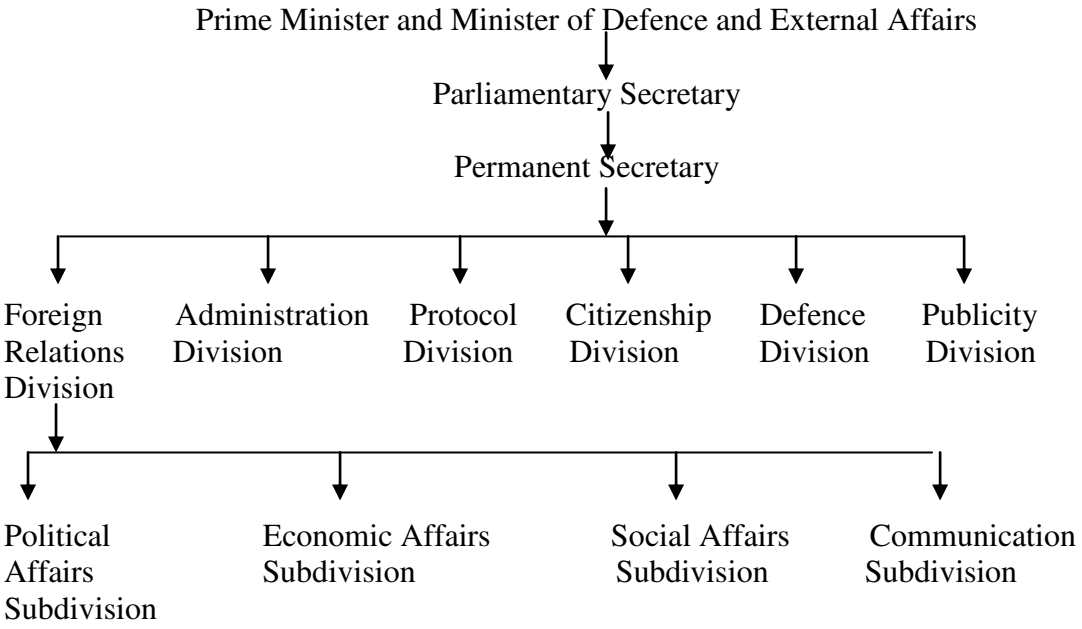


Source: Appathurai, no. 4.

Some time during the mid-fifties the ministry was reorganized with the Protocol and Nationality Division being bifurcated into separate divisions and the Publicity Division also made into a separate unit (see Table 3).

Table 3

The Structure of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs (1956)

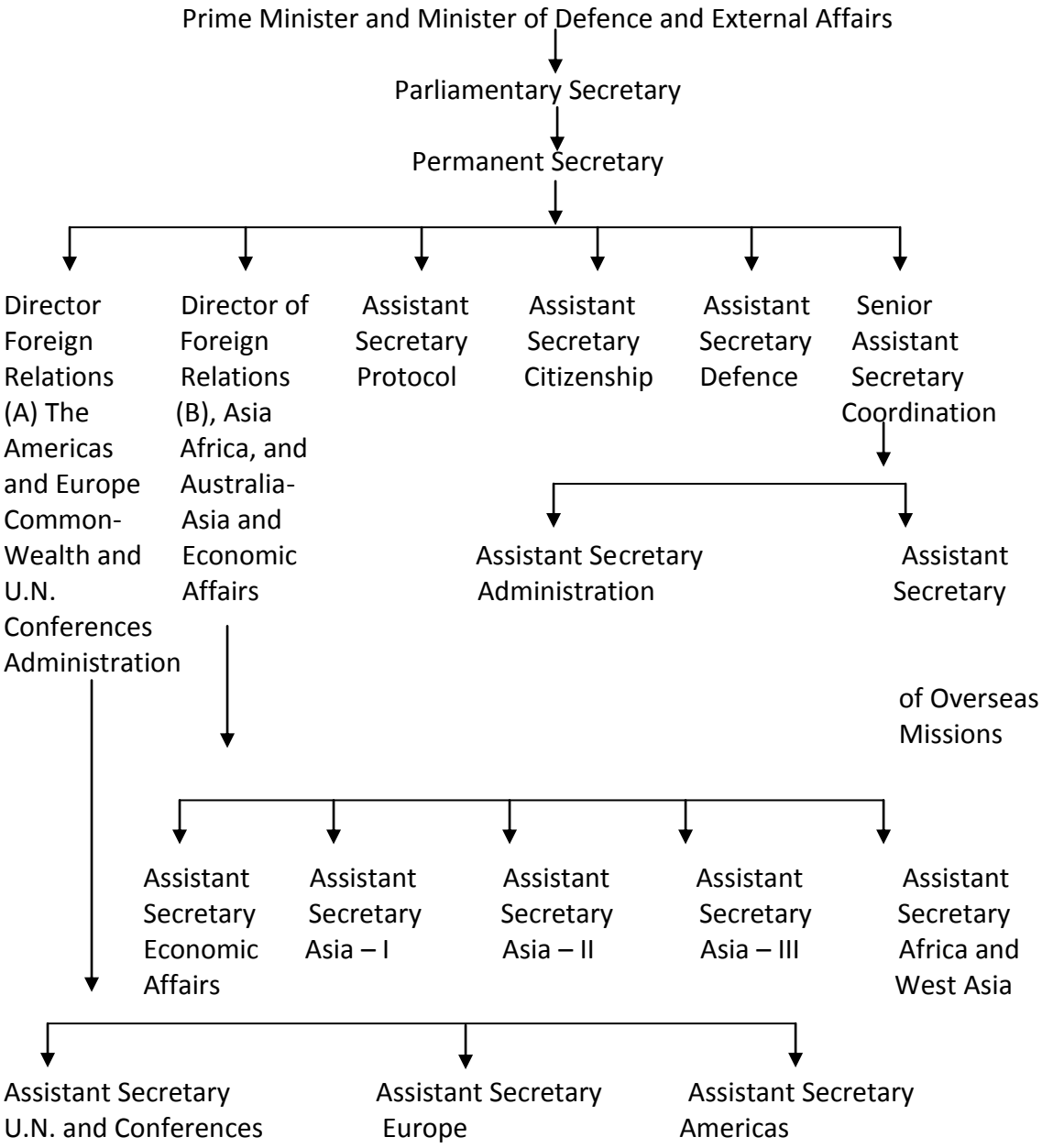


Source: Appathurai, no. 4.

In the early sixties the ministry was reorganized on area-desk system, moreover major expansions were undertaken in the form of the establishment of new divisions. Furthermore, a new post of Director General was created to coordinate the activities of the divisions and relieve the Permanent Secretary of the excess burden. G.S. Peiris who was originally a senior member of the Ceylon Civil Service and had opted for the Ceylon Overseas Service after independence was appointed to the post of Director General. However, after holding charge of this post for two years, he was appointed as Sri Lanka's Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany. After Peiris, no person with required seniority to become Director General could be found within Ceylon Overseas Service, and other ministries did not agree to depute a senior officer from the Ceylon Civil Service cadre for the post. Consequently the post of Director General was abolished and in its place two new posts of Director were created to coordinate diplomatic activities between the Foreign Office and missions abroad (see Table 4).

Table 4

The Structure of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs (1966)

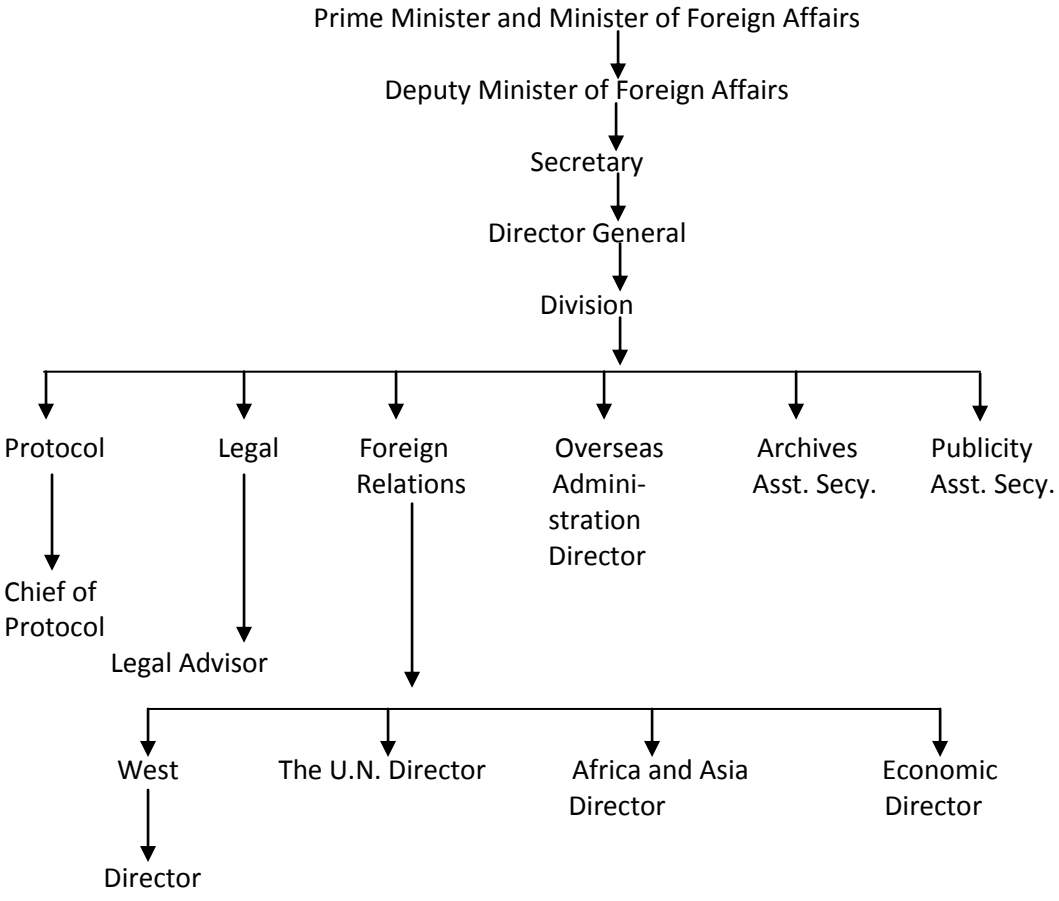


Source: Appathurai, no. 4.

Again in the early 1970s the Foreign Office was reorganized on the following lines (see Table 5). The Foreign Office and Defence were separated into two separate ministries. The post of Director General was reintroduced and Foreign Relations was divided into four divisions each of which was headed by a Director. The Directors were assisted by Assistant Directors or Assistant Secretaries. Furthermore, the nomenclature of External Affairs Ministry was changed to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The posts of Parliamentary Secretary and Permanent Secretary were re-designated as Deputy Minister and Secretary respectively. New designations were introduced such as Legal Advisor to indicate that the post was not an Sri Lankan Overseas Service cadre appointment. There was no separate directorate for nonaligned conference and Asia and Africa divisions were merged together and managed by a single Director.

Table 5

The Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1972)

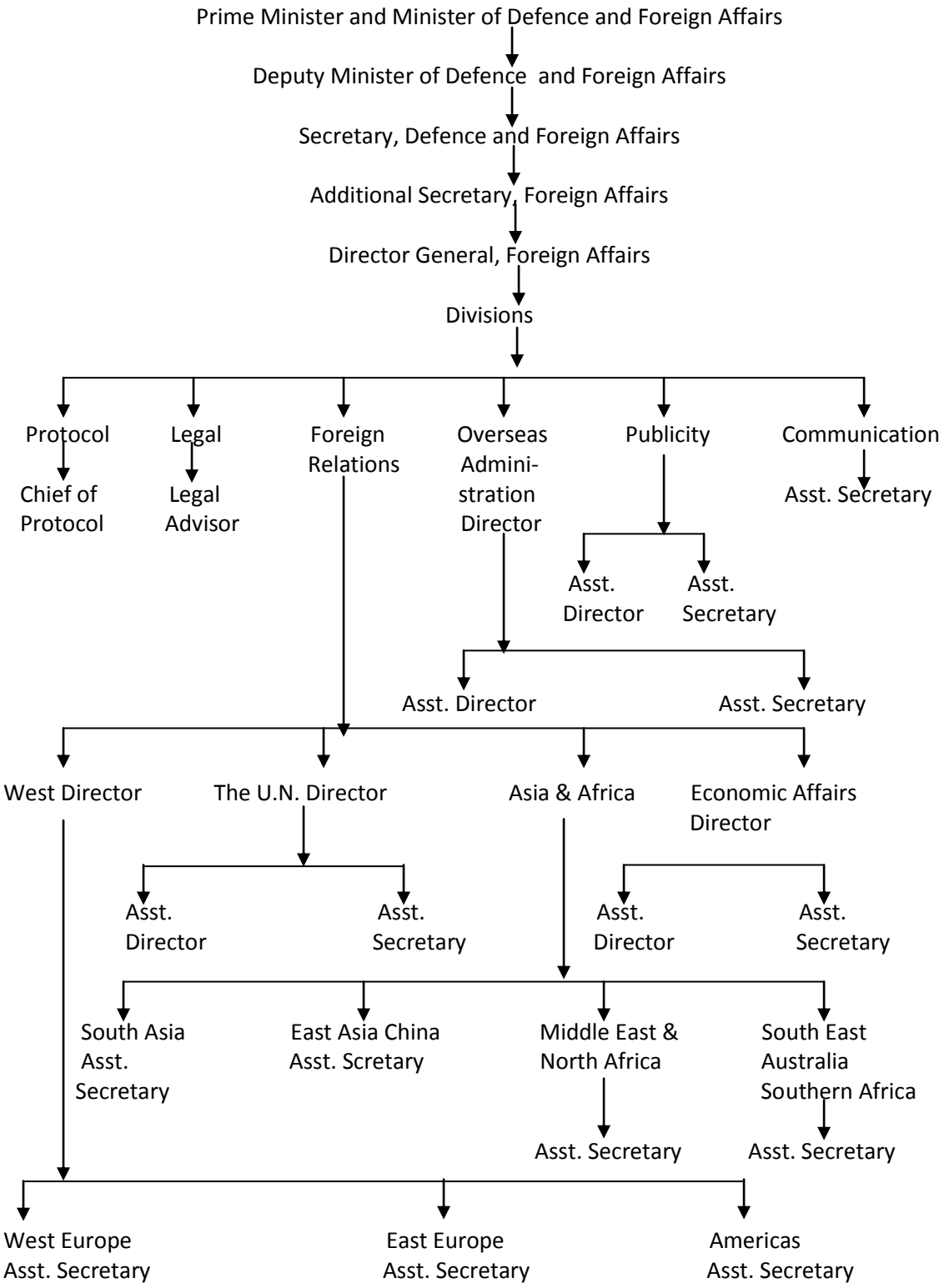


Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Sri Lanka

In 1974, changes were introduced in the Ministry. Most importantly a new post of Additional Secretary was created to which Tissa Wijeyeratne was appointed. The ministry had five directors who headed the departments of Overseas Administration, Asia and Africa, West, Economic Affairs and UN Conferences. But after the resignation of Tissa Wijeyeratne from the post, the post was abolished (see Table 6). Between 1974 and 1981 more divisions were upgraded to the status of directorates. In 1981 a second Director General was appointed and 14 Directors to head the Divisions of UN and Conferences, Non-aligned Conferences, West South Asia, East Asia, Middle East, Africa, Publicity (three Directors), Economic Affairs and Overseas Administration while the Protocol Division is led by the Chief of Protocol and the Legal Division by the Legal Advisor. The Directors are assisted by Deputy/Assistant Directors and Assistant Secretaries as the case may be (see Table 7).[19]

Table 6

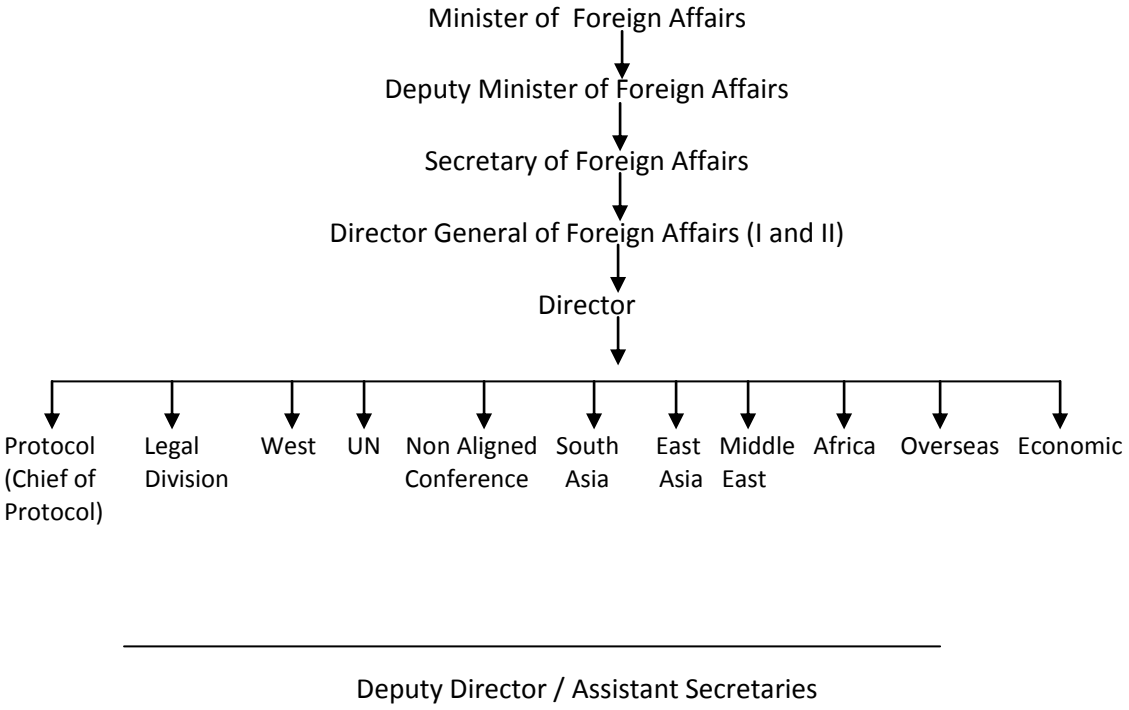
The Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1974)



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Sri Lanka

Table 7

The Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1981)



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Sri Lanka

The expansion and restructuring in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been in response to the growth in Sri Lanka's external involvement and its growing interests in world politics. For instance, the non-aligned division was upgraded to the status of directorate because of the important role the country assigned to itself in the nonaligned movement. Likewise the Middle East was upgraded to the status of directorate because the region employs large number of Sri Lankan nationals who make huge remittance to the country. The same logic also applies to the other directorates. However, role of these directorates have been mainly administrative in nature such as preparing briefs and background papers for the political leadership who continue to retain the initiative in the formulation of foreign policy. This situation has led Kodikara to remark, "…it would be true to say that the ministry today functions in much the same way as it did in the fifties and that important initiatives in foreign policy decision-making are still politically inspired."[20]

The Overseas Missions

Like the Foreign Office, Sri Lanka's missions abroad have increased in numbers over the past forty years. The increase in number of missions has been motivated by political and economic considerations. The limited economic resources and paucity of trained personnel have compelled Sri Lanka to adopt the practice of concurrent accredition, that is several of its missions have been asked to look after contiguous states.[21] The Heads of missions were earlier allowed three visits per year for supervising the accredited missions under them. But owing to financial difficulties, these visits were reduced to one annual visit. This has adversely affected Sri Lanka's diplomacy.[22] Also due to economic constraints Sri Lanka had closed down its embassies in two instances namely in Ghana and Brazil during the 1960s. Of course, the island state had very little interactions with these two states. But in 1977, it established four missions in the Middle East where a large number of Sri Lankans are working whereby the region has become a major source of foreign exchange remittance to the island.

When Sri Lanka gained independence it established diplomatic missions in a few countries mostly belonging to the British Commonwealth. These countries were the UK, Australia, Canada, India and Pakistan and also in the US. Subsequently, it established missions in Myanmar and Italy. This was perhaps done to appeal to the sentiments of the Buddhist and Roman Catholic population. Britain looked after the interests of Sri Lanka in countries where it did not have missions but with whom it had diplomatic relations. In 1955, Sri Lanka had diplomatic missions in only nine countries together with concurrent accredition with twelve other countries.

In 1956, Sri Lanka established missions in three socialist states, i.e. the former Soviet Union, China and Yugoslavia and also set up a mission in New York following its admission to the United Nations in 1955. In 1980s Sri Lanka maintained diplomatic relations with nearly 25 countries with concurrent accredition to further 38 countries. Presently, Sri Lanka has its missions in all the major cities of the world like London, Washington, New York, Moscow, Beijing, Paris, New Delhi, and Tokyo.

The ambassadorial level appointments rested within the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister during the era of the Westminster model of government and now with the President. During the tenure of the UNP governments (1948-56) many of the ambassadorial appointments were made from the rank of the party faithfulls – either defeated politicians or cabinet ministers were appointed as ambassadors. R.S.S. Gunewardene was appointed to Rome in 1952 after being defeated in the general elections. Similarly, C.W.W. Kanangara who went to Indonesia as a Consul General was too a defeated politician. Among the cabinet members who were given diplomatic appointments were T.B. Jayah (Labour Minister) who went to Pakistan as High Commissioner and also Sir Claude Corea, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke and Sir Edwin Wijeratne who all went to London as High Commissioner during different points of time.

The opposition in Parliament often criticized the government for appointing individuals who were defeated at the polls. But the criticisms were strongly refuted by D.S. Senanayake and his successors. For instance, D.S. Senanayake has gone on record in Parliament saying: "…one thing I wish to mention is that when we send representatives, we must send representatives who will represent the views of the existing government, not the views of any other party. Today we are the government and people who represent our views will be sent."[23]

The general characteristics of the ambassadorial appointees were that most of them were western educated and economically sound with long political experience. They were personally pleasant, culturally sophisticated, and politically sagacious. They had socially elegant and beautiful wives who could interact and entertain at high society level.[24] Besides during this period religious affiliation seemed also to play some part in the appointments. Jayah, a Muslim, went to Pakistan, Susantha de Fonseka, a Buddhist, was sent to Myanmar and Sir Claude Corea, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke and Sir Edwin Wijeratne who were posted to London at different points of time, were Christians.

During the regimes of the two Bandaranaikes, the appointments to high level diplomatic posts were more broad-based. Alongside party faithfuls, they appointed certain

defeated UNP members, retired civil servants and university dons to high ambassadorial positions. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike appointed Professor G.P. Malalasekara as Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Sir Richard Aluwilare, a retired senior civil servant who lost at the polls on the UNP ticket was appointed as the High Commissioner to India because as a former Permanent Secretary of Immigration and Emigration and also as a Kandyan he was well versed with the problem of Indian Tamils which was then being discussed between the two governments. Besides Aluwilare, some other retired Permanent Secretaries too were appointed as ambassadors. The practice set by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was followed by his wife, Sirimavo who succeed him after a brief interruption.

Both the Bandaranaikes had expressed desire to have professionally trained ambassadors from the country's diplomatic service, though they did not wish to lay down any hard and fast rule to exclude politicians for diplomatic appointments.[25] However, their desire had to wait till 1963 when for the first time a officer of the Ceylon Overseas Service (COS) cadre was appointed as an ambassador. This was G.S. Peiris. In due course, several officers of COS cadre have been appointed as ambassador. For instance by 1970s the following COS men too got such promotions: W.L.B. Mendis, H.O. Wijegoonewardne, A. Basanayake, B. Fonseka, Rex Koolmeyer. All these officers belonged to the first batch of COS selected in 1949.

The tradition laid down by the two Bandaranaikes has guided the subsequent UNP governments in making appointments to ambassadorial rank positions. Now appointments to the headship of missions in countries important to Sri Lanka have become broad-based, comprising of career diplomats as well as non-career persons.

In 1973, the functions to be performed by the mission abroad were clearly spelt out in the Report of the Director General of Foreign Affairs. The functions were as follows:

1. Study political situations in the host country and report with special reference to its bearing and impact on relations with Sri Lanka;

2. Promotion of trade and economic contacts and the study of economic trends with particular reference to relations bearing on Sri Lanka;
3. Advising the home government on policy towards the country of accreditation in the light of developments in the latter. Promoting good relations and good-will between the home country and the host country;
4. Promoting an understanding in the host country of the policies and personalities of the home country;
5. Dissemination of information regarding the home country and projection of the correct national image;
6. Looking after the interests of the Sri Lankan community in the host country; and
7. Promoting mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.[26]

These are some of the tasks that Sri Lankan missions abroad have to perform. The tasks have become arduous because of the feature of concurrent accreditation, and the reduction to only one visit by the ambassador per year to the concurrent accredited country. Further, the performance of the functions required that Sri Lankan missions are manned by sophisticated and experienced diplomats and their responsibilities and performance are sophisticatedly supervised by the foreign office at home.

Ceylon Overseas Service / Sri Lankan Overseas Service

The newly created Ministry of External Affairs faced problems of finding suitably trained personnel to manage diplomatic work and man the foreign office. There was a lack of personnel exposed to international affairs. To meet the immediate requirement, the government deputed officers belonging to the Ceylon Civil Service (CCS) cadre to the new ministry. However in 1949, the government created a separate service for manning the Ministry of External Affairs and Missions abroad. The name which Sri Lanka gave to her career diplomatic service was carefully chosen. While other countries referred to their career diplomatic service as Foreign Service or Diplomatic Service, Sri Lanka named its

service the Ceylon Overseas Service (COS). The reasons for Sri Lanka's choice was explained in the Report of the Salaries and Cadres Commission:

> "The term 'Overseas Service' was used in preference to 'Foreign Service' because this class (diplomatic) of officers had to serve in Commonwealth countries as well and the use of the word 'foreign' in relation to a Commonwealth country was considered inappropriate."[27]

Following Sri Lanka becoming a republic in 1972, the service changed its name to Sri Lanka Overseas Service (SLOS).

The recruitment of personnel for the SLOS was based upon public examination conducted by the Public Service Commission. For recruitment to the SLOS, candidates were required to appear for all the papers prescribed for the Sri Lankan Civil Service (SLCS). In addition they were required to appear in an additional paper on World Affairs as well as face additional viva voce examination. Over the years various experiments have been made to induct talented personnel with aptitude for diplomatic work. While some of the experiments have been temporary, others have been of permanent nature.[28]

Between 1957 and 1959, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike took special interest in the selection of SLOS recruits as he felt the previous scheme did not select suitable talent. But his innovations did not yield the desired result and had to be given up.[29] When Mrs. Bandaranaike returned to power in 1970, her government revised the recruitment rules to allow candidates to appear at the examination in Sinhala or Tamil medium, in addition to English. The efforts of both the Bandaranaikes' had been geared to recruiting nationalist Sri Lankans into foreign service.

Sri Lanka, in the initial years, faced the problem of developing suitable training programme for the SLOS recruits. While training in administrative procedures and practices was provided within the ministry, adequate training arrangements for exposing the recruits to international affairs and diplomacy proved difficult to organize. The government requested the then Vice Chancellor of Ceylon University, Sir Ivor Jennings, to organize a course on international relations for the SLOS recruits, but he declined to

undertake the responsibility because the university did not have adequate expertise in the field of international relations.[30] This problem was overcome by making arrangements for training of the recruits in countries like the UK, the USA and Australia. But this practice was later given up because of two reasons: first, they did not expose the recruits to the problems faced by post-colonial countries like Sri Lanka, and second the arrangement of training recruits in the developed countries proved very expensive.[31] In 1959 an institute known as the Ceylon Council of World Affairs was established to disseminate knowledge on international relations, and to generate knowledge on Sri Lanka's problems in the international system. The new recruits were sent to this institute for exposure to international relations. Besides, the ministry developed its own training programme for the recruits.

In the early phase of the foreign policy organizations, there were some friction between those who had come from the SLCS to the SLOS and the SLCS seconded personnel. Further there were problems of cadre seniority. For instance a SLOS man may hold the post of Third Secretary in one embassy but on transfer to another may become a First Secretary. All such problems were inevitable in the formative stage of the foreign office and were subsequently sorted out as the organization gained maturity and stability. The SLOS has developed from its infancy to become a well-developed and well-entrenched cadre concerned exclusively with the foreign policy of the country. However, the role of the SLOS has not been very significant in the sphere of policy initiatives. It has largely been a policy implementing organization, leaving policy initiative role to the political leadership.

It is worth noting that the SLOS is not an integrated service; so it does not represent all aspects of the external relations of the country. It does not deal in a major way with trade and commercial matters which are handled by Trade Commissioners who are personnel of the Commerce Ministry on secondment to the Ministry of External Affairs. Similarly the personnel of the Ceylon Overseas Information Service (COIS) used to look after publicity and related matters. However, the COIS has now been disbanded and its personnel have been absorbed within the SLOS.

Sri Lanka Overseas Service has three grades such as,

Grade I - Officers

Grade II - Officers

Grade III - Officers

Based on their duty they may hold one of the following positions:[32]

A At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	B At an Diplomatic Mission
(i) Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Grade I) (ii) Additional Secretary (Grade I) (iii) Director General (Grade I) (iv) Director (Grade II / Grade III) (v) Deputy Director (Grade III) (vi) Assistant Secretary (Grade III – entry level).	(i) Ambassador/High Commissioner /Permanent Representative in UN (Grade I) (ii) Deputy Chief of Mission / Deputy High Commissioner (Grade II) (iii) Minister (Grade II) (iv) Counselor (Grade II) (v) First Secretary (Grade III) (vi) Second Secretary (Grade III – on confirmation of service) (vii) Third Secretary (Grade III – entry level on probation)

Other Ministries

In addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministries of Finance and Commerce have had significant role in the sphere of foreign policy. Likewise after the eruption of ethnic violence between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, the Ministry of National Security became an important actor in the making of foreign policy. However, the roles of

these ministries in foreign policy sphere have not received any scholarly attention. There is no published or unpublished research work in this sphere. Even there is no newspaper articles dealing with the roles of these ministries. Thus, it is not possible to analyze in depth the roles these ministries have played in foreign policy making and implementation, inspite of the fact that these ministries have played a role in foreign policy process in recent years.

Foreign Missions in Sri Lanka

During early days of independence, when Sri Lanka's foreign office did not have adequate expertise, the government depended upon the British High Commission in Colombo for information and guidance. Very often, the Prime Minister and also the Permanent Secretary did not rely on the reports submitted by their ambassadors, but consulted the British High Commission. D.S. Senanayake was known for relying on the British High Commission for guidance on foreign policy matters.[33] Sir John Kotelawala has been reported to have often acted directly on the opinions and views received from ambassadors of the UK, the US and India without taking care to consult his foreign office. Among the foreign ambassadors, Sir John held C.C. Desai the High Commissioner of India in high esteem, who was known to have guided Sir John in handling foreign policy.[34] But subsequent leaders have displayed increasingly less dependence on foreign embassies as Sri Lanka's own foreign office and diplomats abroad acquired adequate expertise with the passage of time.

It is worth nothing that the SLOS elites have had limited role in the formulation of the foreign policy for various other reasons. The tradition of civil service neutrality is the dominant culture of Sri Lankan bureaucracy. The bureaucrats are socialized to implement rather than initiate policies. Furthermore, the bureaucrats have found it convenient to nurture and perpetuate this tradition because of the island's two dominant party system of governance; initiative roles on their part entailed the possibility of them getting identified with one of the two parties and thereby making them unacceptable to the other. There have been some glaring examples in this regard. N.Q. Dias in pursuit of his initiative and

innovative roles got identified with the SLFP and invited criticisms and disapproval from the UNP and the same was the case with Tissa Wijeyeratne. Consequently the bureaucracy, with a few individual exceptions, as an institution has preferred to rest content with the role of policy implementation rather than seeking gratification in playing prominent roles in the conceptualization and formulation of foreign policy.

IV

Non-Governmental Foreign Policy Elites

Thus far we have discussed the structure of the foreign policy machinery and the roles of different official functionaries in the making of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Now we will analyze the roles the non-governmental elites play or have played in the formulation and conduct of the island's foreign policy. What roles the non-governmental elites play or have played in the formulation and conduct of the island's foreign policy? What is their role in this complex process? Who are more influential among the non-governmental elites? etc.

Opposition Political Elites

Amongst the non-governmental elites, the role of the opposition leaders in Parliament appear to be the most significant influence. Although foreign policy of Sri Lanka does not require sanction from Parliament, nevertheless it is discussed there during debates on appropriation bill for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and also during the debates on the address of the President to the Parliament. Besides, the members of Parliament seek information on foreign policy matters from the government during the course of debate on the conduct of the foreign policy.

The leaders of the parties in the opposition benches have never spared the opportunity to debate and criticize the foreign policy of the ruling party. In this context, there are certain names which stand out for their contribution to the discussion on foreign policy in the two houses of Parliament (now Sri Lanka has one house – the State Assembly). Peter Keuneman, the leader of the Communist Party (Moscow Wing) was one of the strongest critics and watchdogs on foreign policy. Likewise, the Trotskyite leaders Colin De Silva, N.M. Perera and Doric De Souza never missed an opportunity to express their party's strong opposition to colonialism, imperialism and the Cold war.[35] The UNP leaders like J.R. Jayewardene and Dudley Senanayake were watchful of the SLFP led coalition's foreign policy as much as the SLFP leaders were on guard when the UNP held the reigns of power. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was a forceful critic of the UNP government's foreign policy during 1951 to 1955.[36] Later on Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her nephew Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike assumed the watchdog role for the SLFP. The presence of the alert watchdogs in the opposition benches has imposed considerable checks on the government in the conduct of the foreign policy. Governments have been cautious not to act in such a manner whereby they may give scope to the opposition to launch virulent criticisms against them as well as encash their shortcomings on foreign policy at the polls. In this respect the desire of Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala to make Sri Lanka a member of the SEATO stands out. However, the then opposition leaders like S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Peter Keuneman, Colin De Silva, and N.M. Perera exploited this issue in Parliament and outside to tarnish the image of the UNP government. The scathing criticism by the opposition leaders also prevailed upon other UNP leaders who too admonished Sir John for trying to drag Sri Lanka into the Cold war and forced the Prime Minister to give up the idea.[37] In the subsequent years the governments have become extremely careful not to envisage such actions which would be unpopular with the public and thereby give scope to the opposition leaders to exploit the action to further their electoral prospects. Thus, opposition leaders have played and still play a critical role in the conduct of the foreign policy by articulating the popular opinions and aspirations.

Interest Groups

Various interest groups have articulated their views on important foreign policy issues. But the actual influence they have had has largely depended upon the response of the government to their opinions and also on the relationship their sectional interests had with the overall interest of the state. The sectional interests articulated by the interest groups do not have much influence on the conduct of foreign policy if they clash with the major foreign policy goals such as security and economic development. For instance, Sinhala Buddhist monks and laity were critical of the occupation of Tibet by Chinese military in 1958 and wanted the Sri Lankan government to take up the cause of Tibetan people who are predominantly Buddhists. However, the Sri Lankan government did not heed to their demands as it would have jeopardized Sri Lanka's politico-economic relations with China, especially the Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement.[38] On the other hand, when no adverse repercussions are foreseen the government has heeded to the interests of the interest groups. For instance, the government opened embassies in Muslim-dominated countries to appease the local Muslim population. Also, in 1965 the government positively responded to the demand of the Sinhala Buddhist monks on the Vietnam issue by sending a fact-finding mission to Vietnam to assess the damage caused to the population, who are predominantly Buddhist, by the massive bombing by the U.S. But in this instance, the demand of Sinhala Buddhists was in complete harmony with the nonaligned policy of the government which was further strengthened by the international outcry against American bombing of civilian sites in Vietnam.[39] In short, it can be said that socio-cultural interest groups have had very limited direct influence on the conduct of foreign policy.

Media

The press has exercised much influence in the making of foreign policy. During the early days of independence, the UNP leaders consulted the editors of the Lake House groups of newspapers – especially the Ceylon Daily News and the Ceylon Observer. The Lake House proprietors and editors were relatives of the Senanayakes and their ideological orientation were akin to that of the UNP. In fact, the Lake House group served as the

mouth piece of the UNP. In this context, it is worth mentioning that Sir John Kotelawala had appointed the Managing Director of the Ceylon Daily News as a Special Ambassador to lobby for Sri Lanka's admission to the United Nations, despite the fact that Sri Lanka had a regular ambassador in Washington in the person of R.S.S. Gunawardene. While the UNP leadership found the Lake House group an important and effective instrument for mobilization and aggregation of public opinion, the SLFP governments experienced continued embarrassment at the hands of the Lake House papers and thus tried to curtail the power and influence of this group of newspapers. In the 1970s, the SLFP led United Front government finally nationalized this monopolist group. However, the nationalization of the Lake House group has not curtailed the influence of the press on foreign policy making.[40] Although there no longer exists the direct nexus between the UNP and the press, still pressmen continue to influence the government through news reporting, news analysis and special commentaries. There are no comprehensive studies in the role of the media in the making of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. The growing coverage of foreign affairs in the media indicates that there is increasing interest among the public on international relations a fact which demonstrates its continued role in foreign policy making. For instance, as Nissanka has aptly remarked, "Five leading journalists – Ninal Karunatilleke and Janadasa Peiris (upto 1977) of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, Mervyn de Silva, editor of the Lanka Guardian, Rex de Silva, editor of the Sun and S.P. Amerasingham, editor of the Tribune – seem to be greatly responsible for making foreign policy a subject of greater public interest in Sri Lanka."[41] Thus, Sri Lanka's international behaviour is now being watched by the media, as a result of which freedom of the executive in the making of foreign policy has been curtailed.

Besides, the press, in the early days of independence, D.S. Senanayake used to consult Sir Ivor Jennings, the then Vice Chancellor of University of Ceylon on foreign policy issues. Sir Ivor Jennings was of pro-western predilection and vibed well with D.S. Senanayake.[42]

V

Conclusion

Thus the major actors in foreign policy making are the official political elites, the Prime Minister during the era of the Westminster model of governance and subsequently the President under the second republican constitution. The bureaucratic elites have played the role of policy implementers, although in the early days of independence, Sir Vaithianathan, the then Permanent Secretary enjoyed certain amount of freedom and initiative because of the inexperience of the political elites on foreign affairs and also because of the similarities in the world views of D.S. Senanayake and himself, i.e. a pro-western outlook. Besides Vaithianathan, foreign embassies too had influence on foreign policy making in the early years of independence. So also Sir Ivor Jennings, the then Vice Chancellor had influence over D.S. Senanayake. The role of the non-official elites has depended upon their ability to aggregate political power through proper articulation and mobilization of public opinion. This applies to the opposition political elites, interest groups and the media too. However, under normal circumstances the ruling political elites assign little scope for the non-official elites to influence the decision-making process. It is only when the non-official elites mobilize public opinion which threatens the legitimacy of the ruling elites that they are taken into account in the decision-making process.

NOTES

1. For example the conscription programme in the United States during its involvement in the Vietnam war adversely affected the civil liberties of the American citizens who in large numbers had articulated the demand for American disengagement from the Vietnam conflict. Likewise, the Sri Lankan military action in Jaffna Peninsula which has caused much loss of life and imperiled peace in the region has evoked protests from their co-brethrens in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, who have tried to pressurize the Indian government to prevail upon the Sri Lanka government to seek language a political solution to the Sri Lankan ethnic confront.

2. Maurice A. East, "Size and Foreign Policy Behaviour : A Test of Two Models," *World Politics*, Vol. 25, no. 4, 1973, pp. 551-77.

3. George L. Reid, "The Impact of Very Small Size on International Behaviour of Micro States," *Sage Professional Papers in International Studies,* (Beverly Hills and London, Sage, 1974), p. 19. He opines that foreign policy making and implementation is predominantly centred on a single individual.

4. These aspects have been very comprehensively discussed in E.R. Appathurai, *The Making of Foreign Policy in Ceylon : A Study in Public Administration,* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968) especially see pp.1-59. Also this point has been ably discussed in H.S.S. Nissanka, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy : A Study of Non-alignment,* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1974), pp.83-84.

5. For detail discussion see Bimal Prasad, *The Origins of Indian Foreign Policy,* (Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960).

6. See Appathurai, no.4.

7. For details see Nissanka no.4.

8. G.J. Lerski, *Origins of Trotskyism in Ceylon,* (Standford: Hoover Institution, 1968).

9. Nissanka, no.4, pp.91-92.

10. Ibid., p.88.

11. Ibid., p.98.

12. Discussed in subsequent chapters. Also refer Appathurai, no.4, pp. 61-62 and Lucy Jacob, *Sri Lanka : From Dominion to Republic,* (Delhi, National, 1973), pp. 21-57.

13. Nissanka, no.4, p. 88.

14. Cabinet members who were keen on foreign affairs were Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, Lakshman Jayakody, Colvin R de Silva and N.M. Perera to name a few.

15. Nissanka, no. 4, pp.88-94.

16. Ibid., pp. 344-345.

17. Ibid., p. 104.

18. Ibid., p. 86.

19. For detail see S.U. Kodikara, *Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka : A Third World Perspective,* (Delhi: Chanakya, 1982), pp.8-9.

20. Ibid., p. 10.

21. For example the embassy in Moscow looked after the erstwhile GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Rumania and similarly the embassy in Beijing look after Combodia, North Korea, North Vietnam and Mongolia.

22. Nissanka, no. 4, p. 107.

23. Hansard, H.R. Vol. 44, 1948, col. 145.

24. Nissanka, no.4. He remarks, "A former Prime Minister (at an interview given to the writer) confessed that one weighty point of consideration for appointments to high ambassadorial posts was whether the person in question had an elegant wife who could entertain at high society level," p.89.

25. Nissanka, no. 4, p. 89.

26. Cited by Nissanka, no. 4, pp.107-8.

27. Cited by Appathurai, no.4, p.102.

28. Ibid., pp.151-56.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., pp. 17-71.

31. Ibid., pp.178-82.

32. http: www.govt.com/node/

33. Appathurai, no. 4, pp. 59-64.

34. Nissanka, no. 4, pp. 88-93.

35. Ibid., no.4, pp.83-84.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., pp. 99-100.

38. Kodikara, no. 19, p. 72.

39. Ibid., pp. 126-128.

40. Nissanka, no. 4, p. 101.

41. Ibid., p. 346.

42. Ibid., p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

SRI LANKA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM : THE UNP GOVERNMENTS

In the system of sovereign states, individual states interact with other states and international organizations to protect and promote their national interests. As the issues and scope of the interests of different classes of states vary, so do the character and patterns of their interactions to preserve and promote them. Unlike the super powers whose national interests encompass the entire sovereign states system, the small states have a relatively limited range of interests as well as a relatively limited sphere of foreign policy activities.

As a small state, Sri Lanka has a relatively small agenda of interests in the international arena and the sphere of its foreign policy activities is quite restricted in comparison to those of the super powers, or regional powers. The sphere of its foreign policy activities can be analytically separated into two levels : those in the South Asian regional system and those in the larger international system.[1] In the South Asian regional system Sri Lanka has to treat India with due caution because of the existence of wide difference in their respective capabilities, yet try to maintain its sovereignty, freedom and integrity. In the international system apart from mitigating the pressures and pulls emanating from the international power structure, Sri Lanka has to promote its national interests to ensure its security, stability and status.

Interactions of Sri Lanka to realize its national interests to a great extent depended upon the perceptions and world views of its ruling elites, which in its case are its heads of governments and their close associates.[2] Although the foreign policy makers have enjoyed considerable freedom in taking initiatives in the making and conduct of foreign policy, their freedom is subject to the constraints imposed by the domestic and international

determinants of its foreign policy. Furthermore, the political party to which the leader belongs has much influence in shaping his foreign policy perceptions. It will not be out of place to state that the world views of the principal foreign policy makers are rooted in the ideology of their parties. Some leaders on a few occasions in the past attempted to pursue foreign policy in deviation to the ideology and world view of their party, but they had to face stiff opposition from their colleagues who prevailed upon them to abide by the dominant opinion of their party.[3]

As has been mentioned previously, the party system of Sri Lanka has altered periodically. To reiterate for the sake of clarity, Sri Lanka had a one party dominant system of government from 1948 to 1956. The UNP was the dominant party. Thereafter political authority altered between the UNP and the SLFP who formed the government either on their own or in alliances with other smaller parties. The 1977 elections marked the end of the two dominant party system of governance and the return to the one party system.[4] In this occasion too, the UNP was the dominant party which had hugely successful performances in the 1979, 1982 and 1989 elections.[5]

The UNP and the SLFP have differences in their ideologies and world views. Because of this, there has been variations and shifts in emphasis in the patterns of Sri Lanka's foreign policy.[6] However, over-riding environmental factors – both domestic and external – have generated consensus in its foreign policy interactions. With the passage of time, foreign policy has been bipartisan, but within the broad bipartisan approach one can discern shifts in emphasis with the UNP veering towards the West, while the SLFP has pursued a more assertive foreign policy.[7]

In this chapter, we will attempt to identify the dominant foreign policy interactional patterns of Sri Lanka at the level of the international system when the UNP wielded power. But before we examine the major patterns in the foreign policy interactions of Sri Lanka during the governance of the UNP, it will be appropriate to briefly discuss the worldviews and the foreign policy perceptions of the two dominant political parties.

II

Foreign Policy Perceptions of the UNP and the SLFP

The United National Party (UNP)

The UNP is right of centre and pro-west in its ideological inclinations. It is committed to the philosophy of free enterprise and favourably disposed towards foreign western capital investments in the island. During its first phase of governance the UNP articulated close affinity towards the West, especially Britain, some of the developed Commonwealth countries and the United States. Simultaneously it was unambiguously critical and also fearful of communism and the communist countries.[8] But during its subsequent terms in office, its hostility towards, and apprehensions of fear from communism and communist countries has mellowed down considerably. It is now less fearful of threats from communist countries and less fearful of the local communists. This change in its perceptions has come about because of the changes in the international relations of the communist countries.[9]

The ideology and world-view of the UNP can be traced to its founders and founding circumstances.[10] Don Stephen Senanayake founded the UNP in 1946 when it had become amply clear that Britain would be withdrawing from the island requiring the need for an organization to fill the void which will be caused by its departure. The Marxist parties namely the LSSP and the CCP were relatively well organized with significant support base among the urban working class and middle class populations, and also among plantation workers. There was all likelihood of the Marxists coming to power if non-communist alternative was not available. Under no circumstance D.S. Senanayake, an avowed anti-communist and a shrewd politician, would have allowed this to happen. He and his colleagues of the Ceylon National Congress (CNC) united all the major non-Marxist political groups and organizations in the island under the banner of the UNP

which because of its aggregating character was nomenclatured as the United National Party.[11]

Until recently, the social base of the UNP rested with the anglicized professionals and wealthy landlords. The leadership of the party hailed from this strata, and a sizable number of the UNP leaders were related to each other either by descent or by marriage. Mostly they belong to the high Goyigama caste. But during the past two to three decades, the UNP has made efforts to water down its elitism and anglicized orientation by making the social composition of its leadership more broad-based. It has tried to win over the support of Sinhala Buddhist masses. J.R. Jayawardene has played a major role in bringing about such changes, especially in promoting individuals of non-Goyigama castes to the rank of leadership. In 1977 when he became the President under the Presidential constitution, he appointed Ranasinghe Premadasa, who belonged to the low Karva caste, as the Prime Minister.

To sum up, the UNP retains its right wing and pro-west ideological inclinations, although it has mellowed down its hostility and antipathy towards communist countries because of the changes in the international relations of the communist countries.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)

The SLFP is left of the centre, which often adopted a nationalist, moderately leftist position on developmental issues and programmes. The SLFP has opposed the domination of foreign western capital in important sectors of the economy such as plantations, banking and petroleum. It has favoured economic self-reliance and import substitution industrialization in contrast to the dependent capitalist model of development articulated by the UNP.[12]

As opposed to the pro-west bias of the UNP, the SLFP has advocated for a dynamic nonaligned policy and in the process has nurtured a more assertive role in international politics. It has also a favourable perception of the erstwhile Soviet Union, China and former East European communist countries. It has been a vehement critic of western colonialism and imperialism and an ardent supporter of Afro-Asian national liberation struggles and also of the movements to reform the international political and economic order. Although not hostile towards western states, it has not articulated particularly close affinity towards them as has been the case with the UNP.

Like the UNP, the ideology and world-view of the SLFP can be traced to its founders and founding circumstances. The party was founded by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1951 following his resignation from the UNP because of his dispute over claims to leadership and also because of his discomfiture with the right-wing and pro-west ideology of the UNP. Prior to the formation of the UNP, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike led the Sinhala Mahajana Sabha (SMS) which advocated the interests and aspirations of the rural Sinhala Buddhist masses.[13] When the UNP was formed, the SMS joined with it but continued to operate within it as a cohesive group. However, it did not make much head-way within the anglicized UNP as its views and opinions did not find much favour within that party. When S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike left the UNP, other SMS leaders also joined him. The SMS provided the social base upon which the SLFP was founded. The SMS tradition has dominated the SLFP such as its firm espousal of the cause of the Sinhala Buddhist ethno-cultural nationalism. Its support base consists of the rural Sinhala middle classes.[14]

The two dominant parties formed the government alternately between 1956 to 1977. Neither of the two parties could secure absolute majority in Parliament. Consequently they formed coalition governments. The UNP generally formed alliances with the Tamil parties like Tamil Congress (TC) and the Federal Party (FP) and splinter groups of the SLFP, while the SLFP usually formed alliances with the Marxist parties such as the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party(CP).

The alternate control of the state machinery by the UNP and the SLFP has resulted in distinct trends in the foreign policy interactions of the island. However, environmental factors that is domestic and external determinants have led to areas of convergence in the sense that the governments of the two parties have reflected similar responses on important issues areas. The bipartisan approach which has increased with the passage of time has been dealt in this chapter as well as the next where we examine the foreign policy interactions under the SLFP led governments.

In the remaining parts of this chapter we will examine the foreign policy interactions of Sri Lanka at the international system level when the UNP was in power, to preserve and promote its security, stability and status.

Patterns in the Foreign Policy Interactions of Sri Lanka: The UNP Governments

The UNP Governments : 1948-1956

On 4 February, 1948 Sri Lanka then called Ceylon, after nearly four hundred and fifty years of western domination by a secession of western colonial powers namely the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, attained independence from Britain against the background of the unfolding of the Cold War between the western capitalist countries led by the United States and the communist countries headed by the Soviet Union. The Cold War was then threatening to becoming an all pervasive phenomenon sparing no part of the globe. It had become an established fact in Eastern Europe and was in the process of spreading its tentacles into Asia. In China, the communists led by Mao and actively supported ideologically and materially by the Soviet Union were engaged in a civil war with the nationalist democratic forces who were aided by the western bloc particularly the United States. It had more or less a certainty that Mao-led communists would soon capture power in China.[15]

Likewise, the communist and democratic forces were engaged in struggle for power in Indonesia, Myanmar, the Indo-China and Korean peninsula. In these countries the strong western support to non-communists had prevented the success of the communists. The Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin rigidly adhering to the principles of communist internationalism and class struggle, openly supported the actions of the communist forces in these countries as also elsewhere. Consequently the United States led western bloc made efforts to strengthen the non-communist forces in these countries by providing them with ideological, economic and military assistance.[16]

It is against the backdrop of this international scenario that the UNP under the leadership of Don Stephen Senanayake assumed power from Britain. The UNP formed the government by virtue of its securing a slender majority in Parliament, after a bitter and hard-fought contest with the Marxist parties in the 1947 parliamentary elections.[17] Although the Marxist parties failed to form the government in the island, they gave ample evidence of their potentialities to capture power in future. The Marxist parties, who were particularly strong in urban centres and among plantation workers, had international associations from where they derived ideological and material support. Consequently, the UNP governments were confronted with problem of containing the local communist parties and forces from further expanding their strength in the island as well as checkmating the influence of the communist countries in international relations.

The UNP experienced three different persons as Prime Minister during its governance from 1948 to 1956. D.S. Senanayake became the first Prime Minister of independent Sri Lanka, and occupied the coveted chair till his untimely death on 22 March, 1952. He belonged to a very affluent anglicized Buddhist Goyigama family of the low country region, having a very large kinship network which had proved to be an asset to the Senanayakes as well as their kinsmen in their public life. Like the Senanayakes several of their kinsmen were wealthy and had acquired position of notability in the low country social set up such as the Kotelawalas, the Jayawardenes and the Wijewardenes.[18] After the untimely death of D.S. Senanayake, his son Dudley Senanayake succeeded him. Dudley called for fresh elections to Parliament in July 1952. He carried the UNP and its allies to victory over a formidable array of opponents such as the Trotskyite LSSP, the CP

and the newly formed SLFP of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Dudley Senanayake did not remain in office for long. He resigned from the coveted chair in October, 1953 in response to the untoward events which resulted from the general strike – "hartal" – called by the Marxist parties to protest against the decision of his government to reduce the quantity of subsidized rice provided to the people. The strike was a big success even proving beyond the expectations of the organizers. To defuse the strike, the government deployed police force. But this proved counter-productive in the sense the strike gained further momentum consequent to large number of people suffering from casualties and some even succumbing to injuries as a result of police action. As a gesture of accepting responsibility for the unhappy incidents, Dudley resigned from the government.[19] He was succeed by Sir John Kotelawala, his cousin who was a flamboyant and colourful personality. Sir John remained in office till 1956 electoral verdict which overwhelmingly voted in favour of the SLFP led coalition – The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) – headed by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Accepting full responsibility for the poor show of the UNP at the polls, Sir John Kotelawala retired from the party and also from politics, whereby paving the way for Dudley Senanayake to once again return to lead the UNP.[20]

The three aforementioned Prime Minister that is D.S. Senanayake (1948-52), Dudley Senanayake (1952-53) and Sir John Kotelawala (1953-56) did not have clearly defined conceptions of independent Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Barring S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who was then in the UNP, none of the other stalwarts of the government had given any thought to this aspect of statecraft. This was unlike the situation in India where the Congress leaders of the freedom struggle had developed a coherent framework of the foreign policy of independent India. Sri Lanka's foreign policy was pulled in several directions some of which were essentially incompatible.[21] The three successive UNP leaders claimed that Sri Lanka during their respective tenure as Prime Minister followed the policy of "middle path" in international relations, but in reality the island during their tenures was unambiguously favourably inclined towards the West.[22] During this period the pro-west and vehement anti-communist predilections and prejudices determined the foreign policy interactions of Sri Lanka to ensure its security, stability and status.

The UNP leaders perceived that the geopolitical location of Sri Lanka in the Indian Oceans and the strategic advantages it offers to a dominant power for influencing the politics and security especially of the South and Southeast Asian countries to be an added attraction for the Soviet Union and other communist countries to have interest in the island. This perception was explicitly expressed by Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake, "We are in a especially dangerous position because we are in one of the strategic highways of the world. The country which captures Ceylon would dominate the Indian Ocean."[23] As the Soviet Union led communist movement was attempting to capture power in several of the Indian Ocean littoral and hinterland countries, it was quite inevitable for the UNP leaders to entertain the apprehension that the communist giant would like to ensure its presence in Sri Lanka in order to protect and promote communism in the Indian Ocean region.

D.S. Senanayake and his successors also had apprehension of India's domineering presence in the region and saw it as a threat at least to the autonomy and identity of the island if not to its security. As a result the leadership of the island could not afford to antagonize India, yet resorted to strategies which would obviate India's domineering presence.[24]

As against the fears and apprehension from the Soviet Union and the communist world, the UNP leaders highly appreciated the western liberal democracies especially that of Britain because of their own ideological persuasions and commitments. Moreover, the liberal disposition of the British colonial administration, like its willingness to devolve power to Sri Lankans without much asking and struggle, and its experience of leaving lasting impressions of admiration for the British political traditions, culture, and institution in minds of the dominant political elite of Sri Lanka who were keen to emulate the British system in Sri Lanka, created bonds of affinity between the UNP leaders and their erstwhile colonial ruler. Given the existence of such facilitating factors, it was natural for the UNP leaders to pursue a pro-west policy.[25]

Alongwith the Act of Independence by the British Parliament which granted dominion status to Sri Lanka, D.S. Senanayake signed the Defence and External Affairs Agreements with Britain which provided that Britain would retain her naval base in Trincomalee and air base in Katunayake for the purpose of the defense of the territories and interests of the two signatories and Sri Lanka could use the British diplomatic missions in countries where it did not have its own missions for conducting its diplomatic activities. The Defence Agreement enabled Britain to protect her economic and politico-strategic interests in South and Southeast Asia, while from the point of view of Sri Lanka this agreement helped to fortify the island from any designs by the communists from within as well as abroad and also act as a counter-weight to the domineering presence of India.[26] The Defence Agreement left the initiative to terminate the agreement with the signatories, that is Sri Lanka had the right to ask Britain to leave the two bases when it did not require her military support.[27] The agreement also did not require Sri Lanka to honour British military policies and actions; an enemy of Britain did not automatically became an enemy of Sri Lanka. Furthermore, Sri Lanka had the autonomy to refuse permission to Britain to use the military bases against countries with whom Colombo had friendly relations.[28]

The opposition especially the left parties were critical and opposed the agreements especially the Defence Agreement. But D.S. Senanayake defended the Defence Pact with Britain, "I would like to keep any connections with Britain.… As far as I am concerned I cannot think of a better and safer friend for Ceylon than Britain. I would ask my friends to look around the world and see for themselves whether there is anyone else who can be of better use to us and of greater help to us than Britain."[29]

D.S. Senanayake also attempted to foster close relations with other developed Commonwealth countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand for gaining confidence and acquiring assurance for the protection of the security and independence of the island from communist threats and designs. He took initiative to convene a meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo in January, 1950. In this conference, Sri Lanka highlighted the danger faced by the countries of South and Southeast Asia after the capture of power by communists in China and argued that the antidote to communism

is these countries was improved economic living conditions which would make communism unattractive to the people. Sri Lanka called upon the developed Commonwealth countries to assist the less developed countries to improve their living condition and stabilize the liberal democratic system in these countries. Sri Lanka's assessment of the situation was accepted by Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand. Eventually this effort evolved in what is popularly known as the Colombo Plan which provided for economic and technical cooperation between the developed Commonwealth countries and developing Commonwealth countries for improving the socio-economic conditions and living standards of the people in the developing Commonwealth countries. D.S. Senanayake's commitment to the Commonwealth was also adhered to by his successors.[30] In fact, Sir John Kotelawala made efforts to further strengthen the bonds with the Commonwealth.[31]

D.S. Senanayake made efforts to promote cordial relations with the U.S. His government allowed the Voice of America to share external broadcast of Radio Ceylon in exchange for the loan of one transmitting set.[32] Furthermore he allowed the distribution of anti-Soviet and anti-communist literature of the US through government offices of Sri Lanka and the Sri Lankan government did not consider it to be an interference by a foreign power in its internal affairs.[33]

The UNP leadership also cooperated with the western bloc to contain the spread of communism in the Southeast Asian region because the success of communism there would have threatened their own dominance in the island. Hence in 1950, D.S. Senanayake permitted port facilities to an American flotilla enroute to Korea to check the advancement of communism there,[34] and in 1954, Sir John allowed refueling facilities to American planes carrying French troops to fight communist forces in the Indo-China region.[35] In fact at one time Prime Minister Kotelawala was considering the idea of joining the SEATO but had to give it up because of adverse domestic and international pressure.[36]

The acuteness of threat perception of the UNP leadership from communism and communist states is clear from the fact that during this period Sri Lanka virtually kept

away from the Soviet Union and China. It did not establish any diplomatic ties with them.[37] Furthermore, the UNP governments denied the visas to delegates from communist countries. For example, in 1950, D.S. Senanayake did not grant visas to the delegates from the Soviet Union, China and foreign communist parties to attend the tenth anniversary celebration of the Marxist controlled Ceylon Trade Union Federation.[38] Likewise in 1951, his government refused visa to J.G. Crowther, a British Peace activist and member of the British Communist Party, who had been invited to Sri Lanka by a communist led peace organization in the island.[39] Similarly, Sir John Kotelawala's government did not sanction visas to scientists from the Soviet Union to visit Sri Lanka to observe the solar eclipse, though permissions were granted to scientists from non-communist countries such as the US, the UK, France, Canada, Japan and India.[40] Both Dudley Senanayake and Sir John Kotelawala turned down the repeated requests of Communist China for permission to send goodwill mission to Sri Lanka to explore areas in which the two countries could cooperate for their mutual economic and technical benefits.[41] During the tenure of Sir John, ban was imposed on the import of communist literature and films to the island because he considered them to be detrimental to the democratic system of Sri Lanka.[42]

In addition to the pro-west and anti-communist patterns of foreign policy interactions, Sri Lanka during this period also tried to identify with the growing spirit of Afro-Asianism marked by the Bandung Conference of 1955. It expressed its opposition to colonialism and imperialism. D.S. Senanayake refused to grant facilities to the Dutch to use its airports and harbours in their military operation against the Indonesians who were fighting for their national independence.[43] Although Sri Lanka championed the cause of Afro-Asian peoples and countries, her bias was clearly towards the west. Commenting on the role of Sir John Kotelawala at the Bandung conference, the Economist (London) remarked:

> "…he stood up to Mr. Nehru on the relative dangers from colonialism and communism and in doing so, catapulted himself into American hearts, a dangerous action for an Asian leader with an election in offing."[44]

While the security concerns of the island were attained though the Defence Agreement with Britain, the maintenance of relations with other developed western democracies belonging to the Commonwealth, and the fostering of close politico-strategic interaction with the US and the refusal to have any dealings with the communist countries, the UNP governments pursued the stability motivation with a similar pro-west bias. Being impeded by its own social background and also by its ideological foundation which prevented it from effectuating major structural changes in the economy, the UNP favoured foreign capital investments to improve the economic conditions in the island. To attract foreign private capital, the successive UNP governments assured the potential investors that there was no restriction in the remittance of profits and dividends abroad.[45] Inspite of such assurances, foreign private capital did not flow in significant amount to the island because of the lack of profitable opportunities there in comparison to several other countries. Despite the absence of significant amount of new foreign private investments, the British private capital still continued to play a prominent role in the economy of Sri Lanka.[46] Moreover, Sri Lanka's major trading activities were with the sterling area countries, and London was the major centre for the marketing of tea.[47]

Although Sri Lanka failed to attract substantial amount of foreign investments, it did not face dearth of foreign capital liquidity. It had accumulated huge sterling balance through war time activities especially due to the boom in the prices of its exports such as tea and rubber.[48] It also received assistance from Britain and other developed Commonwealth countries under the programmes of the Colombo Plan. It also availed assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank). Besides upto 1952 the island received aid and assistance from the United States under the Four Point Programme of President Truman.[49]

Between 1950 to 1951, it is reported that Sri Lanka received nearly $ 1,000,000 from the United States. However in 1952, the US suspended aid to Sri Lanka after the island in violation of the UN resolution entered into a barter agreement with China to provide Beijing rubber in exchange of receiving rice from it.[50] The US invoked the Battle Act enacted by the American Congress in October, 1951 imposing embargo on export of

strategic materials which included rubber to China and North Korea.[51] Dudley Senanayake and his successor Sir John Kotelawala did not allow the suspension of American aid to the island to adversely affect the politico-strategic relations between the two countries.

Sir John Kotelawala after assuming office visited the US. He tried to explain to the American leaders the economic imperatives which led Sri Lanka to enter into the barter agreement with China. It seems he was able convince the American leaders as they lifted the suspension of aid to Sri Lanka but this did not come about during his tenure. It came into effect when the MEP government headed by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was in power.

In this general patterns of foreign policy interactions of Sri Lanka during the UNP governments between 1948 to 1956, there were certain exceptions or one may say deviations because of the islands political and economic constraints. In 1950, Sri Lanka recognized Communist China. This was more in response to the decision of Britain to recognize China; Britain was motivated to recognize China because protection of her interests in the Southeast and East Asia called for the maintenance of good relations with Beijing. As Sri Lanka's foreign policy management was heavily dependent upon Britain, she had little alternative than to follow suit. But when China in reciprocation gestured for establishment of formal diplomatic relations, D.S. Senanayake found it 'bit unusual' and conveyed that his government would use the good office of British diplomatic mission in Beijing.[52] Second exception was the signing of the Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement with China in 1952 under the terms of which China bought Sri Lankan rubber at a price higher than world market and supplied her rice at a lower price. At first this was a short-term agreement but this was soon followed by a long-term agreement between the two countries. According to this pact, the barter agreement was valid for a period of five years and at the end of five years it was open to renewal.[53]

The reason for Chinese generosity was two fold. Following the invocation of the UN resolution and backed by the US Battle Act, she was denied rubber from her traditional suppliers – Malaysia and Singapore. Secondly by promoting economic relations with Sri Lanka she wanted to nullify the international embargo on her. Likewise Sri Lanka

was facing huge stockpile of rubber following the decision of the US (which was until then a major consumer of Sri Lankan rubber) to protect her own synthetic rubber industries. Furthermore Sri Lanka was facing severe shortage of rice. To the UNP leaders, the gesture of China was god-send; it helped the island to solve the twin problems of rubber and rice.

The UNP Government : March 1960 – July 1960

On 26 September, 1958 Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike succumbed to the assassin's bullet of the previous day. On the very same day he was succeeded by W. Dahanayake the senior most member of his cabinet. Dahanayake belonged to the rightist faction of the SLFP. Much to the discomfiture of the rank and file of the SLFP, Dahanayake pursued a rightist programme, as a result the vast majority of the SLFP dissociated themselves from him. He had to quit SLFP. He formed a new party called Lanka Prajatantrawadi Pakshaya which fared very poorly in elections.[54] In the March 1960 elections no party secured absolute majority in Parliament. The UNP which secured more seats than any other party formed a minority government under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake. The government of Dudley Senanayake was a short-lived one. It was defeated in parliament on 22 April, 1960 by the combined efforts of the SLFP and the left parties. Parliament was again dissolved and another election was scheduled for 20 July, 1960 which returned the SLFP to power under the leadership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the widow of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. From the date of his defeat and till the formation of the government by Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Dudley Senanayake led UNP functioned as the care-taker government.[55]

The UNP Led National Government : 1965-1970

In the general elections of March 1965 no party secured an absolute majority in the House of Representatives. The UNP emerged as the largest party in the House by winning 66 seats. It formed a grand coalition government consisting of the Federal Party (FP)

which had won 14 seats, the Tamil Congress (TC) which had 3 seats, Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party (SLFSP) which had won 5 seats and four independent members. The UNP which was headed by Dudley Senanayake, christianed the coalition government as the National Government as it represented all the major ethnic groups and religious communities of the island.[56]

When the UNP-led coalition assumed power there was marked transformation in the domestic and international settings of the island. The Cold War was showing signs of waning consequent to the Cuban Missiles Crisis. The two super powers were engaged in relaxing tensions between them. Furthermore, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Khrushchev had enunciated the doctrine of peaceful co-existence of all nations despite ideological differences. He had also developed the theory of non-capitalist path of development and peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary means. These two formulations considerably altered the views of liberals and conservatives towards the Soviet Union.[57]

In late fifties the monolithic notion of communism also proved illusory following the breakaway of China from the Soviet camp. By early 1960s the Chinese Communist Party had developed major ideological differences with the Soviet Union on the global situation and also in the role of the Soviet Union as a communist state. It accused the Soviet Union of 'revisionism' because of the two formulations of Khrushchev and also of becoming a social imperialist power. It equated the Soviet Union with the USA which it characterized as a capitalist imperialist power. It saw no differences between the two super powers.[58] Consequently China strove to emerge as a major player in international politics and proclaimed herself to be the champion of the exploited nations and peoples of the world. All these developments led to the appearance of a new cold war – popularly called the Moscow-Peking (Beijing) Anti-thesis.[59] Furthermore, China desired to be acknowledged as the leader of the underdog nations and peoples, struggling against imperialist forces, but she found in India an important rival. India enjoyed a position of respectability among underdog countries.[60] In 1962 these two states were engaged in a border conflict which threatened the peace and stability of the sub-continent.

Besides significant changes were marked in the domestic political setting of Sri Lanka. During the tenure of the SLFP led governments under the Bandaranaikes, the state apparatus was used to radicalize the political processes to facilitate the development of state capitalism in the island.[61] Also during this period, Sri Lanka not only recognized a number of communist states but also established diplomatic and economic relations with them. Sri Lanka proclaimed her foreign policy to be nonaligned and actively pursued to promote the NAM.[62] The UNP, in order to remain a political force, had to adjust to these developments which infused a degree of liberalism in its external perceptions and attitudes.

The major concern of the UNP led National Government headed by Dudley Senanayake was to maintain stability in the island. The crisis impeded the economy because of huge population growth and large scale unemployment, rising expectations of the masses coupled with increasing prices of import items and declining prices of export products. Under these circumstances, Dudley needed to implement the populist programme offered by his party otherwise his fate in Sri Lankan politics would have been a forgone conclusion.[63]

For this purpose, the UNP led government's interactions were more with the western countries.[64] It settled the misunderstanding that had cropped up following Mrs. Bandaranaike's nationalization of the Anglo-American oil companies in 1962 which had resulted in the suspension of American aid to Sri Lanka. The UNP government agreed to pay Rs.55 millions as compensation to the oil companies within a period of five years.[65] Following this settlement, Sri Lanka once again became a recipient of American aid and assistance.[66] Dudley Senanayake also undertook goodwill tours to several western countries to procure aid and assistance for the island. During this period Dudley Senanayake seriously considered the prospects of joining the ASEAN, but the government had to give it up because of severe criticism from the opposition political parties.[67]

In procuring foreign capital Prime Minister Dudley faced the hurdles raised by Mrs. Bandaranaike's government to deter foreign private capital operations in the island.

In 1961 she attempted to implement the Ten Year Plan formulated in 1958 to promote economic development and expansion of employment opportunities through regulation and control of industries in the private sector which was then mainly in the hands of foreign capitalists.[68] To attract foreign capital to the island, Dudley assured that his government had no intention of nationalizing the foreign companies, and in case it was prompted to do so in the nation's interest adequate compensation would be paid.[69] Through legislation he also lifted restrictions in the activities of foreign banks. Consequently there was more inflow of western aid to the island than it was during the SLFP government. It is worth mentioning that western assistance was mainly channelized through international development agencies like the World Bank and the IMF. This reflected their new strategy to camouflage the exploitative character of such grants which had become self-evident in country to country transactions leading to articulation of adverse international public opinion. But grants channelized through international agencies were not free from strings tied to them to suit to market and production conditions prevailing in the donar countries.[70] However, Premier Dudley Senanayake had little hesitation in accepting such help for it enabled him to stabilize the economy, besides countering the penetration of the communist countries as well as upsetting the economic programme of the SLFP.

British banks were the first to respond to the initiatives taken by Dudley. They concluded an agreement with the Central Bank of Sri Lanka under which they offered credit to the tune of £ 4,000,000 and a further £ 2,000,000 as a contingent arrangement to be used in emergency.[71] Also these banks agreed to provide long-term loans to the Development Corporation of Ceylon.[72]

Other than this, the World Bank too favourably responded by organizing an Aid Ceylon Group in 1965 comprising of Australia, Canada, France, Japan, West Germany, the UK and the USA to provide aid to Sri Lanka on planned basis. Through five comprehensive programmes it committed aid to the tune of Rs.2,100 million between 1965 and 1969.[73]

In addition to this, Sri Lanka received individual aid and grants from the USA under PL 480 programme.[74] It also received aid from Britain in its individual capacity and as a member of various other aid organizations such Colombo Plan. In 1965 Britain committed to Sri Lanka an interest free loan to the tune of Rs.21.71 million maturing over a period of 25 years, for the import of British goods such as fertilizers, vehicles, tractors etc. necessary for increasing agricultural productivity in the island.[75] Under the Rome Aid Convention, Britain granted aid of Rs.1 million for the purchase of wheat and other coarse grain other than rice. It also helped in the expansion of telecommunication lines in the island.[76]

Though a pro-West tilt was clearly discernible under the UNP regime, it continued to interact with the communist countries in the pattern set by the Bandaranaikes for rescinding it would have cast doubts over its declarations of being nonaligned. Also these interactions provided Sri Lanka stable markets for her exports and import commodities. The UNP regime welcomed aid and assistance from them. To this the two communist powers reacted in different ways. While the Soviet Union and its East European allies continued to help Sri Lanka as had been the case during the SLFP period, China for certain conjectural reasons maintained an indifferent posture. The Soviet Union's warm relation could be ascribed to her basic motive to curb the influence of China in the region and having found an opportunity because of China's lukewarm attitude, set to exploit it effectively. The Soviet Union's commitment during the UNP regime of Dudley Senanayake amounted to Rs.142.8 million in grants and credits.[77] On the other hand, in response to the not so cordial relation prevailing between them, China only confined her activities to the Rubber-Rice Barter agreement which was annually renewed and reviewed. China also acknowledged other previous commitments. However, there was no new initiatives from the side of China.[78]

The erosion of cordiality with China resulted from the misperceptions of Sri Lankan and Chinese ruling elites. Though the UNP was induced with liberalism in its external relations, it continued to maintain its conservative posture within the country. Besides, it also had to appease the religious groups who had played significant role in its victory. To satisfy these conservative elements it reimposed the ban on import of

revolutionary Marxist literature into the island, which had been annulled in 1956.[79] Also, the government requested three communist embassies to reduce their staff to the bare minimum. It refused visas to the delegates of the Indonesian Communist Party to participate in the annual celebration of the communist controlled Sri Lankan Plantation Workers' Union.[80] Visas of two Chinese diplomats were also not renewed.[81] Other than these measures the UNP elites' responses to certain events also underlined their attitude towards China.

The UNP's attitude towards China started crystallizing as early as 1959 when she annexed Tibet which had raised much anxiety among local Buddhist ecclesiastics.[82] In 1962 China was involved in a border clash with India which had its repercussions on Sri Lankan politics. The local Tamil population was sympathetic towards India and castigated China as the aggressor.[83] On both these occasions the UNP then in opposition had supported the popular feelings as the then ruling SLFP had refused to take position in the two issues.

Relations between Sri Lanka and Communist China further deteriorated with news reports in Sri Lanka about the harassment and persecution of Buddhist and Muslims in China by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. In November, 1966 Sri Lankan media reported the formation of a special cells, the 'Revolutionary Struggle Group for the Abolition of Islam' in China.[84] Sri Lankan 'Buddhists gave a call for a global campaign against the persecution of Buddhist in China. Similarly Sri Lankan Muslims led by M.H. Mohammed, the Labour and Housing Minister in the cabinet of Dudley Senanayake, went in a delegation to the Chinese embassy to submit a protest note protesting the alleged atrocities against Chinese Muslims.[85]

In response the Chinese government reacted vehemently towards Mohammed's actions and protested to the Ministry of External Affairs of Sri Lanka demanding that the Government of Sri Lanka "should bear unshrinking responsibility for Mr. Mohammed's activities as he is a minister."[86] Refusing to be cowed down, the Sri Lankan government

averred that M.H. Mohammed had protested against the atrocities against Muslims in China in his individual capacity and as the leader of the island's Muslim community.[87]

The downward trend in Sino-Sri Lanka relations did not end with this and several other diplomatic disputes occurred between the two countries. In February, 1967 China lodged a protest over the alleged disparaging reference to Chairman Mao in a broadcast by Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation and warned that repetition of such unfriendly act would adversely impinge on the diplomatic relations between the two countries.[88] In a dispute between China and the Soviet Union regarding a correspondence from the Chinese embassy characterizing the Soviet Premier distastefully 'as a filthy swine;' the Soviet mission brought the matter to the attention of the Government of Sri Lanka. In keeping with good diplomatic decorum, the latter warned the Chinese embassy against offending a country with which it had friendly relations.[89]

Acrimony between the two countries touched a new high in August, 1967. The Chinese Embassy alleged pilferage and destruction of diplomatic goods by 'vicious elements' in connivance with the Sri Lankan government. The Chinese Embassy cited the forcible examinations of goods meant for the use of the embassy by the custom officials of Sri Lanka during the past two years in support of its accusations. The External Affairs Ministry of Sri Lanka dismissed the charges as 'frivolous' and 'absurd.'[90]

China, however, took the accusations in all seriousness. A group of Red Guards staged a four-hour long demonstration in front of the Sri Lankan Embassy in Beijing denouncing the reactionaries in Sri Lanka attempting to destroy the good relations between the two countries. The Beijing Review under the caption 'Ceylon must stop anti-China provocations' underlined the impossibility of maintaining normal trade relations in the circumstances, and held the UNP Government responsible for all consequences arising thereof.[91]

Mutual exchanges between Sri Lanka and Taiwan in the areas of culture and sports was yet another source of hostility between China and Sri Lanka. Invitations to the Taiwanese came from organizations like the Ceylon Lawn Tennis Association, World Maha Sangha Conference and other such cultural bodies. A Taiwanese delegation also visited Sri Lanka to study the Sri Lankan tea industry, while some Sri Lankans visited Taiwan to participate in the Asian Confederations of Chambers of Commerce Conference, and some other non-official delegations visited Taiwan including a delegation of technical persons to study scientific methods of paddy cultivation there. Overly sensitive to and perturbed by these interactions China made exaggerated accusations against Sri Lanka blaming it for promoting the two China theory. China's protests submitted in writing to the Sri Lankan Ministry of External Affairs in August, 1967 used extremely intemperate language.[92]

Refuting Chinese accusations, Dudley Senanayake clarified that in the democratic political system of Sri Lanka institutions and organizations enjoyed considerable autonomy. He also emphasized that his government supported the entry of China to the United Nations. Given this, the Chinese accusation that his government supported the two China theory was baseless.[93] Dudley Senanayake took strong objection to the intemperate content and language of Chinese protest and announced in Parliament, "we want to be in the best of terms with China. But be it China, the USA and the USSR or any other power, we will not be bullied or badgered by anyone."[94]

Near the eve of the expiry of the Third Rubber-Rice barter agreement, another row erupted between the two countries over the confiscation of 300 Mao badges by the Sri Lankan customs authorities. The Chinese Embassy demanded the return of the badges and government clearance for an additional 500 Mao badges, claiming that the presentation of these badges to friendly Sri Lankan people was in complete accord with international diplomatic etiquette. Sri Lanka on the contrary viewed this as unauthorized disposal of imported articles by a foreign mission that impinged on the internal affairs of the island. Therefore it refused to give in.[95]

The cumulative impact of such disputes created apprehension among Sri Lankan leadership about Beijing not renewing the Rubber-Rice agreement again. This was reinforced by the fact that China which had been the major aid donor to the previous SLFP led governments had not sanctioned any development aid to Sri Lanka since the UNP assumed power. Chinese leaders both in Beijing and in their Embassy in Colombo had threatened to suspend trade with Sri Lanka if it joined the ASEAN which Dudley Senanayake at this moment was keen to join. Wise counsel prevailed upon Dudley who desisted from pursuing his desire of Sri Lanka joining the ASEAN.[96]

Fortuitously the wheel of fortune was in favour of the UNP led government. Notwithstanding the rancour between the two countries, in November, 1967 the two countries signed the fourth-five year Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement. Thus the UNP led government was saved from the consequences of a possible national food crisis for which it would have been held responsible. Despite bickering, the trade relations between the two countries progressed on the whole. China did not revise the benevolent trading terms on which it had so far supplied Sri Lanka with rice at a price lower than of the international market, and procuring Sri Lankan rubber at a premium.[97]

There was one exception to the foreign policy pronouncements of Dudley Senanayake. As leader of the opposition, he had been highly critical of the Maritime Agreements that Sirimavo Bandaranaike had signed with the Soviet Union and China. During his election campaign Dudley had pledged that he would abrogate the two agreements if he was elected to power. However, on coming to power he continued with the agreements in flagrant violation of his election pledges.[98] Abrogation of the agreement would have adversely affected Sri Lanka's relations with the communist countries. In addition to casting aspersions on his pronouncement of pursuing 'real nonalignment' in international politics, the abrogation of the agreements would have denied Sri Lanka of stable source of aid and also market for its exports. With the economy in doldrums, Dudley Senanayake could not afford to take such risks.

To sum up, the patterns of Sri Lanka's external relation during the period of the UNP-led National Government was a strong bias towards the West as in the past, but at the same time it did not project the strong anti-communist bias characteristic of the past. Nor did it show any marked cordiality towards the latter. The structural changes in the international system as well as in the international relations of Sri Lanka when the UNP was out of power influenced the mellowing of the anti-communist attitude of the UNP under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake. Furthermore, the imperatives of Sri Lanka's social formation and political economy led the UNP to compromise with its ideological pledges and policies; despite a critical stance towards the Maritime Agreements, Dudley Senanayake did not act accordingly because this would have ended trade with the Soviet Union and China endangering the economy of the island that would have worked to his own and his government's detriment.

The UNP Government (1977-88) : The J.R. Jayewardene Era

The UNP with overwhelming popular support returned to power in 1977 under the leadership of J.R. Jayewardene. The UNP won 139 seats out of the total 168 seats which gave it 83% of the seats in the Assembly. The SLFP won only 8 seats and the LSPP and CP both failed to win a single seat. For the first time in the parliamentary history of Sri Lanka the former ruling party was so decimated that it did not even become the largest party in the opposition. The TULF secured 18 seats to become the largest party in opposition.[99]

The reason for the UNP spectacular show in the elections was because of the popular resentment of the SLFP governance. In addition to the extension of the parliament by two years that is instead of the normal five year period, there were other issues such as high cost of living, worsening unemployment, corruption, inefficiency, abuse of power, family patronage, creation of a new 'mudadalali' capitalist class which alienated the voters from the party.[100] J.R. Jayewardene, the veteran campaigner of so many elections, who had taken over the leadership of the UNP, realized the public mood. He quickly pledged that he would usher in what he described as a 'dharmista' (just and righteous) government

if voted in to power.[101] The UNP pledged that it will set right the political, social and economic systems right under the rubric of democratic socialism. The Manifesto of the UNP said, "In implementing socialism, we do not intend to fit the government into the place of the private capitalist. We do not intend to concentrate and centralize production, distribution and financial power in the hands of government, a privileged class or a few families.… We emphasize the fact that our policy is not socialism alone but democratic socialism."[102] The UNP's victory in 1977 thus was both a reaction against the political excesses and arbitrary exercise of power by the SLFP Government as well as an expression of hope the UNP would save the people from the worsening socio-economic situation in the country.

Soon on assuming power, J.R. Jayewardene introduced a bill in the parliament to amend the 1972 constitution and installed a Presidential system of government in the French model. The bill on the new constitution was introduced in Parliament in August 9, 1978 which was passed by 137 voting for and seven against the bill. The former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike and members of her SLFP voted against the bill. While the TULF boycotted the voting on the ground that the new constitution did not redress the grievances of the Tamils, Mr. S. Thondaman the leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress (a constituent of the TULF and sole representative in Parliament of the people of Indian origin) voted with the government. The amendment to the 1972 Constitution was finally approved by the National Assembly on 4 October 1978 and it replaced the existing constitution. The new Presidential form of government which is an amended form of the French model had been advocated by the UNP during its election campaign for the general election held in July 1977.[103]

The new constitution of 1978 marked a complete break from the previous constitution. The President who is Head of the State, Head of the Government and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces is elected by the people and holds office for a term of six years. J.R. Jayewardene became the first President under the 1978 constitution. The hallmarks of the 1978 Constitution are that the President is elected by the people and the legislature which has power to legislate is also elected by the people. The judiciary has been granted independence and autonomy by the new constitution. The constitution

clearly provides that the powers of the judiciary cannot be encroached by either the executive or the legislature. The Executive power is vested in the President. The President is responsible to Parliament for the due execution and performance of his powers. The Cabinet of Ministers of which the President is the head is collectively responsible and answerable to Parliament. Executive power cannot be abused by the President, legislative powers cannot be abused by Parliament. Both the executive power and the legislative power must be exercised within the limits prescribed by the people in their constitution. Judiciary is there to ensure that the constitutional demarcations of power are not over-stepped.[104]

After the July 1977 elections, J.R. Jayewardene as Prime Minister retained the office of Minister of Defence but for the first time appointed a separate Minister of Foreign Affairs, A.C.S. Hameed. This arrangement was unlike the previous era. All of the predecessors of J.R. Jayewardene had kept the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in their hands. When J.R. Jayewardene assumed the position of Presidency under the new constitution, Hameed continued as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although Jayewardene did not keep the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with him, he was the most decisive actor in this sphere. He imparted initiates and directives on the formulation and execution of the foreign policy of the island.

The international milieu had witnessed a period of détente consequent to the realization of the two super powers of the dangers involved in the race between them to acquire more and more nuclear weapons. This race posed threats to their every existence. The two super powers recognized that the nuclear balance of terror is precarious. They realized that it was in their common interest for mutual survival to control the arms race. However, the period of détente did not last for long. The blow to détente came with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and symbolized the beginning of the New Cold War.

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was perceived by the then American President, Jimmy Carter, as “Soviet Aggression in Afghanistan - unless checked – confronts the

world with the most serious strategic challenge since the cold war began."[105] The US perceived threats from the Soviet Union to its interests in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean regions. President Carter asserted that the US would use military force to protect its interests in the two regions. The US also shelved its deliberations on the SALT-II as a consequence of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Besides trying to secure military bases in Kenya, Somalia and Oman, the US made Pakistan its frontline state and provided Pakistan with military weapons. It used Pakistan as a base to support forces in Afghanistan who were opposed to the Soviet Union, and the Soviet supported regime there. The US also saw India, Sri Lanka and other states in the Indian Ocean as important actors to secure its interests.[106] All these moves by the US threatened the Soviet Union and it was forced to detract its cooperative attitude towards the US. The Soviet President, Brezhnev in October 1982 asserted that "Russia declares détente with the USA as dead."[107]

Since the early 1970s bipolarity was no longer the single defining factor of international politics. Forces other than East-West antagonism began shaping the international system and contributed to the undermining of the bipolar system; economic ties in the international system proliferated and intensified. The emerging new system has been described as Pentagonal International System.[108] Militarily the system remained bipolar. Although Britain, France and China had developed nuclear weapons, their arsenals paled compared to those of the two super powers. The two super powers were only capable to project their power anywhere around the world. However, politically speaking, the international system was tripolar following the split between the Soviet Union and China. China initially competed with the two powers for gaining influence and status in the international system. But with the thaw in the Sino-American relations in the 1970s, China attempted to improve its relation with the US, West European countries and Japan. China and the Soviet Union struggled with each other for regional hegemony in Asia. Economically speaking the international system witnessed the preponderance of these actors namely the United States, Western Europe and Japan. As consequence of these structural changes in the international system, the five power centers – the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Western Europe, and Japan – had emerged as the leading elements of international politics.[109]

J.R. Jayewardene assumed power in the backdrop of the Pentagonal International System. On the domestic front he was confronted with problems of maintaining the stability of the political system which was being threatened by deteriorating economic conditions and protecting the territorial integrity of the island which was being threatened by the Tamil separatist under the leadership of the LTTE demanding the creation of the Tamil state of Eelam. The LTTE resorted to violent means to achieve its goal. Thus J.R. Jayewardene was required to resolve the twin problems.

His attempt to solve the Tamil ethnic problem was to devolve power to the Tamils within the framework of united Sri Lanka. In this regard he made efforts to engage the Tamil separatists in talks to devolve power and at the same time resorted to military action to disarm the LTTE, which was a well-organized militant outfit. As Sri Lanka's armed forces were not equipped in arms and ammunition to tackle the Tamil militant separatists, he appealed to friendly powers for assistance but his efforts in this direction were not very successful.

The economic woes of the island were tackled in the expected lines. As with previous UNP governments, J.R. Jayewardene liberalized foreign exchange control and import restrictions and devalued the rupee and made politico-economic environment friendly for foreign investment. He also undertook development programmes such as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme, creation of the Free Trade Zone and the Greater Colombo Development Scheme.[110] For the actualization of these programmes as well as improvement of the economic plight of the people foreign investment and aid was imperative.

Under J.R. Jayewardene, the economic content of foreign policy received due recognition. A.C.S. Hameed, the Minister of Foreign Affairs speaking in Parliament in December 1977 openly acknowledged this fact:

> "Our Foreign Policy, I must say, is being given a new orientation. We are a poor country, we are struggling for survival. Long economic stagnation has

> made it impossible for the people of this country to have a fair and square meal. From stagnation to rapid development, it is a difficult process. Therefore, I seek to make our foreign policy an effective instrument of economic development."[111]

Keeping with the fact that Sri Lanka required capital, technology and markets for her exports, friendship with all countries was essential. Unlike Sirimavo Bandaranaike's foreign policy, Jayewardene was not keen to be involved in international matters as for him the main task ahead was rejuvenation of the Sri Lankan economy. He clearly stated, Sri Lanka should not involve herself too much in international politics as too much 'dynamism is harmful,'[112] and could be detrimental to the interest of a poor country like Sri Lanka. He advocated a foreign policy which would be more active with regard to trade and other economic relations.[113] Thus Jayawardene avoided high visibility in international politics and concentrated on the economic dimension of foreign policy quite unlike his predecessor, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who was high profile and dynamic.

The IMF and the World Bank had a decisive say in the formulation of the economic policy of the UNP government. At the behest of the IMF and the World Bank, the UNP government abolished the food subsidy to a great extent, allowed unrestricted imports by private sector and devalued the rupee.[114] Sri Lanka had to abide by the prescriptions because without that aid would not have flowed to the island. Some of prescriptive measures especially the one relating to abolition of food subsidy was not appreciated by the UNP leadership but they had to abide to the IMF and World Bank prescriptions because without that aid would not have been forthcoming from the West. The IMF made available to Sri Lanka a standby credit of Rs.5000 millions[115] and the World Bank followed this by sending its Regional Director for South Asia, Dr. David Hopper in March 1978. Dr. Hopper congratulated the government of J.R. Jayewardene on courageous steps taken by it in its first budget and promised the Bank's support for the completion of the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme. He remarked that the Western Powers in Aid Sri Lanka Consortium were "most sympathetic to the government's efforts to revitalize the economy, to establish a Free Trade Zone, and particularly to harness for agriculture and power the waters of the Mahaweli Ganga."[116]

The cutting down of food subsidy led Hooper to describe it as 'courageous' step but his reference to the Mahaweli project was incomprehensible. The Mahaweli Project had been an ongoing project ever since 1970 and the World Bank could have mobilized additional foreign assistance for it much earlier than 1977 if it was really concerned with the interests of the people of Sri Lanka. Instead it waited for a new pro-west government to come to power which would purse a rightwing policy.[117]

Needless to mention that the foreign policy of the UNP government headed by J.R. Jayewardene veered towards the West particularly towards the UK and the USA. It sought economic aid and assistance from Britain and America. Britain donated 1000 million pounds to finance the Victoria Dam Project of the Mahaweli Development Scheme. This is the largest British aid given to any developing country.[118] This act on the part of Britain indicated her willingness to enter into closer economic ties with the Jayewardene government.

Following the riots of 1983, Jayawardene expected Britain to come to the rescue of Sri Lanka. Jayewardene referred to the continuing validity of the 1948 Defence Pact between Sri Lanka and Britain. He also visited Britain seeking military assistance to deal with the ethnic crisis but he returned disappointed. Britain was not keen to get involved in the ethnic conflict. Furthermore, during the UK Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Sri Lanka to ceremonially declare the opening of the massive Victoria Dam of the Mahaweli Project, the British Prime Minister expressed concern over the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and tacitly advised Jayewardene to find a political solution to the problem.[119] She did not favourably respond to the request of Jayewardene to station British troops in the island as Britain had been doing in some parts of Central America.[120]

There could be several reasons for the British non-involvement in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. First and foremost, Britain did not want to offend India as her involvement could not have augured well with India. Secondly, her involvement would have offended Tamils Nadu and it could have generated immense pressure on New Delhi to come to the aid of Sri Lankan Tamils. Thus such actions could have complicated the

situation in Sri Lanka and would have not furthered the interests of Britain in South Asia in anyway. However, in some circles, the view that Britain had military engagement in the ethnic conflict prevailed based on the fact that a British mercenaries of the Keenie Meenie Services (KMS) were operating in Sri Lanka training Sri Lankan armed forces. The KMS was a private security organization composed of former British elite commandors and registered in the Channel Island. British government denied its links with KMS and claimed that it had no control over its activities.[121] Thus Britain was keen to promote economic ties with the government of J.R. Jayewardene, but London had no desire to get involved in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. It favoured a peaceful political solution to the problem.

Sri Lanka also developed close links with Canada. In fact, since the inception of the Colombo Plan, Canada had been a constant source of aid to Sri Lanka and had shown interest in the economic and social development of the island. Canadian aid has been mainly to develop the agriculture sector. The most significant development indicating the growing links between Canada and Sri Lanka during this period was the agreement between the two countries to jointly undertake the construction of a major dam on the Maducu Oya as part of the Mahaweli Development Project. The Canadian contribution towards this project was to the tune of Rs.1080 million. Furthermore, Canada was to provide the engineering plans towards the construction of the dam.[122]

As regards the US, the nationalization of oil, banking and insurance sectors of the economy by the previous United Front government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike had touched sensitive areas of American interests. But situation improved after J.R. Jayewardene assumed power. The US was appreciative of the liberal, pro-West economic programme of the UNP government. It was keen to assist Sri Lanka's development programmes and secure the stability of the island. This was evident from the selection of Sri Lanka as one of the 11 states to benefit from the US special assistance to developing countries.[123] Aid from US flowed both through international agencies such as the UNDP and the World Bank as well as bilaterally. In 1981 the US granted $ 110 million economic aid to assist the development programme of the UNP government.[124] With regard to the Mahaweli Development Project, the US provided Sri Lanka with aid worth Rs.100 million for setting

up of five national parks in the project area.[125] In this regard Jean Kirkpatrick, the US ambassador to the UN remarked, "I realize the strong determination of the government and the people of Sri Lanka to force vigorously with their development programme, particularly those which will enrich and improve the quality of life of the less fortunate in rural areas and the cities."[126]

Following the 1983 riots, Sri Lanka looked forward towards the USA for military assistance. It was expected that the USA would involve in the ethnic problem in exchange for facilities in Trincomalee. The suspicion arose from the visit of the US Secretary for Defence, Casper Weinberger, to the island in October, 1983.[127] Two months after the visit by Weinberger, the US ambassador at large Vernon Walters came to Sri Lanka.[128] This visit was followed by two more important visits by high ranking American officials. Congressman Joseph Addabo, Chairman of the House Defence Appropriation Committee came in January 1984, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Howard B. Shaffer in February, 1984.[129] During the same period Sri Lanka hastened to conclude certain deals with the USA which carried strategic implications. In December 1983, the UNP government leased out to the Bermuda based oil company Oreleum the oil storage complex in the strategic port of Trincomalee.[130] In the same month another agreement was signed between Sri Lanka and the USA which permitted the Voice of America (VOA) to install a transmitter of 2,500 K.W. capacity in Sri Lankan territory making it the largest radio station outside the US.[131] All these developments raised the suspicion that the USA would militarily involve itself in favour of the Sri Lankan government in the ethnic conflict besieging the island. However later developments belied such perceptions.

President Jayewardene visited the USA in June, 1984 amidst speculation that he was going to sign a defence pact with the USA in the pattern of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1971.[132] In his talks with President Reagan, terrorism figured prominently with particular reference to Tamil terrorism. But no agreement was signed on the issue. Instead an agreement was signed to conduct an oceanographic survey of the coastline of the island and to promote exchange of personnel between the two countries in the field of science and technology. Much to the disappointment of Jayewardene, Reagan

administration did not make any commitment on supply of military hardware nor was a defence pact signed.

Moreover, when the UNP government opted for a military solution to the ethnic problem, the USA stand towards Sri Lanka was not favourable. Washington took serious note of the human rights violation and the denial to the Red Cross to study the ethnic situation and distribute relief piqued the USA most.[133] Reagan administration expressed its displeasure and curtailed American assistance for 1986 by 50 per cent.[134] Although America was in favour of a united Sri Lanka and was thus opposed towards the Tamil separatists, it wanted a political solution of the problem, that is it wanted a peaceful resolution. When India air dropped relief in Jaffna, America did not criticize India but felt that Indian action was on humanitarian ground. Furthermore, it also welcomed the Peace Accord signed between Sri Lanka and India calling it an historical landmark and appreciated India's mediatory role.[135]

One remarkable feature of the UNP government of J.R. Jayewardene was that closer relations with the West did not mean strained relations with China. This was because of the dramatic improvement in Sino-American relations since 1971 and especially since 1978. The two countries consulted each other on a wide range of regional and international issues. The USA and China devised coordinated policies on such issues, as Indo-China and Afghanistan. Sino-American relations by the end of seventies amounted if not to an alliance, at least to a reasonably close alignment between Beijing and Washington. In the words of President Carter "they were friends rather an allies."[136] It is not illogical to say according to General A. Haig, the NATO Supreme Commander in Europe, that "China is the 16th member of the North Atlantic Alliance."[137] In this favourable environment, Sri Lanka had no difficulty in maintaining cordial relations with both America and China.

The close cooperation of Sri Lanka with China served two purposes. It provided her with much-needed aid and assistance and also a counter-weight to India. Soon after assuming office, the UNP government signed a pact with China renewing the Rice-Rubber

Barter agreement for the sixth time in October, 1977.[138] This agreement was signed in Beijing between Sri Lankan Trade Minister and Jayewardene's special envoy L. Athulathmudali and Chinese Minister for Foreign Trade. The latter praised Sri Lanka for its role in international relations and its steadfast commitment to the policy of nonalignment and anti-imperialism. Likewise Chinese Vice Premier, Geng Biao visited Sri Lanka in June, 1978 and he too appreciated the role played by Sri Lanka in international affairs and also the contribution of Colombo to non-alignment. Geng Biao expressed the support of China to the Sri Lankan proposal to make Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace.[139] Sri Lankan Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed responded to the gesture of Biao by declaring that "ties between Sri Lanka and China are as old as the hills" and that it was the UNP government in 1950 that first recognized the People's Republic of China.[140] Prime Minister Premadasa stated that the government and the people of Sri Lanka firmly believed that a strong China was a necessary stabilizing force in Asia. Premadasa further admitted that in bilateral relations China and Sri Lanka had no differences.

Reciprocating to this visit, Hameed visited China in July 1979 to lay the ground work for the visit of Prime Minister Premadasa in August, 1979. The visit of Premadasa was to further consolidate and expand friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries. In response to Sri Lanka's policy of nonalignment China agreed to grant an interest free loan of approximately Rs.500 million to Sri Lanka repayable in 20 years. In another agreement concluded in January, 1980, China agreed to provide approximately the same amount for technical and economic cooperation. The Chinese aid was meant to promote development projects in Sri Lanka such as housing, satellite townships, and industrialization.[141] China had further agreed to carry out overhauling, free of costs the gun boats which it had gifted to Sri Lanka in 1972. The cost of the overhauling and spares were estimated to be Rs.15 million.[142]

China had already been a major supplier of arms to Sri Lanka. According to the Daily Mirror, 50 percent of Sri Lanka's arms and ammunition came from China. After the July riots Jayewardene sent his brother Hector Jayewardene to Beijing to seek China's help to solve the ethnic crisis. China refused to directly get involved in the crisis as it considered it to be a purely internal matter of Sri Lanka. However, making reference to

India, the Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang remarked that "nations should not utilize others ethnic disputes to accomplish their own 'aims' and 'the big' should not bully the small."[143] Although China was reluctant to involve herself in the Sri Lankan ethnic dispute, she provided arms and ammunition to Sri Lanka to handle the crisis. When the Presidents of the two countries exchanged visits in May 1984, there was discussion on Chinese arms for Sri Lanka. According to Jane's Defence Weekly an agreement was concluded by the end of 1984 for supply of five Shanghai style patrol craft and T-86 assault rifles.[144] Thus although J.R. Jayewardene's government was pro-west in its foreign policy predilections, it did not strain the island's relation with China because of pragmatic policies of both the countries in international relations.

Sri Lanka's relations with the Soviet Union has been cordial since the establishment of diplomatic ties between them in 1956. Although Sri Lanka condemned Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Moscow did not let this to adversely affect its relations with the island state. The external interaction between the two countries was in the area of trade and commerce. The Soviet Union was one of the major suppliers of industrial products such machinery, equipment, rubber processing machines, lathe machines, cement, window glass, household electric meters, tractors and fertilizer. Furthermore the Soviet Union was one of main importers Sri Lankan rubber, tea and coir. Initially Moscow bought only crepe rubber but now it imports sheet rubber too. The value of trade between Sri Lanka and the Soviet Union in 1983 was around Rs.1160 million.[145] There has been a remarkable increase of Soviet imports from Sri Lanka ranging from Rs.214 million in 1978 to Rs.1070 million in 1983.[146] Besides trade, the Soviet Union provided aid to Sri Lanka for development of various sectors of the island's economy. It proposed to provide capital and technical know-how for the construction of a steel plant and also helped Sri Lanka in the development of its house-building endeavour. Besides, repairing of Soviet ships were also undertaken in Colombo port. In 1987, the Soviet Union gave aid to Sri Lanka for developing the irrigation system A of the Mahaweli project.[147]

During the post 1983 ethnic crisis, there was suspicion in Sri Lanka that the Soviet Union could be involved in helping the Tamil militants. But there was no convincing evidence of Soviet help to the Tamil militants. In fact Uma Maheshwaran, leader of the

leftist militant group, People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) is on record of complaining that the Soviet Union was not giving any help to the Tamil revolutionaries.[148] As a matter of fact, Moscow welcomed the Peace Accord between India and Sri Lanka and viewed it as a positive development to bring peace in the island.[149]

During this period Sri Lanka maintained good relations with Israel and Japan. While close relations with Israel was politico-strategic in nature, relationship with Japan was predominantly economic. Sri Lanka had established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1957 and trade relation between the two countries was good.[150] Israel bought traditional Sri Lankan exports. But it was Sri Lankan stand in the issue of Palestine that marred the relationship between the two countries. In the war between Israel and Arab countries in 1967, Dudley Senanayake condemned Israel as the aggressor. In the 1970s Arab countries emerged as an important factor in the economy of Sri Lanka because of oil aid. Subsequently Sri Lanka severed its diplomatic relations with Israel.[151] The need for rapprochement of relations with Israel became imperative as western aid and assistance to tackle the ethnic crisis was not forthcoming. Sri Lanka looked to Israel for the acquisition of arms and also military support. Israel responded favourably to Sri Lanka's desire as it wanted to come out of its diplomatic isolation. The involvement of Israel was multi-dimensional. It supplied Sri Lanka with arms and ammunition. It also trained Sri Lankan military personnel in counter insurgency operation. It provided assistance in the agriculture sector too. In 1984, a Israel Interest Section was opened in Colombo. It was housed in the US embassy. It was reported by the media that Israel's secret service agency, the Mossad was actively involved in training the Special Task Force of Sri Lanka. The media also alleged that Israel sold to Colombo missile equipped gun boats, rockets and other arms and ammunition.[152] Besides military assistance, Israel's trade with Sri Lanka witnessed rapid progress. In 1984, Sri Lanka's export to Israel amounted to $ 2.26 million which soared to $ 90 million by 1986. Sri Lanka exported coconut, tea, rubber, gemstones etc. to Israel, while it imported paper products, insecticide, phosphate, etc., besides arms and ammunition.[153]

One of Jayewardene government's significant policy initiatives was directed towards development of a closer relationship with Japan.[154] Jayewardene had always been

a popular figure in Japan because of his stand at the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference, San Francisco, 1951 when he had waived reparations on behalf of Sri Lanka citing the Buddhist text that "hatred ceases not by hatred but by love."[155] When he visited Japan in September 1979 on his way back from the Havana NAM Summit, the Emperor of Japan himself reminded him of this and declared, "our people were profoundly moved by it at that time and they will never forget it in future. I wish to take this opportunity to convey to him our gratitude for it."[156] Japan had been a member of Sri Lanka Aid Consortium set up under the auspices of the World Bank since its inception in 1968. Japan provided Sri Lanka bilateral and multilateral aid. Japan's aid to Sri Lanka increased significantly after the visit of Jayewardene to Japan. Japan's bilateral commitments were to provide aid for the completion of a television broadcasting station, food production and housing projects, and assistance in constructing a 1001 bed hospital in Jayewardenepura/Kotte the site for the proposed new capital of Sri Lanka.[157] As a member of the Aid Consortium its aid upto 1979 was to the tune of Yen 45.2 billion. Further it provided outright grants, loans and aid. It also provided aid for training of technical personnel. In 1979, the total bilateral loan from Japan amounted to Yen 9 billion almost double the amount it provided in 1978 which was Yen 5.5 billion. Furthermore in 1979 the government of Japan extended a project loan of Yen 1,800 million for the Inginimitiya irrigation dam of the Mahaweli Development Scheme.[158]

Thus foreign policy of J.R. Jayewardene was inward-looking. It was geared to promote economic development and growth. In this context, he liberalized the economy and undertook major projects such as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme, Free Trade Zone and Greater Colombo Development Scheme. To finance his economic agenda, he looked towards the West like his UNP predecessors. However, his relations with the Soviet Union and China were good because of the changed global strategic environment especially the shedding of revolutionary fervor by the communist states. Although western aid and assistance was forthcoming to rejuvenate the Sri Lankan economy, the West refused to come to the assistance of the UNP government to tackle the ethnic crisis which threatened the stability and integrity of the island.

Patterns of Bipartisan Interactions

Despite dependence on the West, the successive UNP governments pursued the 'status' motivation as it helped them to project the identity of the island state in international politics which insured its security and internal stability. It articulated the public opinion in the island which was for the assertion of the independence of the island. It also called for establishment of emotive links with other Afro-Asian people opposing colonialism and imperialism and the cold war. Such identification with Afro-Asian nationalism not only helped the UNP leadership to carry their own masses, but also provided them a larger platform to interact with other states. This minimized their threat perception from the forces operating in the international system. This interaction pattern was also pursued more assertively by the SLFP led governments. We will discuss the SLFP led governments bipartisan interactions in the next chapter. Here we will confine our discussion to the pursuit of 'status' motivation of the UNP governments.

D.S. Senanayake declared his foreign policy to be that of 'middle path.' The 'middle path' policy manifested in his government's active participation in Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in 1947 to mobilize international support for the Indonesian nationalist struggle against Dutch colonial rule. The government of D.S. Senanayake supported the Indonesian nationalists. He refused port facilities to the Dutch warships en-route to Indonesia to suppress the liberation movement.[159] Besides the UNP government expressed its strong desire to be a member of the United Nations but its aspiration was thwarted because it got embroiled in the prevailing cold war politics. Unhappy with this turn of events, the UNP leaders demanded the establishment of an Asian United Nations free from cold war politics, but this did not find much support.[160]

In the pursuit of 'status' motivation, Sir John Kotelawala was more outward than his two predecessors, D.S. Senanayake and Dudley Senanayake, because of his own desire to play prominent role in the Afro-Asian movement. He also expressed his desire to make Sri Lanka "the Switzerland of Asia." He convened in Colombo in 1954, a conference of five South East Asian Prime Ministers to discuss the problems of the region. In Bandung

Conference of 1955 he championed the cause of Afro-Asian community and signed two declarations: (1) to abstain from the use of collective defence arrangements to serve the interests of any two of the super powers and (2) oppose colonialism and imperialism in all its manifestations and bring an early end to it. In the Bandung Conference, he made a distinction between China and the Soviet Union characterizing the latter to be a colonial power because of its role in East Europe.[161] In short, the UNP governments of this period opposed imperialism and colonialism and the cold war in all its manifestations.

Similar trend was exhibited by the UNP in their second term in office under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake. He declared its foreign policy to be one of genuine nonalignment. Dudley asserted that his government could pursue a strict nonaligned policy as opposed to the nonaligned policy of the Bandaranaikes which veered towards the communist countries. It is worthwhile to mention that S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike had given concrete shape to the policy of 'middle path' of D.S. Senanayake and called his foreign policy to be nonaligned. Dudley adhered to the nonaligned foreign policy of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. Dudley attempted to identify with other weak or oppressed nations. During his tenure as the Prime Minister, he supported China's quest for membership of the United Nations and expressed concern over the unstable situation in the Middle East and Vietnam. Particularly in the case of Vietnam he took initiatives to bring peace in the area. He proposed a solution for peace which was conveyed to the concerned parties. The North Vietnamese authorities agreed to Prime Minister Dudley's proposal only on the condition that it should precede a ceasefire in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1954. Besides North Vietnam contended that first talks should begin with the National Liberation Front and the South Vietnam government. But such a conference was aborted because of the resumption of incessant bombing on Hanoi by the US.[162]

Premier Dudley Senanayake's proposal viewed the problem of Vietnam as an internal problem of the Vietnamese people which should be resolved through dialogue and negotiation between North Vietnam, The National Liberation Front and South Vietnam. The meetings between the three involved parties should be free from external interference. Furthermore, he suggested that if the concerned parties decided that the service of a 'neutral' nation was necessary to facilitate the dialogue process, Sri Lanka was willing to

act as the facilitator.[163] Vietnamese were predominantly Buddhists, and Dudley's initiative in this context was to appease the Buddhist population of Sri Lanka by prevailing upon them that he was seriously interested in promoting peace in that region. The UNP Prime Minister too did not approve American bombing and military operations.

The renewal of hostilities between Israel and the Arab countries in June 1967, the third Arab-Israel war was since 1948, proved yet another foreign policy crisis. Dudley Senanayake condemned the event without naming Israel as the aggressor and affirmed that the territories gained by Israel through hostilities should be returned immediately. He indicated that the position of the Sri Lankan Government "today is no different from what it was in 1957" but he refused to call Israel as the aggressor.[164]

In 1968, when the Soviet Union and its four East European allies, East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary intervened in Czechoslavakia to suppress popular reaction against the Czech government, Sri Lanka strongly disapproved the act and demanded immediate withdrawal of the troops of the Soviet and its four East European allies and restoration of democratic rights to the Czecs to determine their own government. Needless to mention that though the UNP government disapproved the intervention of the Soviet Union and its four allies, Sri Lanka refused to be dragged into the Cold War politics.[165]

Mr. Dudley Senanayake in various conferences like the Commonwealth and the NAM and in his bilateral discussion with other countries made his position clear of opposition to colonialism, racialism, imperialism and the Cold War. He demanded the withdrawal of colonial powers from Africa and elsewhere. In this context, he criticized the racist government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia but did not criticize the racist government in South Africa as the latter was a major market for Sri Lanka's exports. He continued with the policies of the previous SLFP government on issues pertaining to world peace and disarmament, and demanded for reform of international economic order to facilitate the development of the Third World countries.

When J.R. Jayewardene became the head of the government of Sri Lanka he continued with the bipartisan approach on foreign policy as had been the case with his predecessors. Since Sri Lanka was the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), with the defeat of Mrs. Bandaranaike the position automatically fell on the shoulders of Jayewardene as he was the new head of the state. Although Jayewardene was critical of Sirimavo Bandaranaike's foreign policy, he did not deviate from the role set forth by Sirimavo Bandaranaike. In fact his Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed declared in Parliament that "our commitment to Nonalignment is unquestionable and unchallengeable" but the new UNP government hoped to give Sri Lanka's foreign policy a new orientation with a strong economic foundation.[166]

In his inaugural address to the Colombo Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries in June 1979, President Jayewardene himself stated categorically:

> "Non-alignment runs like a golden thread through the fabric of our coutry's foreign policy, though changes may take place in the quality, colours and shape of that fabric from time to time. At no stage has our country deviated from that policy."[167]

During the chairmanship of NAM, Jayewardene's government faced many challenges to the movement. But with shrewdness and sagacity, Sri Lanka was able to tide over these challenges and ensure that the integrity of NAM does not become a casualty. The Arab nations had demanded the expulsion of Egypt from NAM because of her rapproachement with Israel. India and several other countries backed Egypt. Sri Lanka was careful not to take any side in this controversy but worked with India and other moderate countries such as Yugoslavia, and Tanzania and postponed the issue of the expulsion of Egypt.[168]

In Kampuchea, the Heng Samrin regime which came to power with the backing of the Soviet Union and Vietnam by ousting the Pol Pot regime which had the support of the

US and China. The issue became critical when both – Heng Samrin and Pol Pot – claimed to represent their country and demanded the right to full membership of and participation in the NAM. Jayewardene refused to recognize the Heng Samrin regime on the ground that it had seized power with support of external forces. In a closed door meting of prominent NAM members, a consensus was reached to allow the Pol Pot regime to attend the NAM meeting without being permitted to participate in the deliberation as the Heng Semrin region had total control of the state. A final decision on the Kampuchean issue was put off for the Havana Summit.[169]

The UNP government strongly condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as it violated the principle of non-interference in the domestic jurisdiction of a sovereign state. But it did not support the call of the USA to boycott the Moscow Olympics.[170] Likewise it was very critical of the intervention of the US in Grenada.[171] But on the Falkland crisis where Britain had militarily intervened in the island, Sri Lanka supported Britain claiming that Argentina too had used military force.[172]

Continuity was maintained by the UNP government of J.R. Jayewardene on issues of the demand for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), declaration of Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (IOZP) and disarmament. Jayewardene government accepted the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation approved at the Colombo Non-aligned Summit under the leadership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, however, the UNP leadership was disillusioned at the slow progress of NIEO. Expressing his own disillusionment, President Jayewardene on the occasion of his September 1979 visit to Japan declared at a lunch hosted by the Japanese Prime Minister:

> "There is (also) widespread disillusionment over the prospects for restructuring international economic relations and bringing about equitable North-South economic relations. Nevertheless it is coming to be recognized that the further dynamic development of the North cannot be dissociated from the further development of the South in an increasingly interdependent world.

> It is our earnest hope therefore that the present period of difficulty will not lead to total disillusionment but rather that it will provide an impetus to both North and South to grapple with the problems that affect our own destinies."[173]

The case for the NIEO was put in even stronger terms by Prime Minister Premadasa in an address to the UN General Assembly in September 1980:

> "The exploitation which leads to poverty is endemic in the structure of international economic relations today. That is why we talk of a New International Economic Order. It is an order where human rights are respected; where economic inequalities and poverty are eliminated; where malnutrition and illiteracy are removed."[174]

As the leader of opposition, J.R. Jayawardene was critical of Mrs. Bandaranaike's proposal for Indian Ocean as Zone of Peace (IOZP). He described it as "idealistic and impractical."[175] When he headed the government, as a well known Sri Lankan scholar remarks, "he was notably inarticulate in the IOZP concept."[176] However, when he came to power, the UNP had accepted the proposal. So he had no choice but to pursue the idea. His Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed in an speech in the UN General Assembly on September 29, 1977 remarked:

> "Sri Lanka has a special interest in the implementation of IOZP Declaration, in regard to which there has unfortunately been no worthwhile progress since its adoption in 1971."[177]

In 1980 he reiterated the same statement and his serious disappointment at lack of progress in the implementation of IOZP. Similar statements were echoed in the UN General Assembly. As there was no cooperation from the Big powers, the matter was postponed year after year and the UN declaration did not take off.

While Mrs. Bandaranaike's own special contribution to NAM had been her sponsorship of the proposal to make Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace, J.R. Jayawardene's special emphasis was on disarmament. He made a specific appeal for creating a World Disarmament Authority (WDA) at the February 1978 regional meeting of Commonwealth Heads of States in Sydney. Under Sri Lanka's sponsorship the proposal that a World Disarmament Authority (WDA) be created within the UN framework was adopted by the non-aligned group and later by the UN General Assembly itself. The proposed WDA was to be a single centre of operation and would replace disjointed and sometimes overlapping activities in the field of disarmament.[178] Like IOZP declaration, the WDA remained on paper without making any serious headway because of lack of cooperation from the major powers.

To sum up the successive UNP governments projected a pro-West bias. While in the first phase such bias was explicit, with UNP governments cooperating with the West to suppress communist led nationalist struggles in Vietnam and Korea, such explicit anti-communist activities was not discernible in their subsequent tenures. While opposing racism and other undemocratic practices, the UNP governments occasionally made compromises. For instance, while Dudley Senanayake was critical of the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, he was not so vocal on South Africa. Similarly while being critical of Israel, he refused to brand Israel as the aggressor in 1967 Middle East crisis as both South Africa and Israel offered very lucrative markets for Sri Lankan exports. During the tenure of J.R. Jayewardene Sri Lanka did not castigate British in the Falkland crisis, though most of the nonaligned countries condemned British action. Perhaps this attitude of Sri Lanka was to secure British military assistance to tackle its own ethnic crisis, but this proved futile as Britain refrained from getting involved in the crisis. Barring these omissions, successive UNP governments projected a bipartisan pattern of interaction in the pursuit of the status motivation.

NOTES

1. In social sciences, especially international relations a problem can be analyzed at various levels. The choice of the levels from which the problem is examined depends upon the methodological and conceptual conviction of the analyst as well as to convenience and analytical clarity of his research project. Of course there are debates on this issue in the discipline. See J.D. Singer, "Levels of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Vesba, eds., *The International System : Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). Waltz is an ardent protagonist of the international system-level analysis. See Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1959), and his most recent work, *Theory of International Relations* (Readings, Mass: Addison Wosley, 1979). Atal, Berton, Brecher and several other scholars have highlighted the advantages of the sub-systemic level of analysis as complimentary to systemic level of analysis. The subsystemic level focus of attention is in the subsystemic factors which are often overlooked by the system level analysis. For good exposition of the subsystemic level see Yogesh Atal, "Subordinate State System and the Nation State : Tools of Analysis of External Milieu" in S.P. Verma and K.P. Mishra, eds., *Foreign Policies of South Asia* (Delhi: Vikas, 1969), pp.40-53 and Peter Berton, "International Subsystems : A Submacro Approach to International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, no. 4, 1969, pp. 329-35. In this study Sri Lanka's foreign policy has been analyzed at the systemic and subsystemic levels separately in order to examine and assess the impacts of systemic and subsystemic level factors and forces in shaping the perceptions and responses of its foreign policy.

2. For a good analytical overview of the perspectives on leadership and foreign policy behavuour, see Robert Jervis, *Perceptions and Misperception in International Politics,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

3. Sir John abandoned his desire to seek membership for Sri Lanka in the SEATO because of opposition from his own party. Likewise Dahanayake was overthrown from the SLFP when he pursued policies which went against the ideology of the party. These have been discussed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

4. For details, see Urmila Phadnis, "Politics of Coalition Government in Sri Lanka" in K.P. Karunakaran, ed., *Coalition Government in India: Problems and Prospects,* (Dehradun: Institute of Advanced Study, 1975); James Jupp, *Sri Lanka : The Third World Democracy,* (London: Frank Cass, 1978); and A. Jeyaratam Wilson, *Politics in Sri Lanka : 1947-1979,* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

5. See W.A. Wiswa Warnapala and L. Dias Hewagame, *Recent Politics in Sri Lanka : The Presidential Election and Referendum of 1982,* (New Delhi: Navrang, 1983).

6. See S.U. Kodikara, *Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka, A Third World Perspective,* (Delhi: Chanakya, 1982).

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. See Calvin W. Woodward, *The Growth of Party System in Ceylon,* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1969).

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Andreas Wenger and Doran Zimmermann, *International Relations : From the Cold War to the Globalized World,* (New Delhi: Viva Books, 2004), pp.13-51.

16. Ibid.

17. See Satchi Ponnambalam, *Dependent Capitalism in Crisis : The Sri Lanka Economy 1948-1980,* (London: Zed Press, 1981).

18. See Jupp, no. 4, pp. 46-50.

19. Ibid., pp. 46-7.

20. Ibid.

21. This has been documentedly described by H.S.S. Nissanka, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy : A Study in Non-alignment,* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1984).

22. Ibid.

23. *Ceylon, House of Representatives, Parliamentary Debates*, 1947, col. 44.

24. See S.U. Kodikara ed., *Dilemmas of Indo-Sri Lanka Relations,* (Colombo: S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike National Memorial Foundation, 1991), pp. 5-33.

25. See Lucy M. Jacob, *Sri Lanka : From Dominion to Republic,* (Delhi: National, 1973), pp.1-21.

26. Ibid., pp. 23-27.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ceylon, House of Representatives, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 1, 1947, col. 731.

30. D.M. Prasad, *Ceylon's Foreign Policy Under The Bandaranaikes,* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1973), p. 14.

31. R. P. Sinha, *Sri Lanka : United States Relations,* (New Delhi: Commonwealth, 1992), pp. 26-27.

32. Ibid., p. 20.

33. Ibid., p. 21.

34. J.R. Jayewardene, "D.S. Senanayake, A Study of His Foreign Policy," *The Ceylon Historical Journal,* Colombo, Vol. 5, 1955, p. 55.

35. Urmila Phadnis, "Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka in the Seventies," *Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis*, Vol. 8, no. 1, 1975, p. 95.

36. Sinha, no. 31, p. 31.

37. Kodikara, no. 6, p. 56.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Prasad, no. 31, p. 17.

44. "New Faces in Ceylon," *The Economist,* (London, Vo. 179, 9/6/1956, p. 1004).

45. Jacob, no. 25, pp. 119-125.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. H.N.S. Karunatilake, *Economic Development in Ceylon,* (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 27-28.

49. Prasad, no. 31, p. 20.

50. Ibid.

51. Kodikara, no. 6, pp. 94-95.

52. Ibid., pp. 56-60.

53. See Sivananda Patnaik and Sanjeeb K. Haldar, "Sino-Sri Lanka Economic Relations," *China Report*, Vol. 16, no. 6, 1980, pp. 21-22; Vijay Kumar, *India, Sri Lanka – China Relations,* (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1986), pp. 15-18.

54. Jupp, no. 4, pp. 11-14.

55. Ibid.

56. C.B. Gena, "Political Survey of Ceylon – 1966," *South Asian Studies,* Vol. 12, 1967, p.171.

57. See for detail discussion Andrei Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought : 1917-1991,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

58. K.N. Ramachandran, *Power and Ideology : Sino-Soviet Dispute,* (New Delhi: South Asia Publishers, 1977).

59. Allen S. Whiting, "Contradictions in Moscow - Peking Axis," *Journal of Politics*, February 1958, pp. 127-61.

60. See Wenger and Zimmermann, no. 15, pp. 127-129.

61. See Ponnambalam, no. 17, pp. 38-51.

62. Nissanka, no. 21, pp. 49-82.

63. See for detail discussion Jupp, no. 4, pp. 6-7.

64. Sinha, no. 31, pp. 95-128.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.; The opposition parties denounced ASEAN as a secret arm of the SEATO and declared that Sri Lanka's participation in ASEAN would be a compromise of her non-aligned foreign policy.

68. For details see A. Thiagarajah, *The Economic Development of Ceylon with special reference to Industrialization,* (Jaffna: Jaffna University Press, 1969).

69. *Ceylon Today*, Vol. 15, no. 4, 1966, p. 13.

70. Ponnambalam, no. 17, pp. 53-59.

71. Ceylon, House of Representative, Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 79, no. 9, 1968, cols. 1451-2.

72. Ibid.

73. *Ceylon Today*, Vol. 18, no.7-8, July-August, 1969, p. 13.

74. Ibid., Vol. 15, no. 4, April 1965, p. 18.

75. Ibid., Vol. 18, no.1-2, January-February 1969, p. 18.

76. Ibid., Vol. 16, no. 6, June 1967, p. 17.

77. Vijay Kumar, no. 53, pp. 93-95.

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79. Vijay Kumar, no. 53, p. 97.

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81. Ibid.

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84. Ibid., p. 119.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Vijay Kumar, no. 53, p. 99.

89. Ibid.

90. Kodikara, no. 6, p. 121.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Sinha, no. 31, p. 110.

97. Patnaik and Haldar, no. 53, pp. 24-25.

98. See Urmila Phadnis, no. 35.

99. See Ponnambalam, no. 17, pp. 142-143.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. See K. M. De Silva, "A Tale of Three Constitutions : 1948, 1972 and 1978," *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, June-December 1978.

104. Chandrakant Yatanoor, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy under the Presidentship of J.R. Jayewardene* (Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1997), p. 19.

105. Cited in Peu Ghosh, *International Relations* (New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Ltd., 2009), p. 144.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. For an elaborate discussion see Wenger and Zimmermann, no. 15, pp. 162-163.

109. Ibid.

110. For a critical discussion of these three projects refer, Ponnambalam, no. 7, pp. 155-164. Also see N. Balakrishnan, "Economic Policies and Trends in Sri Lanka," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 20, no. 9, 1980, pp. 891-902.

111. Sri Lanka Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 12, (7.12.77), cols. 2503-7.

112. See Nissanka, no. 21, p. 343.

113. Ibid.

114. See Ponnambalam, no. 7, pp. 147-153.

115. Ibid.

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119. Yatanoor, no. 104, pp. 74-75.

120. Ibid., p. 76.

121. Ibid., p. 75.

122. *Ceylon Daily News*, Colombo, 1 July 1980.

123. Yatanoor, no. 104, pp. 83-84.

124. Ibid.

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127. Yatanoor, no. 104, p. 84.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. Vijay Kumar, no. 53, p. 159.

137. Ibid., p. 160.

138. Ibid., p. 160.

139. Ibid., p. 160.

140. *Ceylon Daily News*, Colombo, 26 June 1978.

141. William Nunes, *Security Dilemma of Sri Lanka : A Conceptual Analysis* (New Delhi: Ruby Press, 2013, pp.100-101.

142. Ibid.

143. *Asian Recorder*, October 1983, p. 17414.

144. *National Herald*, 30 October, 1984.

145. Nunes, no. 141, pp. 101-103.

146. Yatanoor, no. 104, p. 113.

147. *Ceylon Daily News*, Colombo, 1 January 1988.

148. Rita Manchanda, "Sri Lanka Crisis : Conflict and Intervention," *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. X, August 1986, p. 586.

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150. G.P. Somaratne, "Sri Lanka's Relation with Israel" in S.U. Kodikara, ed., *External Compulsion of South Asian Politics,* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993, pp. 198-199).

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152. *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 1987.

153. Nunes, no. 141, p. 105.

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155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Nunes, no. 141, p. 107-109.

159. *The Times*, 24 December 1948.

160. Prasad, no. 30, pp. 149-50.

161. See John Kotelawala, *An Asian Prime Minister's Story,* (London: Harrap, 1956), pp. 170-173.

162. *The Sun*, 6 June 1966.

163. Ibid.

164. Kodikara, no. 6, pp. 129-130.

165. See *The Ceylon Today*, Vol. 16, nos. 4-5, March-April 1967.

166. *Ceylon Daily News*, 8 December 1977.

167. Cited by Kodikara, no. 6, pp. 148-149.

168. Nissanka, no. 21, p. 347.

169. Nunes, no. 141, pp. 110-112.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. Cited by Kodikara, no. 6, pp. 149-150.

174. Ibid.

175. See Nissanka, no. 21, p. 351.

176. See Kodikara, no. 6, pp. 151-152.

177. A.C.S. Hameed, *Foreign Policy Perspectives of Sri Lanka : Selected Speeches, 1977-1987,* (Colombo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1988), p. 20.

178. See Kodikara, no. 6, p. 150.

CHAPTER V

SRI LANKA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: THE SLFP GOVERNMENTS

SLFP LED MEP GOVERNMENT (1956-59) : THE S.W.R.D. BANDARANAIKE ERA

The SLFP LED Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) – literally meaning People's United Front – under the leadership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike won a landslide victory in April, 1956 General Elections. The MEP comprised of Philip Gunawardene's Viplakari Lanka Sama Samaj Party (VLSSP), W. Dahanayake's Sinhala Bhasa Peramuna (Sinhala Language Front), and a group of independent MPs led by R.A. Irrigolle besides Bandaranaike's SLFP. The MEP won 51 out of the 95 seats and so formed the government. The UNP was decimated to a mere 8 seats. The LSSP which had no contest pacts with the MEP, won 14 seats and the Federal Party increased its strength from 2 to 15 all in the Tamil area of the north and the east.[1]

The 1956 election marked a shift of the political power from the westernized colonial bourgeoisie into hands of Sinhala petty bourgeoisie who lived in small towns and villages.[2] S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike articulated the hopes and aspirations of the Sinhala middle classes. In addition to the diminished role of western culture and English language, Mr. Bandaranike asserted the political and economic independence of the island much to the satisfaction of his social base. The SLFP led MEP put forward a radical socialist economic programme, which stood in contrast to the UNP's conservative economic agenda. The MEP advocated the nationalization of all essential industries including foreign owned plantations, transport, banking and insurance. Basic heavy industries like iron, steel, chemicals, cement, fertilizers, textiles and sugar were reserved for the

government. Only light consumer goods manufacturing was left to private enterprise.[3] The successful implementation of this economic programme depended upon the reduction of dependence upon western private capital and diversification of the sources of trade and aid.

The success of this economic programme was conditional upon the removal of the stigma that Sri Lanka was 'pro-West' and 'anti-Communist.' S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike brought about important changes in the island's foreign policy. He pursued a policy of nonalignment and friendship with all countries. He wanted his foreign policy to be neither 'anti-West' or nor 'anti-Communist' but it should be 'pro-Ceylon.'[4] Thus his foreign policy was intrinsically linked to his economic policy. The first and foremost task he took upon himself was to remove those areas in Sri Lanka's external relations which had led to the perception that Sri Lanka was 'pro-West' and 'anti-Communist.'

In accordance with the MEP's election pledge, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike negotiated the withdrawal of the British military bases from the island. During the course of negotiation, Mr. Bandaranaike withstood pressures from various Western quarters trying to deter his move. In 1957 the negotiations culminated in an agreement between the two governments for the elimination of the British air base at Katunayake and naval base at Trincomalee, but it was also agreed that the dislocation would take about three years and certain services would be provided for five years. The Bandaranaike agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 22 millions as compensation for the unmovable property. However, it is to be noted that despite the removal of the bases, the External and Defence Pacts with Britain as such were not abrogated.[5]

The continuation of the Defence Pact could be ascribed to the inherent constraints of the smallness of the island. It did not have an adequate military to protect and defend its territory in case of an external attack, and if at all such a situation arose the agreement could come handy. Then Sri Lanka could rely upon Britain for help. Furthermore, with all sorts of pressures from the Western quarters against the withdrawal of the bases, abrogation of the pact would have been an extreme act especially in the height of the cold

war. Such an act would have seriously and adversely affected Sri Lanka particularly when her dependence upon western markets for the disposal of her export items was still acute. Hence in the given correlation of political, economic and strategic forces, Mr. Bandaranaike adopted a moderate stand while removing the stigma of Sri Lanka being a 'colony' without outrightly alienating the western powers.

During the negotiation with Britain for removal of the two bases, the Suez crisis broke out. Britain was involved in military action against Egypt, who nationalized the Suez canal much to dislike of Britain and France. Britain's military involvement in the Suez crisis posed a serious test to Mr. Bandaranaike's non-aligned policy. He took a firm stand on the issue, that is, Britain would not use its bases in Sri Lanka for military operations against Egypt.[6]

The indifferent and hostile attitude of the previous UNP governments towards communism and communist countries who had questioned Sri Lanka's independence was done away with. The SLFP's interests were to promote the industrialization of the island through the intervention of the state as well as to assert the political independence of the island, and in this connection, maintenance of cordial relations with the communist countries was imperative. Mr. Bandaranaike negotiated the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, China and East European countries. In 1957 Sri Lanka appointed Mr. G.P. Malalasekara and Mr. W.A. Perera as its ambassadors to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China respectively.[7] Moreover, as the SLFP's perception of communism differed from that of the UNP, Mr. Bandaranaike on assumption of office annulled the ban imposed on the import of Marxist literature and other similar materials to the island.[8] With the changed relations with the communist countries, a number of dignitaries from there visited Sri Lanka in appreciation of the foreign and domestic policies of the SLFP led MEP government.

In February 1957 Chau En-Lai, the Prime Minister of People's Republic of China visited Sri Lanka and stressed China's conviction to the five principles of peaceful co-existence (Panchashila) and in the spirit of Bandung.[9] The Soviet Union sent a cultural

delegation to island in November, 1957.[10] In early 1958 the Czech Prime Minister, Mr. William Siroky, made a goodwill visit to Sri Lanka.[11]

At the same time, the SLFP led MEP government continued Sri Lanka's friendly relations with the UK, the USA and other Western countries. Despite the fact that Mr. Bandaranaike did away with the British military bases, he did not alienate Britain nor did he incur the wrath of the Western bloc. Maintenance of cordial relations with Britain and other Commonwealth countries was in the interest of Sri Lanka because a large volume of her exports were with these countries.[12] During the Suez crisis, the left parties put pressure on Mr. Bandaranaike to quit the Commonwealth because of British involvement, but he maintained that Sri Lanka's membership of the Commonwealth did not contradict the non-aligned policy of his government.[12] In the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, he exchanged views with other leaders on various problems and wanted the Commonwealth to play an effective role in world politics. Similarly Mr. Bandaranaike maintained very cordial relations with the US. He appreciated the peace-making role of the US in the Suez crisis.[14]

To legitimize and boost his non-aligned policy, Mr. Bandaranaike did not take a partisan stand in the Hungarian crisis because such stand would have only escalated instability and tension. Instead he worked for peace in the area.[15] Furthermore, during China's invasion of Tibet, Mr. Bandaranaike referred the issue as purely an internal matter of China. On both occasions it seems he did not want to offend the Eastern bloc.[16] Similarly when his government agreed to allow the voice of America (VOA) to broadcast its programme from Sri Lanka for its listeners in the South and Southeast Asia, he made it clear that the Soviet Union and other communist countries would be provided with similar facilities if they were interested.[17] However, when it was brought to the notice of his government that the VOA was using the facilities to vilify China, the Sri Lankan government wanted the scripts to be approved before broadcasting.[18]

Thus the SLFP led MEP government tried to ensure Sri Lanka's independent status by maintaining cordial relations with the two blocs. Through the removal of various

measures within the country like removal of military bases, abrogation of the ban on import of communist literature and her non-aligned role in cold war disputes, Sri Lanka made herself acceptable to the communist countries. Likewise, Mr. Bandaranaike did not alienate the West. Consequently both the competing blocs were keen on having friendly relations with Sri Lanka because of their politico-strategic interests in the region.

Moreover, Sri Lanka's membership of the UN made the two competing blocs to cultivate her friendship. Neither bloc wanted Sri Lanka to favour its adversary as the battle was then mainly being fought in the UN. Sri Lanka's vote was a big weapon for either. Thus the competitive interests shown by the two bloc leaders took care of Sri Lanka's security motivation because neither would like to have a change in the island's politico-economic dispensation which would be detrimental to their respective strategic interests.

Simultaneously the SLFP led MEP's desire for economic development received a fillip because both the blocs came forward to help Sri Lanka. The US, revoked the Battle Act and in 1956 the US gave a grant of $ 500,000 with no strings attached to it.[19] Besides the US government requested the Congress to approve further economic aid to Sri Lanka under various schemes like PL 480. In aggregate Sri Lanka received aid worth Rs.360 million under various schemes of the US government.[20] When John F. Kennedy came to power, aid and assistance to Sri Lanka was even more readily available.

Sri Lanka continued its close economic links with the UK, while at the same time striving to diversify its export and import markets. In this context, Japan and the East European countries were giving tough competition to the UK in supply of consumer goods.[21] Consequently, the quantum of imports from the UK decreased, entailing decline on its dependence on Britain.

A significant trend was the ushering of close economic cooperation with the communist countries. Sri Lanka received from them huge long and short term economic assistance for meeting its immediate and long-term economic needs. In 1958, Sri Lanka

entered into a economic aid agreement with the Soviet Union. A credit of 27 million rubbles (Rs.142.8 million) was granted to Sri Lanka at 2.5 percent interest rate which was repayable over a period of 12 years. This credit was to meet the cost of supplies and services from the Soviet Union.

Besides the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Democratic Republic of Germany (East Germany) were notable aid donars. Bilateral trade agreements were signed with all East European communist countries as well as the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the East European countries helped to develop the industrial infrastructure in the island.[22] These agreements not only suited the SLFP led government's desire to diversify its dependence and promote state intervened industrialization but also provided better, more stable market for Sri Lankan exports.

Chinese aid also witnessed an upward swing. Sri Lanka received interest free loans to be repaid through Sri Lankan rupee and industrial loan which was related to the supply of agricultural equipments and development of railway system.[23] Further it received outright grants which was given in the form of Chinese manufactured consumer goods to meet the needs of Sri Lankan people. [24] Further China renewed the Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement in 1957.[25]

Thus S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike gave clear and distinct shape to Sri Lanka's non-aligned foreign policy by steering clear of tension between the West and the East. Through his non-aligned foreign policy he was able endear Sri Lanka to both the blocs. He enhanced the status of Sri Lanka in international politics. The consequence of such a policy was that he received aid and assistance from both camps to implement his economic programme at home.

The SLFP Government : (1960-1965)

On 25 September, 1959, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a disgrantled Buddhist monk. The leader of the rightist element in his cabinet, W. Dahanayake was sworn in as the Prime Minister. Dahanayake could not carry the support of the party. Only after two months and a couple of days his government lost support in Parliament.[26] In March, 1960 general election no party secured a majority. As the UNP emerged as the single strongest party, Dudley Senanayake, as leader of the UNP, took oath of office as the Prime Minister on 21 March 1960. But he was defeated in the house on the address of vote of thanks motion 22 April 1960.[27] Thus his government remained in power for only a month. In another election held the same year on 20 July, 1960, the SLFP under the leadership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the widow of the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, was returned power. It obtained an absolute majority. She was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka on 21 July, 1960.[28]

Sirimavo Bandaranaike became one of the most dynamic Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka. She had never been in active politics before assumption of the office of the Prime Minister. She had no experience of politics except as the wife of a politician. The poor performance of the SLFP in the March, 1960 general elections led the SLFP members to thrust the leadership of the party on her. This move proved to be successful as the party obtained absolute majority in Parliament and Sirimavo became the first women Prime Minister in the world.

In her first policy pronouncement on foreign policy in Parliament, she proclaimed:

> "In External Affairs, my Government will maintain its policy of non-alignment with power blocs and of neutralism and co-existence. My Government's relations with Commonwealth as well as foreign countries will continue to be friendly."[29]

Although she claimed to be following the policy of friendly relations with all countries, during her tenure Sri Lanka felt more close to the Communist countries like the USSR and China than the USA.

In maintaining friendly relations with other countries, Sri Lanka continued to give priority to the Commonwealth. After participating in the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference of March, 1961 Sirimavo Bandaranaike expressed the view – "that the Commonwealth remains a stronger and more cohesive unit than ever before and a factor of influence in world affairs."[30] The LSSP led by N.M. Perera was committed to bring Sri Lanka out of the Commonwealth. When the Trotskyite party joined the SLFP government in 1964, the Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government continued with the Commonwealth association.[31] Later when Britain approached for membership of the European Common Market, Sri Lanka expressed her anxiety with regard to the adverse effect this would have on the island as it would have to face tough competition for its exports, particularly tea of which Britain was the largest buyer. Mrs. Bandaranaike impressed upon Britain to keep Sri Lanka's interest in mind and was duly assured.[32] However, relations with the UK suffered a setback following the nationalization of foreign oil companies operating in Sri Lanka; of the three companies one was of Britain namely Shell and other two were American i.e. Caltex and Esso. But the reaction of Britain was not as harsh and tough as that of the US. This is because British-owned tea and rubber plantations were estimated at £ 260 million while the assets of Shell was valued to be around £ 2 million. So Britain was keen to protect its larger interests.[33]

A major crisis flared up in the relation between the US and Sri Lanka over decision of Sri Lankan government to nationalize some of the assests of the oil companies in the island. The nationalization was undertaken with a view to reducing import cost and save foreign exchange. The opening move against the oil companies was the introduction of a bill in Parliament in January, 1961 calling for the creation of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation with both regulatory and expropriatory powers.[34] This bill was approved by Sri Lankan Parliament. The Act provided that compensation for the expropriated properties of aliens would be prompt, adequate and effective.[35] The Act also provided that

in case of disputes between the two parties matter could be referred to a tribunal duly constituted for the said purpose.[36]

The initial Anglo-American diplomatic protests were vague and warned only that private investment in Sri Lanka would be deterred by the prospect of expropriation. In reply Sri Lankan Minister for Trade, T.B. Illagaratne "dismissed fears of frightening away foreign capital... declaring that private foreign capital had shown no interest in Ceylon since she had become independent."[37] The Sri Lankan government also argued that the new corporation was necessary to enable it to buy the cheapest oil available in the world in order to help save the dwindling reserves of foreign exchange. It also noted that the Soviet Union was offering oil to Sri Lanka at a very attractive price – 25 percent below the world market price, and on six months credit. Furthermore, the Soviet Union was willing to accept payment in Sri Lankan rupees with which it would then purchase Sri Lankan products. Thus not only was the Soviet oil cheaper and Moscow willing to accept a soft currency, but also the USSR would provide a badly needed market for Sri Lankan exports – tea, rubber and coconut.[38]

The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation needed facilities in order to operate. Its first major action was the expropriation of some of the outlets of the Anglo-American oil companies. The initial seizures occurred from April to June 1962, with government corporation assuming control of 20 percent of the island's gas and oil outlets.[39] Although this figure may seem modest, the expropriated units were among the most desirable and by the estimate of the companies constituted 50 percent of their respective investments.[40] Each of the companies lost an approximately equal share of its business; that is no one company lost disproportionately in comparison with others. Coincident with these first expropriations the Sri Lankan government announced it had concluded a firm deal with the Soviet Union, Romania and the United Arab Republic for supply of oil needed by the new corporation at very favourable terms, that is substantially lower than those of the foreign oil companies.[41] Accordingly on 27 February, 1963 the Sri Lanka government gazetted maximum c.i.f. prices relating to import of petroleum products. The oil companies protested that it was impossible for them to import oil at the c.i.f. prices fixed by the government. They stopped supply of oil.[42] Then Sri Lankan government amended

the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (Amendment) Act of 1963 to vest in the Corporation with effect from January 1, 1964 (or earlier, if necessary) the sale and exclusive right of importing, exporting, selling, supplying and distributing certain specific petroleum products.[43]

Sri Lanka was receiving economic aid from the US from 1956. It had already received almost Rs.360 million worth aid from the US. But the US Congress brought an amendment in the Foreign Assistance Act in 1962. The amendment was moved in the Senate by Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa. That amendment after being passed by the American legislature became Section 620 of the Foreign Assistance Act which authorized the US President to suspend economic assistance to the government of any country to which assistance was provided under the Act, if the government of that country nationalized or expropriated property owned by an US citizen or by an corporation and failed within reasonable time (not more than 6 months after the date of enactment) to take appropriate steps towards payment of satisfactory compensation.[44] The Hickenlooper Amendment, as it was called, became law on 1 August, 1962 but it was to be enforced with retrospective effect from 1 January, 1962.[45]

In the course of negotiation between the three oil companies and the Sri Lankan Government over compensation, the oil companies demanded Rs.42 million for nationalized property whose valuation according to the estimate of the Sri Lankan Government was worth Rs.12 million,[46] so the difference was that of Rs.30 million. The difference in evaluation was because the oil companies estimate was based on 'fair market value' of the seized properties rather than on the 'cost basis' as provided by Sri Lankan expropriation laws. The former is always significantly higher because it includes such intangibles as goodwill, brand association and market position.[47] It should be noted that throughout this dispute the oil companies, perhaps out of fear of setting a precedent, were remarkably inflexible in their compensation demands, and were a major stumbling block to the early resolution of the dispute.[48] While negotiation between the oil companies and Sri Lankan government was on, the US government conveyed on 8 February, 1963 to Sri Lankan government its decision to cut off aid to the island.[49] Consequently the Sri Lankan

government called off negotiations for the payment of compensation with the oil companies, and for some time there was a stalemate in Sri Lanka-US relations.[50]

The Agency for International Development (AID) said that aid being cut off included development grant totaling $ 800,000 for the current fiscal year and a development loan of more than $ 3 million.[51] But it said the US was prepared to continue with a Food for Peace Programme providing milk and flour for school-lunch programme benefiting 18,47,000 children and nutrition programme for 70,000 mothers and children below school age.[52] Further the President of the IBRD declared that the World Bank would grant no loans to Sri Lanka on account of the inadequacy of compensation proposed for nationalized foreign assets.[53] Among political parties in Sri Lanka a wide consensus prevailed on the question of the suspension of US aid to Sri Lanka and the reaction of the World Bank; it was universally condemned.[54] Sri Lanka condemned the action of the US and the World Bank saying that aid was being used as a political weapon to coerce Sri Lanka to accept the dictates of the US, thereby undermining the island's sovereignty and self-respect.[55]

But inspite of heavy strains, the Sri Lanka-US relations never broke down finally. Normal diplomatic relations continued and Sri Lanka though unhappy with the US never thought of joining the other bloc against it. Sri Lanka, with its limited resources could not retaliate by enforcing any economic measures against the US. The agreement for the Peace Corp Programme was also signed in 1962[56] and facility to VOA was extended for a period of ten years.[57] In 1964 the US and Sri Lanka renewed their agreement which enabled mutual exchange of scholars between them and facilities for research and higher studies for Sri Lankans in the US.[58] Later on negotiation also proceeded as for payment of compensation to the oil companies, and for resumption of aid by the US, but the aid was not revived till Sirimavo Bandaranaike remained in power.[59]

The tilt of Sri Lanka towards the Communist countries, like the Soviet Union, China and East European countries was more pronounced during the tenure of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Aid from the Soviet Union and her Eastern European allies had been

utilized for the purchase of equipment and machinery for a shoe factory, a textile mill, the Kantali Sugar Factory, tile factories, an iron and steel work shop and a hydro power station. The loans were repayable in Sri Lankan rupee. The donors then used the amount to purchase Sri Lankan goods such as tea, rubber, etc. Thus these loans were favourable to Sri Lanka and helped her to reduce her dependence on western markets for her exports.[60]

The biggest donor of foreign aid to Sri Lanka among the communist countries, however was, the People's Republic of China.[61] In addition to the Rubber-Rice Agreement which was renewed in 1957 and 1962, China granted large quantum of aid the terms of which was favourable to Sri Lanka. The Chinese aid during the tenure of the two Bandaranaikes' amounted to more than Rs.200 million. The importance of economic interactions with the Communist countries is indicated by the fact that in July, 1963 Mrs. Bandaranaike concluded Maritime Agreements with China and the Soviet Union which provided that ships of these two countries would sail to and fro from the ports of these two countries to Sri Lanka to undertake cargo and passenger services. The two agreements were favourable to both Sri Lanka and the Soviet Union and China because it facilitated unencumbered, easy transport of commodities.

Thus favourable terms of aid from and trade with the Communist countries helped Sri Lanka tide over the stringent measures taken by the US and the World Bank following her nationalization of the oil companies.

The SLFP Led United Front Government 1970-1977

A significant development in Sri Lanka during 1968 was the decision of the two Marxist parties, the LSSP and the CP (Moscow) to form a United Front with the SLFP under the leadership of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. They agreed to a twenty five point common programme of action for a future United Front Government. The main objective of the agreement was a socialist state to be brought through democratic process. The United Front led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike secured a massive victory at the general

election held on 27 May, 1970. In the House of 151 seats, the SLFP itself won an absolute majority of 90 seats while its two allies, the LSSP and the CP won 19 and 6 seats respectively. Unitedly the three parties garnered 115 seats. The UNP suffered a crushing defeat obtaining only 17 seats. The Joint Election Manifesto of the United Front sought and obtained an electoral mandate to permit the Members of Parliament to function simultaneously as a Constituent Assembly to draft, adopt and operate a new constitution which would declare Ceylon a free, sovereign and independent republic. Consequently the Parliament was convened as the Constituent Assembly on 22 May, 1972, the Constituent Assembly declared Ceylon to be a Republic and its name changed from Ceylon to Sri Lanka.

The change of government was of a momentous importance for Sri Lanka's nonaligned policy. As before, the SLFP led United Front's foreign policy was one of avowed nonalignment, opposed to imperialism and neo-colonialism of the West, seeking friendship with developing countries and all other countries assisting these countries in their struggle for political and economic freedom. This directly indicated that the coalition would seek friendship of the communist blocs in marked contrast to the policy of the outgoing UNP government which had veered towards the West.

In May, 1970 the United Front Government led by the SLFP gave diplomatic recognition to North Vietnam, North Korea, the South Vietnamese Revolutionary Government, and the Sinhanouk government-in-exile.[63] The first state guest of the UF Government was, in fact, Madame Nyuyen The Binh, Foreign Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Vietnam.[64] In July, 1970 diplomatic relations with Israel was suspended in pursuance of the United Front government's pledge that such a step would be taken unless Israel withdrew its forces from occupied territory or found a solution to the West Asian crisis acceptable to the Arab States.[65] The SLFP led United Front Government took stringent measures against various foreign organizations such Asia Foundation and the Peace Corps (both sponsored by the US) operating in the country which were perceived as working against the national interest of the island. It was widely believed in Sri Lanka that the Asia Foundation and the Peace Corps were front organizations of the CIA.[66]

In economic interaction the bias towards Communist states was pronounced and reflected the radical programme that the SLFP led government had embarked upon in the island. The sectors where foreign private capital played a major role such as plantations, insurance and banking were nationalized.[67] However, close cooperation with China had a very temporary setback after the insurgency of 1971 because of suspicion that there was Chinese complicity in the 1971 insurrection.[68] But these suspicion were quickly dispelled both by the Sri Lankan Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation that foreign powers were not involved in the insurrection and Chou En-Lai's own categorical commitment of support for Mrs. Bandaranaike. Following the insurrection, however, the government requested the closure of the North Korean embassy, some of the activities of which the Prime Minister alleged, had given strength and support to the insurrectionists.[69]

The Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP)[70] – People's Liberation Front – led insurrection of April, 1971 exposed the weakness of the Sri Lankan state to meet various societal demands and brought to light the growing contradictions in the economy which threatened the dominance of the SLFP led United Front, and thereby prevailed upon it to divert its attention to the maintenance of stability and security of the island. The JVP was on the verge of capturing power, but for the timely help from countries like the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, China, India, Pakistan and others.[71] Besides, the JVP, Sri Lanka was also facing threats from its Tamil minority who were clamouring for greater autonomy for the Tamil dominated region and the more radical Tamil elements for secession.[72] The strengthening of the island's military force to meet such challenges as well as economic growth and development were important for the appeasement of the alienated social forces including rehabilitation of the insurgents who were mainly youth. Since implementation of such schemes required 'capital' whose internal generation was very difficult, the SLFP led government tried to maximize the quantum of aid and loans from abroad to enable it to reconsolidate its position.

In this regard, the SLFP led Government found a very responsive external environment. Members of the international community interested in the region not only helped in suppressing the insurrection but also readily came forward to the aid of the government to the tackle socio-economic challenges thrown up by the event. Foreign

powers were concerned about the maintenance of the status quo in the island's political order, because a non-conformist revolutionary party in power could have created an unpredictable political situation and affected the existing power relations in the subcontinent.

China, just after the insurrection, offered a loan of $ 25 million in convertible currency for economic development and provided two cargo ships to facilitate the island's trading activities besides renewing the traditional Rubber-Rice Pact.[73] It also gave another interest free loan of Rs.48 million to finance an integrated textile mill. In May, 1973 Chinese technicians and workers completed, at a cost of Rs.35 million, the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, the agreement for which had been signed during the first term of office of Sirimavo Bandaranaike.[74] This hall which is a glittering show piece of Chinese diplomacy became the venue of the fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference.

Although the Soviet Union was not very comfortable with the growing cordiality between Sri Lanka and China, it did not lag behind in giving aid to the island. In addition to its normal economic interaction with Sri Lanka, it gifted to the government and people of Sri Lanka an impressive statute of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike which was erected on a prominent site overlooking Galle Face Green near the old Parliament building in Colombo.[75]

Simultaneously aid followed from other countries and international institutions such as the US,[76] the UK, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and many other sources. The World Bank channeled about $ 50 millions as aid, while the Asian Development Bank granted a loan of $ 860,000 for modernization of tea industry and other agricultural production processes.[77] Bulgaria, Poland and East Germany concluded bilateral agreements on economic and technical cooperation entitling the Sri Lankan government huge amounts of credit for its industrialization programme.[78] The Middle East countries bought large quantities of tea from Sri Lanka, and in turn provided it crude petroleum and sugar.[79] Thus the Sirimavo Bandaranaike led government looked forward and received aid

and assistance from diverse quarters for stabilization of the economy and arresting the alienation of social forces in Sri Lankan society.

Mrs. Banadaranaike played a leading role in the NAM, the North-South dialogue and the UN. In the NAM Conferences she got the proposal of Indian Ocean being declared as a Zone of Peace approved. In the Colombo NAM Conference of 1976 she steered the approval of the Six Point Action Programme for economic cooperation among the Third World countries. The main contention of the Colombo NAM Summit was the demand for the restructuring of the existing international economic order, so as to benefit the economic aspirations of the Third World countries. The Action Programme of Colombo NAM Conference was accepted as the framework for a new International Economic Order and became guide for the leaders of the Third World countries in the UNCTAD talks and other fora of North-South dialogue. Recognizing the role of Sri Lanka, Gamini Correa, a Sri Lankan economist, was appointed as the Secretary General of the UNCTAD.[80]

However, the inherent smallness of the island raised obstacles of sorts and led the SLFP governments, to occasionally compromise its basic policy pronouncements. The nature and degree of compromises were influenced, if not determined by the contextual factors. For example, following the insurgency Mrs. Bandaranaike suspended diplomatic relations with North Korea but did not take similar action against China, though there were allegation of Chinese support to the JVP reported in the Sri Lanka media. Similarly the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike did not take any notice of the big power naval activities in the Indian Ocean region. She preferred to be silent on such activities, and at times provided hospitality to the nuclear ships of the two superpowers – the US Pacific Fleet and the Soviet Pacific Fleet – despite her emphatic stand on the Indian Ocean region being declared as a Zone of Peace. Perhaps, the post-insurrection dependence upon the big powers resulted in dilution of her independent posture.

Despite the constraints upon Sri Lanka's autonomy due to its dependence on the external environment, the SLFP governments impelled to manifest Sri Lanka's distinctive identity in the global plane; evinced interest in playing important roles in world affairs.

Consequently, during her tenures in power, foreign policy interactions were more outward and dynamic. As has been previously mentioned, the SLFP government perceived the potentialities that lay in the non-aligned policy to play such roles.

Mr. Bandaranaike's foreign policy interaction based on the principles of non-alignment and friendship with all nations enabled Sri Lanka to take up forthright position against colonialism and imperialism. In this context, one finds that Sri Lanka categorically supported Egypt in Suez Canal issue and the peoples of Algeria, Tunisia, Cyprus, Palestine and Vietnam in their national struggles.[81] Similarly, Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1970 unhesitatingly suspended diplomatic relations with Israel for her violation of the UN resolutions and for occupying Arab territory. The SLFP governments under the two Bandaranaikes also condemned racist regimes and apartheid in Southern Africa.

However, on cold war issues the SLFP governments were severely handicapped and less forthright, but no less conspicuous. Disinterested in going into the merit of the conflicts, they worked towards the resolutions of such conflicts through negotiation and dialogue, Sri Lanka in such context, joined hands with other newly independent states to put pressure on the rival blocs to end hostility. At the same time, they differentiated the human dimension from that of the cold war and supported the former, instances being that of Hungary and Congo crises.

In the Hungarian crisis of 1956, Mr. Bandaranaike helped the refugees in whatever meager way permitted by the resources available to Sri Lanka and asserted that the Hungarian people had the right to select their government. But in the cold war dimension of the problem, particularly those pertaining to the UN where the West was bent upon castigating the Soviet Union for military intervention to stabilize the unpopular regime, Sri Lanka kept aloof, the deviation being only once when its UN representative voted in favour of a West-sponsored resolution which called for the institution of an UN inquiry committee on the Hungarian issue. As the repercussion of such an act was unwelcoming, the Sri Lankan government reverted back to its earlier non-committal policy and made

Ambassador R.S.S. Gunawardena a scapegoat for the deviation. He was replaced by Claude Corea as Sri Lanka's ambassador to the UN.[82.]

During Mrs. Bandaranaike's tenure in 1960s Sri Lanka used her Security Council membership very effectively to put pressure on the two Super Powers to negotiate and resolve their differences in the Congo as well as Cyprus crises. But in neither of the events Sri Lanka got involved in the cold war rivalry.[83]

When responses to events in the external setting had the potentiality to aggravate Sri Lanka's vulnerability, the SLFP governments preferred to adopt a low posture. For example, on the Tibetian issue Mr. Bandaranaike refused to be drawn into the crisis and took the stand that Tibet was an internal problem of China. He did not respond to the violation of human rights of people of Tibet. Perhaps his stand was due to the economic dependence of Sri Lanka upon China.

Notwithstanding the divergences in the external behavior of the UNP and the SLFP governments, one also discerns convergence areas in their behavior patterns, some of which has been discussed in the previous chapter. For the remaining part of this chapter we will cull up the convergence areas more systematically.

Patterns of Bipartisan Interactions

Inspite of two distinct trends in the foreign policy of the UNP and the SLFP governments, one discerns some commonalities and convergences especially in their pursuit of the status motivation. These areas were adherence to the policy of non-alignment, commitment to the Commonwealth, opposition to colonialism and imperialism, support to national liberation movements, pledge to protect national sovereignty and independence of small and weak nations, concern for world peace and stability and demand for restructing and democratization of the international economic order.

Even in the course of the pursuit of these common goals, the two parties were occasionally forced to make compromises in the form of deviations or observance of neutrality because of immense constraints on the island's autonomy emerging partly from its excessive dependence on the external environment and partly due to the weakness of its own political and economic order.

Non-Alignment

Both the UNP and the SLFP government pledged their commitment to the non-aligned policy in their external interactions, yet within this broad canvas their emphases have been different. In spite of the defence and external agreement with Britain and anti-communist stance the UNP governments in their first phase in power characterized their foreign policy to be that of 'middle path.' But in the subsequent term in office, the UNP government claimed to be following the policy of non-alignment which had being given definite shape by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike during his tenure as the Prime Minister i.e. (1956-1959) and his successor, his wife Sirimavo Bandaranaike pursued it with greater vigour and dynamism.[84]

In the initial days the posture of middle path or non-alignment was essentially of politico-military nature; that is opposition to cold war politics and supporting national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. But in 1970s the emphasis of foci shifted to problems of underdevelopment, economic growth, and unfair and exploitative trade and aid interactions. This resulted in the demand for a New International Economic Order. To achieve their goals both the UNP and the SLFP governments joined hands with other post-colonial states to mobilize international public opinion and bargain with the developed states. Such joint action was mainly enacted in the NAM summits, the Commonwealth meetings and the UN and its fora such as the UNCTAD.[85]

The Commonwealth and the UN

Both the sets of governments gave prominence to Sri Lanka's membership of the Commonwealth and the UN. Through these international fora Sri Lankan governments made efforts to preserve international peace, eradicate colonialism, apartheid and big power hegemony, and create a New International Economic Order.

National Liberation Struggles and Opposition to Colonialism and Racism

The UNP and the SLFP governments displayed more or less similar responses to anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles. Such support by them was expressed in multilateral fora such as the NAM, the UN and the Commonwealth as well as in bilateral interactions.[86]

World Peace and Stability

Peace and stability in the international system was the prime concern of the two parties because instability of any kind was likely to have adverse repercussion on the island affecting its peace and tranquility. Both the parties offered their roles as conciliators and mediators in the cold war disputes instances being the Vietnam and the Tibet issue. D.S. Senanayake as a member of the Commonwealth gave serious consideration to such issues and used the Commonwealth conferences for this purpose. Kotelawala's role in well known in this regard. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike used the United Nations for the same. Though his tenure as the Prime Minister was too short, he nevertheless set certain trends in this regard which were pursued by his successors. His wife, Sirimavo Bandaranaike was more dynamic in her role implementation functioning through the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the NAM.[87] J.R. Jayawardene followed similar roles.

Disarmament

On the issue of Indian Ocean on a Zone of Peace there was unanimity of opinion. Mrs. Bandaranaike raised the issue in the Cairo Conferences of NAM in 1964. Her successors Dudley Senanayake, and after her second term, J.R. Jayawardene pursued the idea. Both the parties appealed for total disarmament. While Sirimavo Bandaranaike advocated for Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, J.R. Jayawardene proposed the establishment of World Disarmament Authority under auspices of the UN.[88]

From our analysis of Sri Lanka's foreign policy at the level of the international system, two major trends are discernible reflecting the divergent ideologies and social interests represented by the two dominant parties – the UNP and the SLFP. The UNP governments interacted more with the West, while the SLFP governments displayed a more dynamic foreign policy if not also pro-left. However, their shared historical experiences and preoccupation with the problems of peace and stability at the international, regional and domestic levels led them to evolve certain common national roles in international politics, but because of the island's domestic and external constraints both the parties when in power occasionally had to make compromises in this regard.

NOTES

1. Satchi Ponnambalam, *Dependent Capitalism in Crisis : The Sri Lankan Economy, 1948-1980,* (London: Zed Press, 1981, p. 31).

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22. Kodikara, no. 15, pp.74-77.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. A.J. Wilson, *Politics in Sri Lanka : 1947-1973,* (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 144.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Governor General's Speech, Ceylon : House of Representative, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 39, 1960, col. 51.

30. Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Ceylon : House of Representative, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 16, 1961, col. 1043.

31. In 1964, the SLFP Government was reduced to minority because of defections and by-election defeats. In this situation the SLFP was forced to form an alliance with the Trotskyile LSSP. The LSSP had all along opposed Sri Lanka's association with the Commonwealth.

32. Victor Karunaratne, "Ceylon and the Common Market," *Eastern World*, Vol. 16, 1962, p.28.

33. Richard Stuart Olson, "Expropriation and International Economic Coercion : Ceylon and the West 1961-65," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 11, no. 2, 1977, pp. 222-23.

34. Ibid.

35. Sinha, no. 20, p. 75.

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38. Kodikara, no. 15, p. 107.

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43. S.U. Kodikara, "Major Trends in Sri Lanka's Non-alignment Policy After 1956," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 13, no. 12, 1973, p. 1126.

44. See Olson, no. 33, pp. 208-209.

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51. G. Navaratne, "Ceylon: American Aid Halted," *Eastern World*, Vol. 17, 1963, p. 19.

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64. Ibid.

65. Sinha, no. 20, p. 131.

66. Ibid., pp. 137-138.

67. James Jupp, *Sri Lanka – Third World Democracy*, (London: Frank Cass, 1978), p. 343.

68. Suspicion of a possible Chinese role in the insurgency centred on a mysterious Chinese ship carrying arms consigned to Tanzania which was in Colombo port at the time of the commencement of insurgent attacks and when China became the only major power which did not immediately respond to the Sri Lanka government's appeal for military help. The ship itself left Colombo port when the Sri Lankan appeal was made. It mysteriously vanished.

69. Kodikara, no. 15, p. 137.

70. See S. Arasaratam, "Ceylon Insurrection of April, 1971 : Some Causes and Consequences," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 45, 1972, pp. 356-71; and "Politicians," "The April Revolt in Ceylon," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 12, no. 3, 1972, pp. 259-74.

71. Mrs. Bandaranaike stated publicly "During the insurgency in April, 1971, the help and assistance received by my government from the USA, China, USSR, India, Pakistan, Britain, UAR, Yugoslavia, GDR, and the Federal Republic of Germany and others bear striking testimony to the correctness of the policy we have followed," *Ceylon Today*, Vol. 21, nos. 5-6, 1972, p. 37.

72. Even as early as 1970s a section of Tamil leadership wanted to give up the demand for federation and demanded a separate state for Tamils, *Patriot*, 15.1.1972.

73. Swaroop Rani Dubey, "Sri Lanka : A Survey of Events – 1970-72," *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, no.1, 1973, pp. 113-18.

74. Kodikara, no. 15, p. 138.

75. Ibid.

76. See for details, Sinha, no. 20, pp. 147-149.

77. Dubey, no. 73, pp. 113-18.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. H.S.S. Nissanka, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy : A Study in Non-alignment,* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1984), pp. 216-247.

81. Prasad, no. 7, pp. 142-215.

82. Ibid., pp. 69-71.

83. Ibid., pp. 142-215.

84. For detail discussion of this aspect of Sri Lanka's foreign policy, refer Nissanka, no. 80.

85. Ibid.

86. Prasad, no. 7, pp. 142-215.

87. Kodikara, no. 15, Chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6.

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CHAPTER VI

SRI LANKA AND THE SOUTH ASIAN SUB-SYSTEM

Foreign policy analysis within the contours of the 'analytic' international system[1] invariably over-emphasizes the influence of the global milieu and undermines the impact of local and regional settings which though less conspicuous are functionally significant to the foreign policies of the concerned states. To avoid such a lopsided analysis, a section of scholars advocates the adoption of a sub-system framework supplemental to the larger analytic one, since the former would take proper note of the regional context.[2] The sub-systemic level of analysis is of considerable importance to the study of the foreign policies of the small developing countries because the regional environment has a crucial bearing on their external interactions. The foreign policies of these states are often directed towards the protection of the political system from dysfunctional and destabilizing forces arising out of the infrastructural linkages in the region. Also the foreign policies are used to create a regional power-balance to act as a deterrent on potential threat-sources. Usually, the small developing states perceive threat from their big neighbours and the magnitude of such threat perception is more, if there are infrastructural socio-cultural and economic linkages with the big neighbours.

In this chapter an attempt is being made to analyze Sri Lanka's external behaviour in the South-Asian sub-system. Before we proceed to analyze Sri Lanka's regional interactions, we will briefly discuss the subsystemic features of South Asia, including its textural and structural characteristics.[3] This will help us to underline the major influences on Sri Lanka and its regional objectives.

South Asian Sub-System

As implied earlier, the term 'South Asian Sub-System' is used here in the nature of an analytical framework to help systematic analysis. There are five grounds for considering the region as a distinct sub-system namely: (i) South Asia is composed of Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The rationale for limiting the scope of the sub-system to these countries is historical and geo-political; (ii) members of the sub-system project a regional identity which has manifested more clearly with the formation of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); (iii) members of the international system recognize South Asia as a distinct congeries of states; (iv) shared historical heritage and commonalities in ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious spheres lend a special Indo-centric character to the region; and (v) lastly the non-aligned orientation of all members except Pakistan, till recently, has helped the retention of a separate identity of the regional power structure as also the 'relative autonomy' of the region as a whole.

Textural Characteristics

On the basis of the prevailing power structure in the sub-system, it can be loosely differentiated into four sectors, namely: (a) core; (b) semi-periphery; (c) periphery; and (d) intrusive.

India occupies the core place in South Asian power structure because of the wide disparity between its power potential and capabilities and that of the semi-peripheral and peripheral states. Alongside the power disparity are the infrastructural linkages with the peripheral states which impede the national building processes in both the core and the peripheries. Such linkages have unleashed both 'push' and 'pull' forces which govern their attitudes and responses to one another.[4] While India with its greater capability can afford to be less concerned about these linkages, the peripheries are greatly concerned about

them. Vulnerability to India pulls the peripheries away from it and has made India a constant variable in their foreign policies.

But common colonial experiences, the cold war, politico-economic interdependence and similar socialization of their ruling elites bring them closer to the core. The prevalence of such harmonious factors and particularly the similar socialization of the ruling elites have evolved certain common external national role conceptions in the regional context. For example, the ruling elites of all the states are greatly concerned about the maintenance of stability in the region and also the perpetuation of the status quo in their own political systems, which prevail upon them to cooperate with one another to contain adverse trends inimical to the existing social order. However, the initiative to effect such cooperation lies with powerful India, cooperation without which would be futile and meaningless.

Both Sri Lanka and India possess harmonizing forces of common colonial legacy, and geo-political consideration like instability in the region which would mutually endanger their political systems. The discordant factors are the presence of a sizeable Tamil population in the island which has failed to evolve a common national identity along with the dominant community (Sinhalese). A section of this minority has in recent years sought secession. Moreover, labourers in the tea plantations had been an irk-some problem between the two countries. Besides, the two countries had disputed each other's sovereignty over the atoll of Kachchathivu which was ultimately resolved in favour of Sri Lanka. Similarly there were differences on the issue of maritime boundaries between them. In economic interaction too, Sri Lanka finds itself adversely placed because of an imbalance in trade with India.[5]

Pakistan is neither a core state nor is it a peripheral state. It is a semi-peripheral state. Its socio-economic capabilities are inferior to that of India, but it is now a nuclear weapon state. Its relations with India is conflictual and competitive. It has striven to attain politico-military parity with India.

The peripheral sector denotes countries like Afghanistan, Maldives, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka whose individual power potential is inferior to that of the core, India and they are directly or indirectly dependent on India in the material, cultural and ideological spheres. The countries belonging to semi-peripheral and peripheral sectors have socio-political and cultural linkages among themselves which influence their respective foreign policy making. For instance, Muslims the dominant community in Pakistan and Bangladesh are minorities in Nepal and Sri Lanka but they harmoniously co-exist with the dominant communities. Buddhism, the dominant religion in Sri Lanka is less important in Nepal but relationship between Nepalese Hindus and Buddhists is cordial. Interestingly there is no adverse balance of trade payments in the intra-peripheries' economic interactions. The presence of such linkages and their common threat perception from the core, India, impel these states to have cordial and cooperative interactions among themselves to counterpoise India's regional predominance. However, on certain occasions, discrepancies are manifested in their pursuit of this motivation because of their varied capabilities, and aspirations. Unlike the semi-peripheral state, Pakistan which aspires for parity with India, the peripheral states aim to protect and promote their independence and autonomy viz-a-viz India.

The intrusive sector constitutes states extrinsic to the region, which had endeavoured in the past, or are endeavouring at present to manipulate the regional power-structure for the furtherance of their respective foreign policy goals. As a result, these states are in a state of perpetual competition with each other to influence and win over the support of the regional states in order to further their respective objectives. In this context, one can identify states like Britain, the United States, the former Soviet Union and China.

Following its withdrawal from the region, one of the major objectives of Britain was to maintain friendly relations with the regional actors for perpetuation of its economic activities in South and South East Asia. Besides, because of the unstable post-war political scenario in Asia, Britain wanted to safeguard the smooth intercourse of its commercial transactions in the region east of Suez for which control over the Indian Ocean was imperative. Since Sri Lanka's geo-politics placed Britain at a vantage position, and also

during the colonial rule it had established military bases there for such exigencies, retention of these bases became important.

Initially the United States and the Soviet Union had not shown much interest in the region, but with the intensification of their rivalry the sub-continent came to attain a high priority in their respective foreign policies. The two super powers, obviously, attempted to woo India to their respective camps but having failed to do so, they adopted other tactics to influence the regional power structure. The American strategy in this regard has been to maintain friendly relations with the core and the peripheries to contain the Soviet Union and China, and also to boost the capabilities of the peripheral and semi-peripheral states to restrict the regional predominance of India. However, when it came to a crunch situation to choose between India and the peripheral states, the US preferred to maintain the regional status quo that is it recognized India's status as a regional power.

By and large, the Soviet Union had striven to project a friendly image in the sub-continent by providing aid to the regional states. However, as it had been able to strike a good relationship with India, the other states of the region had been of marginal importance to it. Nevertheless, it had registered its presence in the peripheries too, through the usual diplomacy of aid, grants and arms so as to checkmate the penetration of adversaries like the United States and China.

Following the breakdown of the monolith Communist power structure, China too has been giving high priority to the area. Guided by its desire to be acknowledged leader of the 'underdog' nations, China interacts with the peripheries mainly to counteract the Soviet presence in the region as well as to keep Indian predominance within bounds. In this context, China's strategy has been to sell a 'friend in need, is a friend indeed' image to the peripheries. Particularly for Sri Lanka, China happens to be the most important intrusive actor.

Structural Characteristics

The complex interplay of competing interests and desire for stability in the peripheries have caused India to be flexible towards the peripheries in their interactions with the intrusive powers for developmental purposes and also to overcome their fear of India. However, India has been apprehensive of too great a friendship with the intrusive powers inimical to it.

Some of the peripheral states like Nepal and Sri Lanka have been equally apprehensive of excessive penetration by the intrusive actors like India, for penetrations from either sectors entail possibilities of encroachment on their freedom and independence. Hence these states – Nepal and Sri Lanka – have usually preferred to be cautious in their interactions, shifting their weight towards the core or intrusive sectors according to perception of their leadership of the environment and the demands on their respective political systems. Therefore, the nature and character of the sub-systemic interactions of Sri Lanka have largely depended on the perceptions of the party in power.

The UNP Government and the South Asia Sub-System : 1948-1956 and 1965-1970

In its first term of governance (1948-1956) the UNP governments perceived threat not only from communism and communist states of the Soviet Union and China but also from India. Apprehensions from India were obviously based on objective circumstances like the power disparity between the two countries, the presence of Tamil population in the island, the historical legacy of invasions from South India, more particularly from the Indian province of Tamil Nadu, and notably the irresponsible suggestions by some Indian leaders, immediately after the attainment of independence, for the creation of a regional confederation to ensure India's security. This upset the Sinhalese sensibilities. The then Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had made earnest efforts to assuage Sri Lanka's apprehensions by dismissing such remarks as the outcome of fanciful imagination of a few

individuals and maintained that this was not the reflection of the official viewpoint. However, this did not remove Sri Lanka's fear of India.[6]

To fortify the island from a hypothetical attack from India, the government of D.S. Senanayake actively participated in the Commonwealth which attained high priority in Sri Lanka's foreign policies, particularly in the delay of the membership of the United Nations.[7] Besides, Sri Lanka's defence and external affairs agreements with Britain helped considerably to fortify the island from communist designs as well as minimize threat perceptions from India. On the basis of the defence agreement Britain was able to retain control over the military bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake, the former being a naval base and the latter being an air force base.

During the Prime Ministership of Sir John Kotelawala (1953-56), the threat perception from India seemingly appeared to have increased because of his own idiosyncrasies. Sir John is said to have suffered from an identity crisis in relation to Nehru. The clash of personalities and his dislike for Nehru got translated into a general dislike for India. He tried to minimize India's international stature by interacting more with India's rivals and made efforts to erode India's image among the Afro-Asian states. In 1954 he convened a Southeast Asian Prime Ministers' Conference at Colombo to discuss the situation in Indo-China. The invitees were Myanmar, India, Indonesia and Pakistan other than the host country. In this conference, Kotelawala's prejudices towards Nehru were so apparent that he was just not prepared to accept any suggestions or views put forth by Nehru.[8] At the subsequent Bandung Conference (1955), he interacted more with China and others, much to the chagrin of India.[9] On the Kashmir issue, he deviated from Sri Lanka's neutral position by openly accusing India of being intransigent.[10] Thus the UNP in its first term of office tried to neutralize India's predominance by interacting with many states of the intrusive sector as well as the peripheral countries. Nevertheless, the UNP leaders never felt free to alienate India.

The manipulative strategy increased Sri Lanka's bargaining and resisting power in its bilateral relations with India, which is clear from the fact that it was India which

responded to D.S. Senanayake's unilateral enactment of the citizenship laws concerning the Indian Tamil population in the island.[11] The Indian High Commissioner, C. C. Desai initiated talks with Dudley Senanayake to arrive at a more amicable and mutually acceptable solution. Later on though the 1953 London parleys between Nehru and Dudley on the issue remained more or less inconclusive,[12] Dudley Senanayake's successor Kotelawala did succeed in arriving at an agreement with Nehru in 1954 on certain related matters (e.g. modality to check illicit immigration and preparation of a new electoral register) pertaining to Indian Tamils.[13] However, the Nehru-Kotelawala agreement was not seriously and scrupulously implemented by the two governments. Nevertheless it highlights the amount of confidence Sri Lanka had gained and the manner in which its manipulative strategy enhanced its bargaining capability.

Though in their bilateral relationship the UNP leadership attempted to check India's predominance, on issues pertaining to global peace and stability there was a consensus of views between the two countries. This is evident from Sri Lanka's active participation in the Asian Relations Conference held at New Delhi in 1947 and subsequently the 1949 Conference on Indonesia to mobilize international public opinion in favour of the Indonesian nationalist movement. Even on other issues pertaining to colonialism and imperialism, there was more or less unanimity of opinion between the two countries.

When in 1965 UNP returned to power significant changes were marked in its patterns of interactions in the sub-continent. The new government headed by Dudley Senanayake perceived greater threat from an intrusive state – China. During the rule of the SLFP, China had been able to penetrate into the Sri Lankan economy through its generous aid programmes, which had provided it with much leverage in the island's politics. This created much anxiety to the UNP. Moreover fear of China also resulted from the image perceived of it as an aggressive power. In the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, the UNP had viewed China as the belligerent and had attempted to mobilize public opinion to pressurize the then Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike to declare China as the aggressor.[14]

India's set back during the 1962 India-China war as well as its positive response to Mrs.Bandaranaike's numerical formula to solve the Indian Tamil problem, coupled with fact the local Tamil parties were its partners in the government considerably diminished the UNP's threat apprehension of India. Consequently during the tenure of the UNP, a number of high level goodwill visits between the two countries were exchanged. In 1968, Dudley Senaranayake visited New Delhi and discussed with his Indian counterpart, problems relating to world peace and stability. The purpose of such visits were, firstly, to appease the local Tamil population by articulating his government's close relationship with India, and secondly, to seek economic aid and assistance from India in order to stabilize the economic situation in the island. In both the objectives, Dudley Senanayake was successful to a considerable degree.

India realized the problems of the UNP Government and came forwarded to help it to stabilize the economic condition in the island. Such gestures by India were also motivated by its desire to minimize China's influence in Sri Lanka. India helped Sri Lanka economically through government to government trade, as well as permitted a number of private Indian business houses to establish industries in Sri Lanka. This was encouraged by Dudley Senanayake, for it not only had prospects of stabilizing the economy but would also counter Chinese penetration into the island. However, the agreement with private Indian business houses were abandoned when the SLFP came to power in alliance with the left forces in 1970.[15]

Furthermore, India also cooperated with Sri Lanka in the competitive area of the tea trade. In March-April, 1968 the Indo-Sri Lankan delegates met in Colombo to discuss common problems relating to tea marketing. It was decided that the two states would work harmoniously for the promotion of tea exports. Such cooperation went in favour of Sri Lanka as it could neither afford sophisticated quality control programmes nor could it embark an expensive sales promotion schemes. It also had the added advantage of diminishing the cut-throat competition between them.

India's friendly attitude towards Sri Lanka was reciprocated by the UNP government which could be noted from Dudley Senanayake's statement on the atoll of Kachchathivu over which both Sri Lanka and India were asserting their claims. Dudley Senanayake reiterated Sri Lanka's claim but without adopting a confrontationist attitude. On the eve of Mrs. Gandhi visit to the island in 1968, Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake replied to a question directed on Kachchathivu: "The civilized approach is to discuss these differences and arrive at an understanding. I have every reason to believe that what differences…. Can be amicably settled."[16]

While the government of Dudley Senanayake tried to boost Sri Lanka's interaction with India for a variety of contextual factors, its apprehension of India was never completely ruled out. The objective conditions present were bound to make the UNP government conscious of such threat potentials and the government of Dudley Senanayake was no exception. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the UNP government's interactions with Pakistan also received a fillip with the quantum of trade increasing rapidly.[17] Besides, credit agreements were signed between the two countries to boost the economic activities.

Politically also, when Dudley Senanayake got an opportunity, he sided with Pakistan implicitly, such as at the time of the 1965 Indo-Pak war. While Sri Lanka overtly maintained a 'non-aligned' stance disclaiming violence and urging peace, in an official statement before Parliament, the UNP government emphasized that Indian troops had crossed the border at Lahore. Such statements were certainly intended to embarrass India. This gets further substantiated from the fact that when the Indian High Commissioner protested against such remarks, the UNP government while admitting its mistake in narrating the sequence of events, issued no official clarification.[18]

Despite threat perceptions from China leading to the deterioration of political relations between them, neither Sri Lanka nor China could afford to rupture their relations. If for Sri Lanka economic expediency was the motivating factor, China had immense politico-strategic interests in Sri Lanka. As such without signing any new aid or loan

agreements China continued to honour its previous commitments. As the Rubber-Rice Agreement was of immense importance to Sri Lanka, it was renewed. Thus convergence of their respective interests compelled them to maintain bare-minimum contacts. Nevertheless, whatever apprehensions arose from such dependence, they were effectively countered through interactions with non-communist powers of the intrusive sector namely the US and Britain and with the regional core, India.

The SLFP Government and the South Asian Sub-System (1956-1965; 1970-1977)

In 1956 when the SLFP led MEP came to power, significant changes were soon manifested in Sri Lanka's interactions in the region. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, expressed views identical to those of his Indian counterpart, Jawaharlal Nehru, on almost all problematic issues. They did not consider either capitalist or communist developmental syndromes suitable for their respective countries. This resulted in having a similar foreign policy orientation of non-alignment. Besides, Bandaranaike did not nurture any acute apprehension from India. He expressed, "nobody in this right senses would have imagined that a country like India would at any date annex Ceylon (Sri Lanka)."[19] Finally, in the issue of the Indian Tamils, Bandaranaike's approach was least embarrassing. He viewed the problem to be essentially one of Ceylonese citizenship which India could not possibly resolve. Besides, he abrogated the politico-legalist agreement of 1954 and initiated registration of all Indian Tamils who desired citizenship of the island. And only when this work was completed, he considered it necessary to discuss the matter with India on a fresh basis. Similarly, Nehru categorically underlined that the problem of Indian Tamils should not be treated only from the legal and political angles, but from a humane viewpoint.[20] Such concurrence of opinions heralded new dimensions in Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

Sri Lanka consulted India on the two major cold war issues, that is, the Suez and the Hungarian crises and broadly their stands were analogous. On the issue of Kashmir, Mr.Bandaranaike's government made efforts to persuade the two parties to resolve the issue peacefully and mobilized international public opinion in this direction. While he

cooperated with India and Pakistan, by showing his willingness to negotiate, Pakistan outrightly rejected his move as a "neutralist and communist" proposal.[21]

Harmonious relations, however, did not mean the SLFP government had completely overcome the latent fear of India and forsook the strategy of creating a regional balance of power. The balancing strategy continued to be the pivot of Bandaranaike's foreign policy too. However, transformation in international, regional and national settings changed the interactional pattern to create the balance. Under the leadership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka pursued a more outward-looking foreign policy and several factors, like its non-aligned strategy and membership of the United Nations considerably increased its manoeuvrability. As the SLFP government was nonchalant towards Britain, there was significant improvement in Sri Lanka's relationship with both China and the Soviet Union.

Sri Lanka's interactions with China paid good dividends. China, in order to spread its sphere of influence and curtail India's predominance, projected a friendly image. In January, 1957, Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, visited the island and reiterated that countries with different political systems could live together. Bandaranaike in this context remarked, as far as China is concerned, "we shall never forget the …help you have rendered us through our difficult days."[22]

Moreover, China assisted Sri Lanka in the tasks of economic development and industrialization. In this context, it is worth mentioning that according to the Rubber-Rice Agreement of 1952 the premium and floor price of rubber was abolished. Besides, China gave Sri Lanka a loan Rs.151 million annually for imports from it. Permission was also given for the sale of Chinese goods in Sri Lanka. The flow of Chinese goods affected India and Japan, the two countries which dominated the Sri Lankan consumer sector.[23] It is worth noting that Mr.Bandaranaike, in recognition of China's friendship, refused to castigate China on the Tibetan question despite immense popular pressure. He only voiced his concern for immediate cessation of violence and initiation of peace in Tibet.[24]

When Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike assumed power, after the assassination of her husband, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, she pursued policies initiated by the latter. Friendly relations were maintained with India and relations with China continued in the same vigour and smoothness. In the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, Mrs. Bandaranaike adopted a neutral stand; her only concern being immediate cessation of hostility. Amidst the conflict, she communicated with New Delhi and Beijing to explore ways and means for a cease-fire. To facilitate the boundary demarcations between the two disputants, the Sri Lankan leader convened in Colombo a conference of six non-aligned nations to explore possibilities to solve the problem. As the emissary of these non-aligned states, Sirimavo Bandaranaike went to New Delhi and Beijing to communicate their proposal to solve the border problem between the two Asian giants.[25]

It is very interesting to know why Mrs. Bandaranaike was so much concerned about peace between the two countries. The concern shown by Sri Lanka was due to its inherent vulnerability. Instability in the region would have adversely affected the island, particularly when it involved India and China with whom her interactions were pretty close. Besides, the clash between the two Asian giants had shown signs of turning into a global affair as the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union had already entered the fray indirectly. If such a situations continued, it would have had adverse effect on Sri Lanka's independence and manoeuvrability.

The 1962 war, to an extent, altered the South Asian power equation. India's hitherto acknowledged leadership had been challenged by China which too like India was professing similar ideas. While China's image received a boost, India's image was being tarnished by its neighobur, Pakistan. The Pakistani ruling elite, aspiring for parity with India, found this an opportune moment to erode India's support-base among the Afro-Asian states. In this context Pakistani President, Ayub Khan undertook a circuitous tour to paint an aggressor's image of India. Besides vilifying India's image, he boosted the image of China. At Colombo he embarrassed India by announcing Pakistan's willingness to repatriate persons of Pakistani origin in Sri Lanka.[26]

Furthermore, within the country, Mrs. Bandaranaike was facing serious challenges to her political leadership. The UNP had taken advantage of her neutral stand in the 1962 crisis to come closer to the socially conservative Sinhalese elements and also endeared itself to the Tamils. At the other extreme, was the attempt by the major Marxist parties to forge a United Left Front. Under the circumstances, Mrs. Bandaranaike shrewdly broke the envisaged alliance of the left parties by inducting the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) into the Ministry. Obviously with the coming of the Trotkyites into the her government, Sri Lanka became closer to China ideologically. Besides, within the bureaucracy of Sri Lanka there was an anti-India lobby which now exercised effective influence. The SLFP government was also keen in improving the economic plight of the people because of the forthcoming elections. In this context, China held the upper hand because of its generous aid programmes. As such, the combination of forces gave Sri Lanka a definite tilt towards China.[27]

Sri Lanka-China relations during this period were at its peak with tremendous economic and political cooperation to aid Sri Lanka's economic growth and development. China undertook to supply large quantities of powerlooms and other material to increase production of goods in the island and also increase the scope for employment for the island's working force. To facilitate smooth transport of goods from China, Mrs. Bandaranaike signed a Maritime Agreement in 25 July, 1963 which allowed Chinese ships to carry goods to and from Sri Lanka.[28]

The growing friendship between Sri Lanka-China caused much concern and anxiety for India; it made attempts to appease Sri Lanka and bring it back to its non-aligned and 'equidistant' policy. Nehru tried to solve the nagging problem of Indian Tamils. But he expired in May 1964 before arriving at any concrete results. Lal Bahadur Shastri pursued Nehru's initiatives. In October 1964 Shastri and Sirimavo Bandaranaike concluded an agreement known as Sirimavo-Shastri Pact. According to the agreement, Sri Lanka was to grant citizenship to 300,000 stateless persons and India was to repatriate 525,000 stateless persons and confer citizenship on them. The whole process was to be carried out within stipulated period of 15 years.[29] Regarding the political status of the residual 150,000 resident Tamils, it was agreed that their future would be the subject of a

separate agreement. The implementation of the agreement has not been very encouraging as it has had to face various bottlenecks from time to time. However, one of the significant achievements has been that in 1974 the Prime Ministers of the two countries agreed to share equally the burden of the residual 150,000.[30]

As far as the peripheral states were concerned, Sri Lanka during the SLFP government maintained favourable relations particularly with Pakistan with which it had growing economic activities. Pakistan was supplying Sri Lanka with rice, textiles and other commodities and imported tea, coconut, copra, etc. An interesting dimension was also that, all the three main peripheral countries – Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal – were in close cooperation with China, much to the chagrin of India. This increased their manoeuvrability to a large extent viz-a-viz India.[31]

When the SLFP came to power in 1970, in alliance with the left parties under leadership of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, it continued to pursue an outwardly rigorous regional policy. The SLFP led United Front government attempted to draw upon the complex interactions of various national interests to its advantage. Pursuing a balancing strategy, it was not difficult for Sri Lanka to be assertive with regard to the core-India, in pursuance of its national interests. Radicalism in this sphere was shown in her dealings with India. As the presence of a large number of Indians controlling the commercial activities in Sri Lanka was not appreciated by the Sinhalese, the United Front government passed various enactments to curtail the economic activities of the Indian business community, like abolishing temporary residence permits. In order to protect the local film industry, the government imposed restrictions on the import of films from India. Also restriction was imposed in the import of periodicals from South India more particularly from Tamil Nadu.[32]

Apart from this, as the slow implementation of the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact was causing much burden on the crisis ridden Sri Lankan economy, the United Front government insisted that for every four persons registered as Sri Lankan citizens, seven should be registered as Indian citizens and repatriated to India immediately. The

implication of this was that once the stateless Indian Tamil population was repatriated, employment prospects for Sri Lankans would improve considerably.

Though at various levels, much anxiety was raised over the actions of Sri Lankan government, official views of India were very cool and cautious. The Madras publishers were worried over the restriction on export of journals and magazines to Sri Lanka and viewed it as a prelude to complete banning.[33] On the issue of the banning on temporary resident permit for Indian businessmen concern was expressed by the opposition parties over the manner in which Indians were treated in Sri Lanka.[34] The Government of India maintained that there was no discrimination in Sri Lanka's decision to abolish the category of temporary resident visa.[35] When the amendment was passed in the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact, concern was ventilated by vested interest especially in Tamil Nadu.[36] But the Indian Government's view on this was expressed by Swaran Singh in the Lok Sabha on 23 June, 1974 who maintained that there was complete cooperation between India and Sri Lanka in the implementation of the 1964 agreement. He added that it was essentially a human problem and the difficulties in its settlement were now being overcome.[37]

Thus it appears that Sri Lanka adopted a more aggressive stand, while India adopted a cautious posture in response. This was because of the balance of forces that came into being and provided much manoeuvrability to Sri Lanka. India could have opposed Sri Lanka by taking a firm stand by being critical of the actions of Sri Lankan government, but such actions on the part of Indian government would have furthered the 'Indian apprehension' and driven Sri Lanka further towards China. By posing a low posture, India managed to pursue its foreign policy objectives of peace and stability in the peripheral states.

However, Sri Lanka did not go entirely against India. It continued to maintain restrained-friendliness towards her. Their economic interaction remained as before. When an Indian plane was hijacked to Pakistan in February, 1971, the Government of Sri Lanka deplored the act.[38] This was in pursuance of its policy of friendly gesture towards India. Besides, its deploration was also because such acts would usher instability in region by

igniting the hostility between the two unfriendly neighbours – India and Pakistan, and such a situation would not have augured well for Sri Lanka.

However, within less than a year in power, Mrs. Bandaranaike's United Front Government was forced to give up the outward foreign policy orientation directed to enhance the country's international status, in preference to the maintenance of stability within the country.[39] Such shift in its foreign policy orientation was effectuated because of new challenges the island had to face from within as well as outside. The unsuccessful attempt of the JVP to seize power brought to fore the underlying forces of discontent and social miseries which alienated large sections of the population and drove them towards the revolutionary path. Though 1971 insurrection was suppressed by Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government through timely help from foreign powers, such as the US, the USSR, Britain, India, Pakistan and China she was well aware that unless and until the socio-economic plight of the masses was alleviated the possibility of threat of instability in the system could not be ruled out. Hence Mrs. Bandaranaike Government's effort were directed to contain the process of alienation of individuals from the system and rehabilitate those already alienated.

The Government was also keen to strengthen the security system of the island as insecurity would not be ruled out from the outbreak of another insurrection or from a separatist movement launched by the Sri Lankan Tamils. The success of the nationalist aspirations of the East Pakistani Bengali Muslims to create their own independent state of Bangladesh and India's help to them in this regard, provided a sort of emotional inspiration to the Tamil separatists within the island.[40] The Government of Sri Lanka was much concerned with such developments.

At the regional and international level, Sri Lanka's foreign policy was directed to overcome these twin problems of instability and insecurity. Particularly in the regional system, interactions were very interesting because of the peculiar combination of forces. On the one hand, India's immediate help to suppress the JVP insurrection evolved a sense of gratitude amongst the Sri Lankans but India's assistance to the East Pakistani Bengali

Muslims caused discomfiture to the dominant Sinhalese community. Similarly, China too was alleged to have had a hand in the insurgency, though Beijing belatedly condemned it as "counter-revolutionary" in nature, and thereby attempted to wash of the alleged stigma of patronizing the JVP.[41]

Although Sri Lanka suspected North Korean and Chinese involvement, it could hardly afford to offend China because of the massive Chinese assistance to the country. Thus, the aim of the SLFP led United Front Government was to skillfully balance the core with the intrusive power – namely China, to further its goals and also have chose interactions with the peripheral members. Besides when many global powers intruded into the sub-system, the island's inner contradictions forced it to play a 'low-profile' role which was quite unusual for the SLFP.[42]

Almost simultaneous to the insurgency, Sri Lanka had to face the challenges of Indo-Pakistan confrontation and East Pakistani civil war. Sri Lanka adopted a very low posture on the issue of the East Pakistani demand for autonomy in the initial stages. She 'indirectly' condemned India's involvement in the crisis; this is evident from its stand in the United Nations, where it held the problem to be an internal issue of Pakistan and viewed the demand of East Pakistan-Bengali Muslims as fratricidal and separatist in nature.[43] Sri Lanka provided all facilities to Pakistani civil and military planes enroute to Dhaka. In this regard, Sri Lanka's attitude was largely influenced by its own nation-building problems. The Sri Lankan Tamils in the island were a source of constant concern and the recent youth insurgency furthered such fears. If the SLFP government had taken up a moral and ethical stand on the East Pakistan issue, it could have embarrassed itself over its own Tamil problem.

However, subsequent developments in East Pakistan and the general tempo of international as well as domestic public opinion influenced the Sri Lankan government to revise its earlier stand and accept the reality of Bangladesh as a separate independent state. This shift is easily discernible from the views expressed at the United Nations. In the General Assembly on 8 December 1971, Sri Lanka voted in favour of the Argentinian

resolution which called for immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of Indian troops.[44] Later, Sri Lanka's representative, Amarasinghe, sought special permission to speak at the Security Council in which his country was not a member. Amarasinghe contended that political settlement of the Bangladesh issue was the key to the Indo-Pak strife and wanted a 'settlement to precede withdrawal of Indian troops.' Later on it was reported that Sri Lanka refused to even comply with Pakistan's request for re-opening the issue before the UN General Assembly.[45] Thus, initially Sri Lanka, within the broad terrain of a non-committal stand, attempted to manipulate India and Pakistan to maintain a balance of power situation to safeguard its own security, but when Bangladesh became a virtual reality, Sri Lanka readjusted its position in the light of the new power relationship that emerged in the sub-continent.

Following the Indo-Pakistan crisis, Sri Lanka's foreign policy emphasis shifted to the maintenance of stability and security. To achieve this the island strove for a greater degree of cooperation with the core, semi-peripheral, peripheral and intrusive actors. It signed numerous aid and trade agreements with India. The most significant progress in this context was in February, 1976 when Sri Lanka's Commerce Minister, T.B. Illengaratne and his Indian counterpart signed a joint pact underlining various areas of cooperation between the countries pertaining to economic aid and trade, and science and technology. Under the terms of the agreements, surplus goods produced in Sri Lanka were to be absorbed in the Indian market.[46]

While relations with the core improved considerably, Sri Lanka also improved its cooperation with China and Pakistan. As India was willing to help Sri Lanka on pragmatic diplomatic considerations, so were the other two countries. During this period China not only emerged as Sri Lanka's biggest supplier but its largest buyer. On 18 December 1972, the two countries signed for the fifth time the Rubber-Rice Agreement for a period of five years. Under this agreement, China was to supply rice at less than the world market price. Besides, China also granted generous financial assistance to the island.[47]

Simultaneously, Sri Lanka's economic interactions with Pakistan was significant. Common apprehension of India helped them to come closer. Economic activities between them increased briskly; Pakistan emerged as one of Sri Lanka's major trading partners. Sri Lanka in its desire to reduce dependence upon India, imported from Pakistan items like rice, textiles and other consumer products. Similarly, Pakistan imported tea, and other products from Sri Lanka. To facilitate smooth economic transaction the two countries signed a credit arrangement agreement to the tune of Rs.4 million in March, 1974; accounts were to be settled every six months.[48]

However, it is clearly evident that the SLFP-led United Front was, to a considerable degree, predisposed towards India. This could be because of the post-1971 subcontinental power configuration, wherein India occupied a pre-eminent place; besides, the turmoil in the sub-continent itself demonstrated the inability of the intrusive actors to come to the aid of the Pakistani ruling elite to prevent the succession of East Pakistan. Consequently, the Sri Lankan leadership possibly thought it expedient to have cordial relations with India because of their own Tamil sub-nationalist problem. It is interesting to note that when Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as the Prime Minister of India, visited Sri Lanka in April 1972, she assured the Sri Lankan leadership that India had no intention of helping the Sri Lankan Tamils to secede. She remarked "The very idea (i.e. India's help to the Tamil secessionist) is not merely fantastic, but absurd and unthinkable…. I am aware there is (an) insidious campaign by vested interests to drive a wedge between our countries."[49]

Even from the Indian side, there were attempts to better relations with Sri Lanka during this period. India relinquished its claims over Kachchathivu in 1974 and signed a maritime boundary agreement with Sri Lanka.[50] This was prior to the Law of the Sea Conference and was supposed to act as a pressure in the Conference to accept certain principles. Furthermore, the problem of the 150,000 stateless persons was also resolved and the Sirimavo-Shastri Agreement was implemented with greater vigour. Probably the reason for India's cordiality towards Sri Lanka was to dispel the image of an 'aggressor' that it had acquired in the eyes of the small neighbouring states after the emergence of Bangladesh, and also to properly exploit Sri Lanka's suspicion of Chinese involvement in the insurgency of 1971.

The cooperative relations that developed between the core-India and Sri Lanka is clear from the fact that Sri Lanka did not immediately criticize India's nuclear test as had been the case with many other countries. In fact, it appeared that it wished to remain silent on the issue, but was forced by the opposition to react. Lakshman Jayakkody, the Parliamentary Secretary for Defence and External Affairs, made it clear that his Government accepted India's assurances of carrying out tests for peaceful purpose.[51]

Nevertheless, Sri Lanka's changing responses to the Indian Ocean issue indicated to a degree that India's nuclear implosion created some awe in the island. Initially, Sri Lanka's proposal was to declare the Indian ocean as a 'Zone of Peace.' India quickly endorsed this proposal as it envisaged economic and political benefits to all littoral and hinterland states. Later on, however, Sri Lanka supported the proposal for the permanent renunciation of nuclear weapon options by the littoral and hinterland states, that is, for the establishment of a Nuclear Free Zone in South Asia. This proposal was initiated by Pakistan. The essence of the new proposal was to bring about the de-nuclearization of South Asia – South Asian states would undertake not to manufacture nuclear weapons and the nuclear powers were to guarantee that they would not deploy nuclear weapons against the local states by not bringing nuclear weapons to the region. So far as the proposal for de-nuclearization of local states goes, it was mainly directed against India. India had serious reservations on the Nuclear Weapon Free Zone proposal.[52] But what is important politically is that the two peripheral states – Sri Lanka and Pakistan – joined hands to tactfully ensure their security – viz-a-viz India. Thus even during the most promising phase of Indo-Sri Lanka relations, Sri Lanka continued to pursue its policy of balancing India's regional predominance.

The UNP and the South Asian Sub-System : The J.R. Jayawardene Era (1977-1988)

Sri Lanka witnessed a close relationship with India under Dudley Senanayake's tenure in governance (1965-1970), and the same trend continued even after 1977 when Jayewardene came to power. During the early phase of J.R. Jayewardene's regime, India also witnessed a change when the Janata Party came to power with Morarji Desai

becoming the Prime Minister. Both the UNP and the Janata Party had been successful in toppling the dominant party in their respective countries. There was similarity in the international perceptions of the two government. Both the parties looked towards the West as friends. Both needed Western aid to meet the demands of food shortage and other economic difficulties and challenges. When Jayewardene assumed the office of the first executive President of Sri Lanka in February 1978, the high ranking minister of the Indian Government, the Home Minister, Charan Singh was present at the inauguration ceremonies. In the later part of 1978 Jayewardene undertook a state visit to India and Nepal which was followed by Desai's visit to Sri Lanka in early 1979. However, this bonhomie between the two countries did not last long as the Janata government tenure came to an end following instability within the party.[53]

When Mrs. Gandhi returned to power relations between her and Jayewardene soured particularly when she did not take kindly to the move of Jayewardene to impose ban on the civil liberties of Mrs. Bandaranaike.[54] Furthermore, Sri Lanka's open economic policy and liberalization of the economy was an obvious move towards a pro-West orientation. The pro-West policy was also visible from his soft pedaling on the issue of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and refusal to condemn US presence in Diego Garcia. He further antagonished India by providing additional facilities to Voice of America (VOA) and generating the apprehension that Jayawardene would grant base facilities to the US at Trincomalee.[55] India's and USSR's tenders for repair and modernization of the oil tank farm at Trincomalee was rejected though the India's tender bids was the lowest and instead the contract was given to a Singapore based private consortium with suspected US links.[56]

This trend in Sri Lanka's foreign policy and its security implication for India continued to dominate Indo-Sri Lanka relations till the early 1980's and it witnessed its nadir point after the ethnic crisis of July 1983 when India began to take keen interest in the political development of the island. Finally from playing the role of a mediator it intervened in the crisis to resolve the problem.

The presence of Tamil militants in Tamil Nadu allegedly using it as a base coupled with allegation that Indian intelligence agency RAW was assisting the Sri Lanka Tamil separatists further aggravated India's relations with Sri Lanka. However, there is difference of opinion with regard to the involvement of RAW prior to July 1983, but some reports do confirm that RAW got involved in the issue after 1983 riots.[57]

The Tamil Nadu connection to the separatist movement had begun to surface with the DMK supremo Karunanidhi's call for an all-party conference to express solidarity with the cause of the Sri Lanka Tamils. However, the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G. Ramachandran though expressed concern over the plight of Sri Lankan Tamils asserted that Tamil Nadu will not interfere in the internal problem of Sri Lanka. Such sympathy on the other side of the Palk Straits was a matter of great concerns to the Sinhalese. This aroused in them the fear that Indira Gandhi might consider the option of a military offensive against Sri Lanka in the style of Bangladesh. However, Mrs. Gandhi conveyed that although India was deeply concerned about the developments in Sri Lanka, India would not interfere in the internal matter of its neighbour.[58]

The July 1983 riots, which had clandestinely the support of the government, Buddhist clergy and security forces, was directed at Tamils. It, in fact, affected Indian nationals and establishments particularly Tamils of Indian origin.[59] Sri Lanka approached friendly countries like the US, UK, China, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal for military and political support. It excluded India as well as the USSR. It excluded India because of the Tamil Nadu connection and refrained from seeking support of the USSR because in its perception Moscow identified itself with India's regional role. This move to involve foreign forces was inimical to India's regional security concerns and implied that Jayewardene was looking for a military solution to the ethnic crisis.[60]

Although Jayewardene had earlier asserted that the Defence Pact with Britain was valid, Britain did not come to the support of the Sri Lankan government. Similarly the US too refrained from getting involved in the crisis. Both countries asserted that Sri Lanka should resolve the crisis with the help of the good offices of India. Both recognized that

the management of the region should be left to the region's predominant power. However, China, Singapore, Malaysia, and South Africa provided Sri Lanka with arms and ammunitions. Pakistan and Israel actively helped Sri Lanka to fight the Tamil militants. Pakistan reciprocated to Sri Lanka's appeal by providing arms and training to the Sri Lankan military, while Israeli secret service Mossad provided counter-insurgency training to Sri Lankan security forces.[61]

Indira Gandhi was quick to respond to these developments, She sent her emissary P.V. Narasimha Rao to access the situation in Sri Lanka. Violence erupted even as Narasimha Rao was visiting the island, and on returning home he informed the Prime Minister that the Sri Lankan situation was serious indeed and that the government of Sri Lanka had failed to bring the ethnic violence under control. Rao also confirmed media reports that Sri Lanka government had sought military assistance from foreign powers to meet the crisis.[62]

Subsequent to the visit by Narasimha Rao, Mrs. Indira Gandhi telephoned to J.R. Jayewardene to convey her disapproval of Sri Lanka seeking foreign assistance and that the situation calls for a political, and not a military solution. Mrs. Gandhi offered India's good offices to find a solution to the problem through negotiations while asserting that India stood firm on the independence, unity and integrity of Sri Lanka.[63] Mrs. Gandhi, however warned Jayawardene that "any external involvement will complicate matters for both the countries."[64]

Subsequently J.R. Jayewardene sent his brother, Hector Jayewardene to India to hold discussion with the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi from August 10-12, 1983. Hector Jayawardene conveyed the message of J.R. Jayewardene that India should stop the Tamil militant groups based in Tamil Nadu from operating against Sri Lanka. The visiting emissary also conveyed to the Indian Prime Minister that Sri Lanka was ready for talks with the Tamil leaders and would accept India's offer of good offices. The TULF leader Appapillai Amrithalingam met Mrs. Gandhi on August 14, and though he refused initially to renounce the demand for a Eelam, he expressed readiness, after a second meeting with

her, to consider any reasonable offer that Sri Lanka was prepared to make to meet the 'substance' of Eelam. Having obtained the agreement of both sides to talk to each other, the Indian Government went ahead to prepare the ground for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic conflict. Entrusted with the task was Gopalaswamy Parthasarathy who had drawn up a plan of action for settling the issue. Following various rounds of talks a broad framework for political settlement within a united Sri Lanka emerged. However, the proposal required that the TULF to give up its demand for a separate Eelam in place of a new set-up of Regional Council after the merging of the District Development Councils within a province. The Tamil groups including the TULF rejected the offer of formation of Regional Councils as 'too little' and demanded for total regional autonomy in the absence of an Eelam.[65]

Sri Lanka was not really keen on India's involvement in what it perceived as its internal matter. However, the western countries whom it had approached for assistance did not respond very encouragingly. The World Bank and the IMF cautioned the government against deteriorating domestic condition and worsening of its economy, including the possibility of cut in foreign aid to the island. This left the government with very little room to manoeuvre its foreign policy. Thus the pressure from within and from outside compelled Jayawardene to agree to negotiate with the Tamils as well as accept India as the mediator.[66]

Subsequent to these developments, the two countries agreed to jointly work towards finding a solution to the ethnic crisis. Talks between Parthasarathy and the Sri Lankan government continued. In the meantime, during the Commonwealth Head of States meeting held in New Delhi during the last week of November, 1983, President Jayewardene also held talks with Mrs. Gandhi and it was during the Delhi talks that the final shape of the draft proposal popularly known as Annexure "C" was drawn up, which would serve as the basis for talks between Sri Lankan government and the TULF.[67]

The Annexure "C" drawn up by Parthasarathy was similar to the one provided by the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1957. It contained further proposals providing

for extensive devolution of powers to the provinces.[68] The proposal was not received favourably by the Sinhalese population as well as by sections within the government of J.R. Jayewardene. With the opposition to the proposal from the Sinhalese population and from members of his government, Jayewardene disowned the proposal. According to A.J. Wilson, the disowning of the proposal was indeed a grave mistake; Annexure "C" was the best compromise that any Sinhalese government could ever have obtained given the determination of the Tamil militants to seek a military solution and achieve the goal of a separate state – the Eelam.[69]

Jayewardene summoned the All Party Conference (APC) to discuss the ethnic problem and seek a solution of the same. After a series of meetings and deliberations, the APC in 14 December, 1984 put forth two bills to effect decentralization : the Draft District and Provincial Council Bill and the draft bill of Pradeshiya Sabha (village level local bodies). R. Premadasa, then the Prime Minister did not support the move and demanded a referendum on the proposal. On the other hand, the TULF leader, Amrithalingam stated that the two bills did not embody the scheme of autonomy and was not acceptable to the Tamils. Following these developments, Jayewardene dropped the APC proposal.[70]

After Rajiv Gandhi succeeded his late mother as Prime Minister, Indo-Sri Lanka relations showed definite signs of improvement. Rajiv Gandhi like his mother showed keen interest in establishing peace and stability in the island. His continuous efforts to bring about peace in the island by resolving the ethnic conflict and his efforts to establish a good working relationship with Jayewardene culminated in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 29, 1987. However, India's role from a mediator took sharp turn when it took the form of intervention and later India actively participated in the implementation of the agreement.

It should be noted here that prior to the 1987 accord, violence had escalated in intensity and magnitude. In the backdrop of this a meeting between Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan Minister for Internal Security Lalit Athulathumudali was held in New Delhi in February, 1985 to discuss the ongoing violence in the island. The meeting was described

as 'most constructive,' and Indian government took two important steps that convinced Sri Lanka of Rajiv Gandhi's genuine interest in resolving the ethnic problem. Firstly, G. Parthasarathy, who himself being a Tamil was not favourably accepted by the Sinhalese, was replaced by Romesh Bhandari as Rajiv Gandhi's special envoy dealing with the Sri Lankan problem. Secondly, steps were taken to curb the activities of Tamil militants in India. Rajiv Gandhi, having won the parliamentary election with a thumping majority, was less constrained in moving against the Sri Lankan Tamil militants based in Tamil Nadu. Thus in March 29, 1985, the Indian coast guard intercepted a boat carrying arms and explosives to Tamil rebels in Sri Lanka, and less than a week later Indian customs officials in Madras port seized a container loaded with arms and ammunitions bound for Sri Lanka. Action was also taken to remove Tamil militants from their bases in Tamil Nadu. These steps were major confidence-building measures adopted by India which convinced the Sri Lankan government of the genuine interest of Rajiv Gandhi's government to resolve the ethnic problem in the island.[71]

It is against this backdrop that Romesh Bhandari visited Sri Lanka and after discussion with Sri Lankan officials was able to draw a new Peace Package in April 1985 which included a general amnesty for Tamil rebels, release of detainees, confinement of security forces to barracks and resumption of negotiations to settle the Tamil issues. A summit meeting was also arranged between Rajiv Gandhi and Jayewardene which took place in June where both parties agreed to defuse the volatile situation and create a conducive atmosphere for finding a political solution. Afterwards, the Sri Lankan government and the five major Tamil separatist groups reached a three-month ceasefire agreement in June 18 1985, the first ceasefire agreement since the July riots of 1983. Agreement was also reached to start a fresh round of negotiations to seek a political solution to the ethnic problem. Under India's initiative it was agreed that fresh round of negotiations would commence in Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan. Rajiv Gandhi also made it clear that India did not support the Tamil demand for a separate state, and at the same time it also made it clear that India will not support any solution that undermines the dignity and liberty of Tamils.[72]

The new round of talks began on July 8, 1985 in Thimpu, Bhutan. Talks were held between July 8-13 and August 12-17, with all the Tamil groups, moderates and militants represented.[73] There was much expectation that Thimpu talks would hail much success, but this was not to be. The Tamils continued to adhere to the four cardinal principles: Tamil nation, Tamil homeland, self determination, and fundamental rights of all Tamils in Sri Lanka.[74] On the other hand, the Sri Lankan delegation presented the proposal for devolution based on formation of district and provincial councils, which was analogous to what was offered at the All Party Conference in 1984. Sri Lanka's offer at Thimpu angered both moderate and militant Tamil Groups. The talks were adjourned on August 18 after the Tamils walked out alleging that the government's security forces had killed about 400 innocent Tamils in Vavuniya and stated that it was 'farcical' to talk peace when there was no security for the Tamil people.[75]

India's efforts to revive the peace process continued. Following the Thimpu talks, Hector Jayewardene undertook a trip to India in late August and through his discussion with Indian official were able to draw up a working paper dealing with the term of accord and understanding. However, the differences over the decentralization of power continued to be the main stumbling block to bring about a settlement of the issue. While the TULF and the militants demanded the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces, Sri Lankan government did not favour this demand. The matter was further discussed by Rajiv Gandhi and J.R. Jayewardene during the SAARC Summit in Bangalore in November, 1986. Jayewardene proposed to divide the Eastern Province into three provincial council areas: Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims. Needless to mention the proposal of Jayewardene was not acceptable to the Tamils.[76]

J.R. Jayewardene expressed his willingness to meet Prabhakaran, but the LTTE chief Prabhakaran declined the offer. India appreciated the latest proposal of J.R. Jayewardene and was convinced that it would form the base for further negotiations. Prior to the SAARC Summit India exerted pressure on the Tamil militants not to jeopardize the talks between the TULF and Sri Lankan government. Subsequently, Tamil Nadu government mounted 'operation tiger' to disarm the Tamil militants and approximately 1000 militants were disarmed and some prominent militant leaders were placed under

house arrest for security reasons.[77] The LTTE talks with India centered on the homeland issue, while it rejected the trifurcation of Eastern Province. It continued to demand the merger of Northern and Eastern Provinces.[78]

Following the SAARC Summit two Indian Ministers, Natwar Singh and P. Chidambaram visited Sri Lanka in December, 1986 and after discussion with Sri Lankan officials formulated a new proposal which came to be known as the 19 December Proposal.[79] The government of Jayewardene was not able to evolve a consensus over the proposal and hence he did not push it very hard. The Tamils too did not seem to be convinced with the proposal. In the meanwhile, the LTTE had established itself firmly in the Northern Province. These developments alongwith the continuing violence and attacks on Sinhalese by the LTTE saw Sri Lankan government slowly moving towards finding a military solution to the ethnic crisis.[80]

At the same time, Sri Lankan government also tried to have direct talks with the LTTE. This process began with the returning of the bodies of soldiers killed by the LTTE. Sri Lanka was under the impression that if it could hold direct talks with the LTTE and find a solution then it could bypass India and it could circumvent India's role. Thus by holding direct talks with the LTTE, (until then the TULF represented the Tamils) Sri Lanka recognized the LTTE as the de-facto representative of the Sri Lankan Tamils.[81]

This policy plank of the government failed when in early 1987 confrontation once again emerged with the LTTE leaders returning to Jaffna and taking control of civil administration in the North and unilaterically declaring the independence of the region.[82] Simultaneously, Jayewardene government began to exert economic, political as well as military pressure to force the LTTE to come to the negotiation table. The government imposed a fuel embargo, economic and communication blockade on the Jaffna peninsula. Finally the government took to military offensive and the army was dispatched to the Eastern and Northern provinces with clear instructions to clear the areas.[83]

India was critical of the Sri Lankan move. It send a strong message that military action would prolong and escalate the conflict. Furthermore, India announced the suspension of its good offices and demanded that Sri Lankan government should stop military offensive, lift economic blockade and affirm to the 19 December proposal. Heeding to the strong posture taken by India, the Sri Lankan government in April 1987 declared unilaterally a cease-fire and offered to lift the economic and communication blockade. Despite the Sri Lankan government's move, the LTTE continued with warfare. On 17th April, 1987, the LTTE stopped three buses, after separating the Sinhalese from the Tamils, it shot dead 127 persons of Sinhalese creed. This was followed by a bomb explosion in Colombo while claimed 200 lives. With such ongoing massacre and attacks on civilians, the Sri Lankan government was left with no option but to commence military offensive. In May Sri Lankan security forces launched 'operation liberation,' and were able to capture Vadamarachchi, which included the birth place of Prabhakaran and a strong LTTE stronghold.[84]

Despite stern warning from India, Sri Lankan government continued the military offensive. India offered to send relief supplies to Jaffna as the condition there was critical because of the economic blockade. Indian flotilla carrying relief supplies were intercepted by Sri Lankan navy and sent back. In response to this on June 4, 1987 five Indian transport planes escorted by four Mirage 2000 fighter planes in clear violation of Sri Lankan sovereignty and air space para-dropped relief supplies in and around Jaffna.[85] Sri Lanka condemned the Indian action as a "naked violation our independence" and an "unwarranted assault on our sovereignty and territorial integrity."[86] However, Colombo lifted the six-month old embargo on Jaffna and ceased military operations. The air drop was also a warning to the rebel groups that if India had not stood in the way they would have been wiped out. It also gave a clear signal to the LTTE and other militant outfits that India was prepared to go ahead to impose a settlement to the crisis with or without them.[87]

Following the air drop episode, Sri Lanka and India worked out modalities for organizing relief supply. In the meantime, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed carried out discussion with Indian leaders on resumption of talks and stated that India's mediation is valid and necessary and also that the 19 December, 1986 proposal could be

the base for negotiation.[88] In early July 1987 the Sri Lankan President Jayewardene took an extraordinary step and invited Shri J.N. Dixit, the Indian High Commissioner to Sri Lanka to meet his 12 senior ministers and discuss proposals to solve the ethnic problem.[89] Prior to this, the Indian High Commissioner was asked to clarify certain demands of the Tamils. Following these talks, President Jayewardene sent a message to Rajiv Gadhi proposing the creation of an autonomous province comprising of Northern and Eastern provinces and also stated that if the proposal was acceptable, he wanted India to underwrite the accord.[90]

The proposal was found to be favourable to the Tamil Groups. However, the LTTE announced its rejection of the accord and affirmed its resolve to continue with the armed struggle. The reason for the LTTE's rejection of the accord was on the grounds that it was drawn ignoring the aspirations of the Tamils. The LTTE also expressed disappointment and shock over the decision of Rajiv Gandhi to sign the accord in 29th July 1987.

The accord envisaged ending the civil war by establishment of a cease-fire effective within 48 hours after the signing of the agreement; surrender of arms by Tamil militants; withdrawal of Sri Lankan army to its barriers within 72 hours of the cease-fire; combination of the Northern and Eastern provinces into a single administrative unit with an elected provincial council, one governor, one chief minister, and one board of ministers; a referendum to be held not later than December 1988 in the Eastern Province to decide whether it should merge with the Northern Province as a single unit; and elections to be held before December 1987, under Indian observation to the Northern and Eastern provincial council. The agreement also committed India to assist Sri Lanka militarily if the latter requested such assistance in implementing its provisions.[91]

With the signing of the accord Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) landed in Jaffna to augment the capability of the Sri Lankan army as well as divert Tamil resentment against Sri Lankan authority. Initially, IPKF was able to secure cooperation of the Tamils militants; the surrender of arms by smaller groups, and even by the LTTE seemed quite impressive. However, the arms surrender process proved to be illusory. The LTTE

continued to procure arms and continued hostilities against the Sinhalese. The truce collapsed and the IPKF, whose role was noncombative, was involved in direct confrontation with the LTTE.[92] This situation was not expected, and from a guarantor for implementing the accord, India got directly involved in military conflict. However, during the three years of its presence in Sri Lanka, the IPKF was successful, though limited, to restore peace and order, and maintain some degree of stability in the Northern province. It was also able to bring many Tamil parties as well as population to the electoral process and conducted three successful elections.[93]

For Sri Lanka the accord ensured the preservation of its unity, territorial integrity and peace and stability. On the other hand, India met its security needs by the non-involvement of any extra regional powers in the conflict. Besides from the perspective of security, India got assurance from Sri Lanka that Trincomalee or any other port would not be made available for military bases to any country which would be prejudicial to the interests of India; the oil tank farm would be an Indo-Sri Lanka joint venture; the American broadcasting organization would be used only for public broadcasting and not for any military or intelligence purpose. Needless to mention, Sri Lanka had to pay a heavy price conceding to Indian demands. India brought Sri Lanka within its security fold and asserted its role as the pre-eminent power in the region. Jayawardene had little option in this context. He had to find a solution to the ongoing ethnic crisis which had extracted a heavy toll on he island's socio-economic and political systems, and with foreign assistance not forthcoming he had no other option left but to accept India as the mediator and sign the accord.[94]

It was during the tenure of J.R. Jayewardene that the idea of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was mooted by Bangladeshi President Zia ur Rehman. Sri Lanka shared the initial enthusiasm with Bangladesh and Nepal for the establishment of SAARC. Sri Lanka's enthusiasm for SAARC reflected the anxiety that usually exists in the small state – large state relationship. In fact, since its independence in 1948, Sri Lanka has always shown keen interest in joining such international or regional organizations as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) and the Colombo Plan. Sri Lanka's interest was shaped by the thinking that

membership in a regional or international organization would provide some scope for developing a collectivity of small states anxious about larger neighbours.[95] The SAARC was seen as a platform where the smaller neighbours could increase their bargaining power as well as balance the power vis-à-vis India. Jayewardene was not happy with the policy to keep bilateral contentious issues out of the deliberations of SAARC. However, Jayewardene envisaged that the organization would work for welfare of the people of the region and solve the problem of poverty, hunger, unemployment and other similar issues in the region.[96]

From the preceding discussion, it can be deduced that prior to the ethnic crisis, Sri Lanka's interaction in the South Asian sub-system was directed towards creation of a regional balance of power to fortify the island from probable encroachment by India or intrusive actors like China, and simultaneously to increase its manoeuvering capabilities in international politics. In this one context one discerns divergent patterns of interactions because governmental power had successively alternated between two political parties – the UNP and the SLFP.

In the first tenure in power, the UNP leaders perceived threat from communism and India, and to fortify the island from both established special relations with Britain in the form of defence and external affairs agreements. Besides, they became active protagonists of the Commonwealth as they derived a psychological sense of equality with India. But the UNP in its second tenure in office (1965-70) under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake, accepted the general foreign policy model initiated by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike i.e. to manipulate the core, peripheral and intrusive sectors to Sri Lanka's advantage. In this period, the UNP government perceived greater threat from China and tried to balance it through closer interaction with India. At the same time, Dudley Senanayake's government maintained close relations with Pakistan to reduce the pre-eminent position of India.

On the other hand, the SLFP government in its first tenure, displayed a clearly defined regional policy. Under S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka while maintaining close

relations with India, befriended China to contain India's pre-eminence but kept away from Pakistan. When Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike came to power after the death of her husband she was inclined more towards China, considerably increasing her country's bargaining power vis-à-vis the core. This is clear from the fact that the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact to resolve the problem of Indian Tamils was signed in 1964. Yet Sri Lanka maintained a distance from China which is reflected in the fact that Sri Lanka signed the NPT which was vehemently opposed by China. Similarly, Sri Lanka did not support the Chinese call for a Third World movement – as it could have resulted in the initiation of a parallel movement to the NAM. When the SLFP in alliance with the left parties came to power in 1970, initially it pursued the same strategy of a tilt towards China but following the 1971 insurgency and the new sub-continental power equation because of the bifurcation of Pakistan, Sri Lanka's pro-China tilt declined considerably and it pursued an inward-looking foreign policy to stabilize its economy and polity.

When Jayewardene assumed power in 1987, he pursued the policy of manipulating the core, peripheral and intrusive sectors to preserve the security of the island and enhance its manoeuvrability in international politics. However, this strategy proved ineffective following the outbreak of the ethnic crisis. Jayewardene appealed to the US and the UK for political, military and strategic assistance to solve the ethnic crisis. But the intrusive actors including the US and the UK refrained from getting involved in the crisis. They did not want to alienate India as it had made it clear it will not appreciate the involvement of outside powers. The western powers particularly the US and the UK had good relations with India during the tenure of Indira Gandhi and more so during the tenure of Rajiv Gandhi. Instead of getting involved in Sri Lankan ethnic crisis, both the US and the UK adviced Jayewardene to seek a solution of the crisis by accepting India's mediation. Although China and Pakistan provided some military assistance in form of supplying Sri Lanka with arms and ammunitions, they too refrained from directly getting involved in the resolution of the crisis. Thus with external assistance not forthcoming, Jayewardene had no other options but to accept India's mediation which was not to the liking of his own self and that of the Sinhalese population.

NOTES

1. The concepts of the international system and regional system have been used as frameworks for analysis.

2. Peter Berton, "International Sub-systems : A Submacro Approach to International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, no. 4, 1969 (Special Issue on International Sub-systems).

3. See Sivananda Patnaik, "Sri Lanka and the South Asian Sub-system : A Study of Submacro International Politics," *India Quarterly*, Vol. 34, no. 2, 1980, pp. 137-158.

4. Urmila Phadnis, "Infra-structural Linkages in Sri Lanka-India Relations," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 7, no. 31-33, 1972, pp. 1493-1501.

5. Ibid.

6. See S.U. Kodikara, *Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka : A Third World Perspective*, (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1982) pp. 23-24.

7. Ibid., p. 24. Kodikara has remarked "… Sri Lanka opted for the Commonwealth and sought in the Commonwealth connection, to redress the balance against India;" Lucy Jacob comments, "D.S. Senanayake… also felt that membership of the Commonwealth would give Ceylon an international stature equal to that of India despite its being an artificial but useful equality." Lucy Jacob, *Sri Lanka : From Dominion to Republic*, (Delhi: National, 1973), p. 31.

8. D. M. Prasad, *Ceylon's Foreign Policy under the Bandaranaikes* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1973), pp. 164-168.

9. See G. H. Jansen, *Afro-Asia and Non-alignment*, (London: Faber, 1966), pp.214-216.

10. Cited by Hafeez ur Rahman, "Ceylon : Pakistan's Valued Neighbour," *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 15, no. 1, 1962, p.55.

11. Prasad, no. 8, pp. 232-233.

12. Kodikara, no. 6, p. 34.

13. Prasad, no. 8, pp. 241-242.

14. Urmila Phadnis, "Ceylon and the Sino-Indian Border Conflict, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 3, no. 3, 1967, pp. 189-96.

15. Patnaik, no.3, p. 158.

16. *Asian Recorder* (New Delhi: Vol. 13, no. 45, 5-11, November 1967), p. 8000.

17. See Urmila Phadnis, "Ceylon and Indo-Pak Conflict," *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 12, no.1, 1967, p. 41.

18. Ibid.

19. The Hindu, Madras: 12 and 15 June, 1956.

20. Prasad, no. 8, pp. 250-251.

21. See Hafeez ur Rahman, no. 10, p. 58.

22. Cited by Anuradha Muni, "Sri Lanka's China Policy – Major Trends," *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, no. 1, 1973, p. 82.

23. Ibid.

24. Vijay Kumar, *India and Sri Lanka – China Relations* (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1986), pp. 47-48.

25. Ibid., pp. 64-66.

26. P.L. Bhola, "Sri Lanka – Pakistan Relations : India As Factor," (unpublished paper), pp. 15-16.

27. Vijay Kumar, no. 24, pp. 70-75.

28. Ibid.

29. Prasad, no. 8, pp. 296-297.

30. Kodikara, no. 6, p. 35.

31. See Vijay Kumar, no. 24.

32. Urmila Phadnis, "Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka in the Seventies," *The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Journal*, Vol. 8. No. 1, 1975, pp. 107-108.

33. *Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses News Review: South Asia*, October 1970, p. 22.

34. *The Hindustan Times*, 24 June 1971.

35. *The Statesman*, 24 June 1971.

36. *The Hindustan Times*, 30 January 1974. It reported that the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi did not welcome the agreement between India and Sri Lanka as that would increase the burden on the state government.

37. *The Times of India*, 24 June 1974.

38. *Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses News Review : South Asia*, March 1971, p. 14. It reports, "the cabinet at its meeting on 12 February deplored the recent hijacking of the Indian aircraft and expressed its grave concern over the resulting situation in India and Pakistan."

39. See, Phadnis, no.32.

40. *The Sun*, 14 January 1972.

41. For details refer G.S. Bhargava, "Ceylon Uprising and China," *China Report*, Vol. 7, no. 3, 1971, pp.10-12. Also see Vijay Kumar, no. 24, pp. 118-122.

42. Phadnis, no. 32.

43. S.D. Muni and Urmila Phadnis, "Ceylon, Nepal and the Emergence of Bangladesh," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 7, no. 8., 19 February 1972, pp. 471-475.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Ceylon Daily News, 9 February 1976.

47. For details about China's assistance refer Gamini Navratne, *The Chinese Connection* (Colombo: Lake House, 1976).

48. *Ceylon Daily News*, 31 January, 1976.

49. *The Hindustan Times*, 1 April 1972.

50. Kodikara, no. 6, pp.30-34.

51. Phadnis, no. 32, p. 113.

52. For Sri Lanka's responses to the Indian Ocean issue see K.R. Singh, *The Indian Ocean: Big Power Presence and Local Response* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1977), pp. 206-262.

53. See Kodikara, no. 6, p. 153.

54. Ibid.

55. S.D. Muni, *Pangs of Proximity : India and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993), pp. 54-55.

56. Ibid. India protested and eventually produced evidence to response the phony nature of the consortium, forcing Sri Lanka to cancel the contract and reopen for fresh tenders.

57. Muni, no. 55, pp. 45-46.

58. Venkateshwar P. Rao, "Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka : India's Role and Perception," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, no. 4, 1988, p. 420.

59. Muni, no. 55, pp.50-51.

60. Rao, no. 58, pp. 424-425.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid., p. 420.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., pp. 420-421.

66. Ibid., p. 422.

67. Muni, no. 55, see Appendix 1.

68. Stanley Jayaweera, "The Ethnic Crisis and the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Process, 1983-87" in S.U. Kodikara, ed., *Dilemmas of Indo-Sri Lanka Relations* (Colombo: Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, 1991), p. 68.

69. Ibid., p. 69.

70. Ibid., pp. 71-72.

71. See Rao, no. 58, p. 426.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., pp. 427-428. In all six Tamil groups were represented at Thimpu including the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). The militant groups represented were: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE); People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE); Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF); and Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO).

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., p. 430.

77. Gamini Keerawella, "India's Involvement in Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict : Objectives and Modus Operandi, 1980-1990," in P.V.J. Jayasekera and Mahinda Werake, eds., *Security Dilemma of a Small State : Internal Crisis and External Intervention* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1995), Vol. 11, pp. 295-296.

78. See Rao, no. 58, p. 430.

79. See William Nunes, *Security Dilemma of Sri Lanka : A Conceptual Analysis* (New Delhi: Ruby Press, 2013), p. 167.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Rao, no. 58, p. 431.

83. Ibid.

84. See Nunes, no. 79, pp. 168-169.

85. Rao, no. 58, p. 433.

86. Nunes, no. 79, p. 120.

87. Ibid.

88. Chandrakant Yatanoor, *Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy Under the Presidentship of J.R. Jayawardene,* (Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1997), p. 196.

89. Nunes, no. 79, 1970.

90. Rao, no.58, pp. 433-434.

91. Muni, no. 55, pp. 124-164.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid., pp. 110-117.

94. K.C. Dash, "The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in South Asia," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 69, no. 2, 1996, pp. 200-201.

95. Gopal Krishan, "Sri Lanka's Attitude Towards SAARC: Challenges and Opportunities" in B.C. Upreti, ed., *SAARC : Dynamics of Regional Cooperation in South Asia* (New Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 2000), p. 255.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Compared with the extensive corpus of literature on the foreign policies of powerful and dominant states, there is an acute dearth of studies pertaining to countries that appropriately fit the description of 'small' and 'weak' states. The thesis, is an attempt to bridge this gap by focusing on the foreign policy of Sri Lanka during the period 1948-1988.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter I, 'Small States in International Politics : A Reflection on Conceptual and Contextual Dimensions,' deals with the problematic of 'small states' by attempting a critical review of the relevant literature aiming to make assessment of the spectrum of ideas, insights and conceptual schemas that have been advanced to delineate 'smallness' in the context of international politics and foreign policy. In a fundamental sense the very paucity of literature on the subject is an outcome of a pronounced bias in the dominant Anglo-American tradition of scholarship in favour of powerful and dominant states. The reification of the latter alongside *ipso-facto* neglect of small states, is rooted in at least four inter-related discursive conditions which may be categorized as follows: (a) The near hegemony exercised by the realist perspective on international relations discourse, with its basis in the assumption that international politics is by its very nature a domain of superior military and economic powers; (b) The location of the institutional sites of this discourse invariably lies within the major powers, in turn only serving to further entrench or consolidate (rather than ideologically unravel) the interest of such powers; (c) The Cold war ideology, in which the world stood polarized in thought and action between the two contending super powers, has reinforced the slant; (d) The influence of behaviouralism on the discipline, especially from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, tended to put studies of small states at a disadvantage by placing exactness of definition and its empirical

translatability at the centre of inquiry, where variability is precisely what characterizes the 'small state.'

However, the sheer proliferation of small states after World War II, resulting from the fragmentation of once imperial territories and processes of decolonization, has made it incumbent for scholars to come to terms with the phenomenon and to conceptualize it. An initial difficulty encountered here by theorists is the lack of a uniform fit between the terms 'small' and 'weak' – as would be evident from random examples of states such as Israel, Cuba, or North Korea. With the two determining benchmarks/notions of what makes a state really 'small' defying any easy conflation, theorists have advanced a variety of typologies and models that bring into play a differential range of factors and dimensions as constitutive of a small state. These competing typologies and models can be distinguished from each other in respect of their basic orientation towards either stasis or dynamics as their preferred mode of analysis and explanation. In this context, we have attempted a critical assessment of the major interventions made in the field. Invoking a notion of capability, Keohane has advanced a four-fold classificatory model of states comprising the international system, depending upon their varying capacities to impact the latter. Thus states may be identified as (i) system determining states or superpowers; (ii) system influencing states or major powers; (iii) system affecting states, or middle powers; (iv) system ineffectual states or small states. These distinctions and gradations notwithstanding, the model's key weakness is that it is rooted in *stasis*. By contrast, Galtung proposes a more dynamic model: he summons the nature of interactions between states for grouping them into *strata*, which he then designates as belonging to the 'top,' the 'middle' and the 'underdogs.'

To a substantive degree, the search for developing an analytics of 'small state' has been a move away from stasis and hierarchic frameworks, as also formalistic definitions, in the direction of isolating key variables constitutive of the phenomenon. The variables are both quantitative and qualitative. Notable in this respect is the work of the Benedict-Fox School which has effectively disseminated disclaimers regarding ideas of precision and absoluteness that had once been the staple of scholars working on the small state. Thus, David Vital has argued in favour of two specific variables of the small state: (a) size

of population; and (b) level of economic development as given in the state's GNP. The characterization, however, is mechanistic and is unable to clearly differentiate middle powers from small states. While Vital, himself subsequently unsure of his original position, veered toward a capability based notion of small state, a group of scholars has tried to make selective use of his two-fold criteria to develop what they tend to see 'objective' standards for determining the small state. Hence, Reid has made a move to single out the size of the population, Azar the GNP, and Barston a combination of the two as prime determinants of the small state. Aiming at greater adequacy, Rapaport brought in a third variable to the ensemble – the territorial size of the state.

While these attempts at quantification have served to advance engagement with the phenomenon, the essentially mechanistic frame of these models has precluded cogent explication of the external behavior of small states. In particular, the models have failed to draw upon the 'economic-technological-capabilities' dimension of states as a significant point of reference in determining their position and orientation within the international system. In critical response to these lacunae, a third group of scholars has taken to exploring alternative contexts/parameters such as the structure of international power, geographical location and specific nature of polity of the states in question, etc. Bjol, for one, has emphasized a different set of benchmarks for identifying small states, indicated by their *relative disparity in capability* and their rather limited range of national interests compared with middle and great powers. These perceptual dimensions, signifying 'constraints' as a defining feature of small states, have found renewed emphasis and elaboration in the writing of Rothstein, even though his pursuit of the small states is problematic on grounds of their inability to ensure their own security alone is not only antiquated as a worthwhile criterion; it belies the realities of the contemporary international system where only a few states, at best, can lay claims to such a privileged status.

A fourth notable approach is represented by a lone Scandinavian scholar, Raimo Vayrynen, who has sought to integrate the different approaches and cull out a five-dimensional model, but without straight jacketing these dimensions as being of equal or unvarying salience across the entire spectrum of small states. Although this integrative

approach has overcome many of the shortcomings in the prevailing viewpoints – and continues to hold considerable promise – a Vayrynenian elucidation of the problem has not crystallized thus far. This is due primarily to the lack of systematic data on the international roles and interests of small states, which are indispensable requisite of the model *per se*.

It is against such serious odds, and reckoning with the plain fact that small states, after all, do exist and pursue interests within the ambit of the international system, this thesis attempts to conceptualize the small state. It adopts a working definition of the small state based on the following considerations: (a) 'small state' is a *relational* concept that makes sense only vis-à-vis the 'middle,' 'great' and 'super' powers; (b) it cannot be defined cogently and meaningfully in purely quantitative terms; (c) significant variations of structure and context marks off one small state from another, and hence the reality of small developed and small developing states, for instance, cannot go unaddressed; finally, (d) given differences in their economic and technological wherewithal, the specific nature of interests pursued by one small state in international politics may differ considerably from those pursued by another.

In pursuing this line of reasoning, Singer's definition seems particularly appealing and useful on several counts. At the very outset, it offers chances of a dynamic definition of small state predicated on a conception of 'components of power' that comprise it. These components being 'wealth' (material and human); 'organization' (formal and informal); 'status' (ascribed and acquired); and 'will' (conscious and unconscious) of the state in question, Singer's perspective is more sociological than political. It is these four crucial indices which together articulate the power of the state; and it is precisely a structured deficiency in the four closely inter-linked areas that marks the condition and context of a small state in the arena of international politics. Viewed relationally, a small state may be defined as one lacking in all the four components. Having successfully found a way out of the rigidity of presumably 'objective' definitions and presenting a dynamic model that does not place a small state permanently in the category of small states, Singer does not press his argument any further so as to make finer distinctions between small developed and developing states (or, for that matter, between small states and micro states). But these

distinctions are not difficult to extrapolate within the terms of his framework which is flexible enough to include these possibilities – especially when inflected with the methodology of 'perceptual attributes' much recommended by Rothstein. Thus, hypothetically speaking, small developed states that may be favourably endowed in the components of 'wealth' and 'organization' could be concurrently sharing common grounds with small developing states in respect of the 'status' and 'will' components – and, hence, evince a good deal of commonality with them in their international behavior. A synthesis of insights emanating from the two perspectives furnishes us with a working definition of the small state that simultaneously serves the purposes of identification and explanation.

The search for a relevant analytical framework for small states anchoring their foreign policies bears directly on the second objective of this thesis: to formulate cogent explanatory generalizations of the foreign policy of a small state. Compared with the several contending viewpoints focused on locating and mapping the latter, pronouncements and formulations on foreign policy are if anything to be found in greater exuberance. As in the case with small state, the second part of the chapter puts together a schematic appraisal of the prevalent frameworks of foreign policy with a view to abstracting from them a perspective or, at least, some working propositions, to assess the foreign policy of a small state like Sri Lanka.

At the risk of some necessary oversimplification, the foreign policy frameworks seem to fall into four generic groups, which we have categorized as idiosyncratic; governmental; societal; and systemic. *The idiosyncratic approach*, which has to its credit a vast body of literature, takes foreign policy as an outcome of the perceptions and responses of the leadership or foreign policy decision-makers, the perceptions being susceptible to varied contexts of worldviews, ideologies, and even personality traits of the concerned leadership. In this approach mindsets of the personnel, however construed, take the burden of explanation in the making of foreign policy. As opposed to the realist standpoint, wherein states are assumed to be unitary rational actors in the international arena, this approach has the merit of systematically drawing attention to the role of key actors, their department and dynamic agency, in the realm of foreign policy. However,

owing to its exclusive emphasis on psychological factors, alongside the absence of other analytical categories/schemas for explaining foreign policy strategies or foreign relations generally, the idiosyncratic approach tends to lend foreign policy the appearance of an erratic or even irrational activity. For greater explanatory traction, this approach needs anchorage in the domestic and external contexts of foreign policy. *The governmental approach* (also referred to as the 'bureaucratic politics model') sees foreign policy as a political resultant of a complex bargaining process occurring between a host of government departments. The concurrence of the main participants on a particular foreign policy option or agenda confers on it the status of a foreign policy decision. The stress here is on the organizational aspects of policymaking, the impetus it derives from the careers and the departmental interests of decision-makers rather than on their psychological attributes and predispositions. While the approach has been much appreciated for its empirical stance and concerns, it has two major shortcomings: one, a neglect of the larger domestic and foreign sources of influence shaping foreign policies; and, two, contrary to the findings of some recent scholarship, a marked underestimation of the role of leadership while privileging inter and intra bureaucratic factors in foreign policymaking. In particular, the approach offers little help in conceptualizing foreign policy strategies and relations, even though, like the idiosyncratic approach, it does offer a welcome corrective to the realist approach. The third of these approaches, *the societal approach*, is relatively recent though one with anterior philosophical roots. It explains foreign policy through an array of socio-economic, cultural, and political factors, ranging from the size, location, and resources of the state to aspects of its culture, classes and elites, economic and military capabilities, and political institutions. Given its ideological moorings, theorists of the framework have at times argued that a country's foreign policy behavior serves to strengthen and stabilize the ruling elite/class. They ascribe three major objectives or thrusts to the foreign policy of developing states: defense against a perceived threat to the country's sovereignty; mobilization of external resources necessary for socio-economic development; and internal socio-political stability and regime legitimacy. Focusing on domestic conditions and processes implicated in foreign policymaking, the societal approach is an improvement on explanations emanating from the realist framework. *The systemic approach*, the oldest and most enduring of the approaches, has undergone several modifications and refinements. Previously, before absorption of new terms and categories, the approach was also referred to as realism. It views foreign policy basically as a function of what prevails in the international arena, which it regards as

anarchic for lacking in a central authority. Hence states resort to foreign policy in an effort to mitigate perceived threats and secure/expand their independence. The distribution of power in the international system is what essentially drives foreign policy initiative. The exclusive focus on the international power structure has rendered the approach myopic on two counts: one, it looks askance at the reality of international institutions, laws, and normative processes; and, two, it underplays the domestic environment, when both these domains play crucial and varied roles in the making of foreign policies.

What this schematic review of the four generic approaches reveals is that none of them, individually, is capable of providing a comprehensive explanation of foreign policy. Recognizing their partial explanatory frameworks, some scholars have sought to integrate the several insights offered by these approaches to articulate overarching frameworks aimed at attaining a comprehensive framework. Differences notwithstanding, these frameworks tend to cohere in their general construction owing to the absence of substantive conceptual differences. Proceeding from basic realist assumption, these frameworks divide foreign policy into five heuristic categories: (i) motivations; (ii) determinants; (iii) strategy and objectives; (iv) decision-making structure; (v) foreign policy behavior. Foreign policymaking is the result of a complex grid of interactions/reactions occurring between these five categories. Although the latter are largely self-explanatory, a few remarks underlining their inter-linked analytics will not be out of place. It is the combination of 'motivations,' a rather abstract condition, and 'determinants,' envisaging concrete factors and forces at work, which shape up the 'strategy and objectives' of foreign policy. Similarly, the formal apparatus of foreign policymaking interacts with outside influences to constitute a crucial zone in the making of foreign policies. There are also indications of certain thresholds when one or more of these categories may acquire greater salience over the rest. Thus, while foreign policy 'motivations,' 'determinants,' and 'strategies and objectives' are mediated by the 'decision-making system' which occupies a privileged position in filtering and translating changes into specific actions or roles, its mediatory capacities are considerably constrained once the policy has attained explicit articulation.

This thesis attempts to study the foreign policy of Sri Lanka, indisputably a small state, within the horizons of an integrated analytical framework provided by the conceptualization of the small state, on the one hand, and of the structures and processes informing foreign policy-making, on the other. The critical appraisal of the existing literature on small states and foreign policy approaches has been undertaken with the purpose of trying to correlate and/or juxtapose the two scholarly trajectories, as far as possible, so as to create an overlapping, if not a consistently singular, focus for studying the foreign policy of Sri Lanka. The chronological frame of the study, 1948-1988, has been chosen with two major concerns: at the domestic level it limits the study upto the end of J.R. Jayewardene's presidency; and, at the international level, to the pre-globalization era, with the post-1988 period representing drastic shifts in the international system signified by the breakup of the Soviet Union and the onset of 'globalization.'

Like individuals, a state's behavior is shaped by interactions between its own motivations and of the society embedding it. In abstract terms, security, stability, and status are the three basic motivations of small states. What then determines the specific content and direction of these motivations? Going by Frankel's adage, theoretically the determinants are virtually limitless – they tend to 'embrace the whole universe.' In practice, however they are 'circumscribed by the range of interests and limitations of power' that each state is operatively saddled with. The almost limitless span of factors shaping the three motivations could be broadly classified into six important categories or dimensions: (i) geopolitical setting; (ii) socio-cultural milieu; (iii) political economy; (iv) nationalism; (v) prevailing nature of political regimes; and (vi) specificities of the international environment. These lend themselves further to a more stringent re-grouping into *stable and variable* determinants, with the first three categories above are part of the stable and the last three of the variable determinants. Foreign policy motivations are an inter-play of determinants in these two modalities.

The next section presents a summary of the determinants in these modalities such as they apply to Sri Lanka, discussed at length in Chapter II: 'Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka: Motivations, Determinants, Objectives and Strategy.'

A. Stable Determinants

(i) From the geo-political perspective, Sri Lanka's physical proximity to India is of prime importance, in multiple ways. *One*, it exposes the country readily to socio-cultural influences emanating from India; *Two*, India's enormous size, its economy of scales, and its overwhelming military power spells serious constraints on Sri Lanka's autonomy and independence; *Three*, the presence of a sizeable and territorially concentrated Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, enjoying close ethnic affinity and association with 7.5 million Tamils of India, has compounded the complex of fear/threat that proximity harbours. Aided and abetted by historical memory of invasions from South India (of the actual and mythical variety, both richly nurtured by Buddhist chronicles), it has instilled in the dominant Sinhalese community the perception of being a minority engulfed by a huge Tamil majority. On the other side, Tamil sub-nationalism took roots in a smoldering sense of discrimination at the hands of the Sinhalese majority. It graduated toward laying claims to a separate state of Elam for Sri Lankan Tamils – a political aspiration that struck a sympathetic chord among their co-ethnics in Tamil Nadu. In turn this provided spurs to Tamil-Sinhalese conflict, escalating it to a point where the Indian state came to be embroiled in its tentacles.

But proximity also brings intrinsic opportunities: occupying India's immediate periphery, Sri Lanka is of strategic importance to India's rivals and adversaries. Prospects of containing India incline them to strive to limit its influence on Sri Lanka, draw the latter into their own respective spheres of influence, and to leverage its efforts at self-empowerment. However, negotiating the contradictory pulls and pressures of these varied pathways to its own advantage also demands a fine, near perilous, sense of balance on Sri Lanka's part – such that it does not impair India's security and incur the risk of being deemed a hostile power. In more positive terms, eliciting Indian support and assistance could be an asset in securing domestic stability, especially for a state torn apart by violent internal conflict. Conversely, viewed from an Indian angle, internal political instability opens the island to external

interventions/interference and hence works to the detriment of Indian security interests.

Seemingly remote factors like topography and climate, too, have a bearing on Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Wide topographic and climatic differences have produced marked regional imbalances in the social economy of the island state, forcing it to scout for external financial resources in order to restore a measure of economic and demographic parity between its different parts. For its small, compact size, Sri Lanka is beset with four zones of rainfall, each with its own peculiarities of eco-demographic regime. The southeast part of the island is a wet zone, normally receiving 100-200 inches of annual rainfall. In the south-central mountain terrain the annual average rainfall is 100-150 inches. On the other hand, for the northern and eastern parts of the island the average is about 75 inches, and in the northwestern plains it dwindles to less than 50, typifying the region as the dry zone. The south-central highlands, home to tea plantations, have touched near saturation of land use; even more severe is the predicament of the main rice producing area, the southwest region, which is marked by exceptionally high population densities, resulting in declining agricultural productivity, high incidence of landless labourers and unemployment – all of these fuelling social tensions and political conflicts.

From colonial times onwards, it is recognized that developing the dry zone holds the prospects of easing the twin problems of population pressure and deficient food production. This entails the technically feasible project of bringing to the region the waters of the Mahaweli and other wet zone rivers. But the stupendous expenditure the project entails is well beyond the means of a small state and makes it imperative for the government to woo sources of foreign funding.

Considered in its entirety, Sri Lanka's central positioning in the Indian Ocean, makes it strategically important. Time immemorial, trading nations have cultivated their presence in Sri Lanka. More recently, the British were drawn to it. During the Cold war period, Trincomalee, the country's natural harbour on the east coast offered

excellent shelter for war vessels and submarines. Greatly coveted by the US, the Soviet Union, and China, the island figures prominently in global strategic calculations. Thus, Sri Lanka's geopolitical features are rife with constraints as well as opportunities. In this important sense, geopolitical determinism plays a considerable role in Sri Lanka's foreign policy motivations.

(ii) Among stable determinants one must count the socio-cultural profile of Sri Lanka. Owing to millennia long immigrations, invasions and intrusions – notably from India – Sri Lankan society is marked by great ethnic and demographic diversity, along with its accompaniments of competition and rivalry between the constituents groups and the impact these have had on the politics and foreign policy of the state. The Sinhalese, who comprise two-thirds of the total population, predominantly occupy the southwest and south-central parts of the island. They speak Sinhala, an Indo-European language, spoken nowhere outside the island. The Sinhalese claim Aryan descent and primacy as the first civilized settlers of the island. Buddhism, which reached the island from India about the third century B.C. has powerfully shaped Sinhalese culture. In modern times it generated a potent ideology based on a fusion of religion and nation, inhering in a worldview that inclined Sri Lanka to project a unique national identity in international politics. However, there is little evidence to indicate that this had any significant influence on Sri Lanka's foreign policy initiatives and alliances.

The next largest ethnic group is of the Tamils. About one-eighth of the total population, they form an absolute majority in Jaffna and areas immediately to its south, but are largely absent from other parts of the state. The Tamils trace their ancestry to India, and date their arrival in Sri Lanka from the same time as the Sinhalese. This challenges the latter's claims to being the first civilized folk to inhabit the island, which is central to the ideology of Sinhadipa and Dhammadipa. 'Indian Tamils' comprise a distinct subgroup. Descendants of the indentured labour force the British enlisted from Tamil Nadu on their coffee and tea plantations, they have a sense of difference with the main stock of Sri Lankan Tamils.

Besides the two dominant groups above, two other smaller segments in Sri Lanks's demography are the Moors and the Burghers, of whom the former is not insignificant in Sri Lanka's political calculus. The Moors practice Islam, but are otherwise differentiated into Arab, Indian and Malay ethnicities. Predominantly engaged in trade, the Moors have a presence in most urban areas but are especially concentrated on the eastern coast. The Sinhalese political parties have tended to accede to Moor sentiments with an eye on electoral arithmetic and the fact that they could be a counterweight to Tamil assertions. The Burghers are small in number and are ethnically of mixed European-Sinhala descent. They are Christians, speak English, and are largely confined to Colombo. Once important in Sri Lankan bureaucracy and educational services, they have suffered reverses in the post-colonial period increasingly prompting them to emigrate to the West.

Taken all together, the variegated/pluralistic demography of Sri Lanka, covering the period of our study, has tended to sway more sharply toward a fractious socio-political order than a composite one. In particular, given the embittered relationship between the two major communities – resulting in fratricidal strife, riots and terrorism – the state's foreign policy has been burdened with acute concerns for safeguarding the island's territorial integrity and its tenuous internal stability over the long term.

(iii) Problems and structural peculiarities of Sri Lankan political economy – some of them clearly the tenacious legacy of lopsided colonial policies, others of more recent provenance – continually impinge on the foreign policy concerns of the state. Among these one may count an underdeveloped agricultural sector, a direct offshoot of the wayward leveraging of coffee and tea plantations at the expense of agricultural self-sufficiency in domestic food consumption; rapid population growth between 1940 and 1970; unemployment of educated youth; decreasing traditional export earnings; escalation of expenditure on imports with a severe adverse balance of payment problem; and paucity of capital to foster export oriented production. Attempts to overcome these bottlenecks came decisively to a head in 1977, with the UNP coming to power under Jayewardene and initiating a bold programme of

structural adjustments, involving economic liberalization, market reforms, particularly tax reduction, deregulation of financial markets, promotion of foreign trade, reduction of food subsidies, and privatization of government owned industries. Making a sharp departure from the SLFP outlook and policies of the pre-1977 period, the UNP made its focal point not import-substitution, but creation of an export-oriented economy that was heavily reliant on foreign aid and investments, making it imperative to suitably modify the island's foreign policy orientation and send out the right signals.

B. Variable Determinants

The variable determinants of foreign policy refer to a cluster of contingent factors at work in the country's foreign policymaking environs. These may be broadly classified as emerging in the realms of nationalism, political regimes and international settings. Unlike 'stable determinants,' which crisscross the foreign policy environs, somewhat amorphously, in the manner of generalized socio-political concerns and exigencies, the *variable* determinants are more sharply focused, immediate, and overt field of force impacting foreign policymaking. The following section briefly summarize four of these themes:

(i) Nationalism

Nationalism is a potent political force. The conduct of foreign policy tends to veer toward the structure, governing ideas, and specific content of nationalism, expressed in varied versions and ideological tenors that may have gained salience or ascendancy in the politics and affairs of the state. Since independence, Sri Lanka has gone through four successive phases of nationalism. The first phase lasted till 1956. It was taken up almost exclusively with concerns for preserving the territorial integrity and political independence of the island state, and lacked any pronounced cultural, economic or social elements of articulation. The second phase of

nationalism began to unfold immediately after 1956. It brought to the fore, almost suddenly, Sinhala ethno-cultural and religious elements that laid claims to Sri Lanka as the land of Sinhala Buddhists. The growth of ethno-cultural nationalism adversely affected Sri Lankan perception of Britain. For instance, presence of British military installations in the island came to be now regarded as an infringement of the country's independence tending to privilege the need for correcting the pro-West bias in its foreign policy and to promote the island's international identity as a nonaligned country. The assimilation of economic dimensions into the burgeoning complex of Sinhala-Buddhist ethno-cultural nationalism, such as the demand for nationalization of domestic and foreign enterprises, led to reduction of imports, promotion of import-substitution industrialization under state control, etc. The growth of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism had a telling effect on Tamil ethnic consciousness which saw in it a looming threat to their language, culture, and socio-economic interests, especially with Sinhala replacing English. As a safeguard, the Tamils demanded a federal form of government and a parity between Tamil and Sinhala. The demands, however, remained well short of challenging the territorial integrity of the island state or posing an irreconcilable conflict between Tamil subnationalism and Sri Lankan nationalism.

The third phase of nationalism began in the early 1970s and lasted over a decade. It involved a complex braiding of previous nationalistic trends with more recent ones. This period saw the deepening of Buddhist nationalization and Sinhalization of the state. Importantly, the 1972 constitution made Sinhala the official language and Buddhism the official religion of the state. A second distinctive strand within this brand of nationalism was championed by the JVP. It weded Sinhala-Buddhist values with Marxist, Leninist, and Maoist ideas. In 1971 the JVP engineered a short-lived insurrection along these lines. Although defeated, the party's revolutionary organization saw a resurgence in its activities from the 1980s. Having become a dominant force in Sri Lankan politics, especially in the Southern Province, the JVP underwent a quick reversal in its fortunes. Between late 1989 and early 1990 it was militarily crushed.

The third strand of nationalism was a pronounced Tamil subnationalism. Having won popular allegiance, it went beyond the demand for mere autonomy of Tamil speaking areas within a federal scheme to the creation of a separate Tamil State. Toward this end it created a common front of all important Tamil organizations, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). Barring occasional violence, political activity of TULF remained bound within civil and constitutional limits.

The next, fourth, phase of nationalism was more or less a continuance of the preceding trends, with two notable differences: one, while mainstream Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism maintained its dominance of the political arena, it dispensed with its previous economic content and was no longer averse to foreign capital; two, more significantly, Tamil subnationalism broke through the civic-constitutional framework to embrace full blooded political extremism and terrorism. This phase was fraught with internal competition and conflict that eventually concentrated power in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), ushering an era of violent conflict and armed struggle lasting well beyond the period of this study.

(ii) Political Regimes

The nature of political regimes, their ideological predisposition and their perception of foreign policy goals, play a direct role in the conduct of foreign policy. Since 1948, two trends in regime formation are observable in Sri Lanka: during the phase 1948-1956 and, then again, 1977-1988, governments were formed by the UNP, a right of centre ideological force that had attained a decisive edge over other political formations. The foreign policy tilt of the state during these phases was pro-West, as well as pro-English as the language of the state. However, under pressure of the progressive build-up and consolidation of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism, the UNP retracted from its commitment to English. During the intervening phase, 1956-1977, governments were alternately formed by the two dominant parties, the UNP and the SLFP, in alliance with other parties. In contrast with the UNP, the SLFP is a left of the centre party and coalition governments led by it favoured closer ties with the Soviet Bloc and also China. Notwithstanding divergent trends in the nature of

political regimes and their causal linkage with changes in emphases and orientations of foreign policy, the two-dominant-party system worked largely within the overall framework of nonalignment and gave rise to a bipartisan approach in several areas. This emergent zone of consensus and commonalities has been a significant determinant of foreign policy in Sri Lanka.

(iii) International Setting

A diverse range of influences emanating from the international setting has shaped the foreign policy of Sri Lanka. For analytical purposes, we have classified them into three: normative, politico-strategic, and economic. The normative authority structure of international society with its core principle of the sovereign equality of states can provided legitimacy to small and weak states, protecting them from the designs of powerful states. It also enables them to work collectively so as to expand the scope of the normative authority structure in support of their own interests.

The important politico-strategic influences on Sri Lanka at the time of its independence were the cold war, the decolonization movements, the emergence of China as the first Asian Communist State and Sri Lanka's relations with Britain and India. In the face of the cold war, the country was extremely vulnerable given the presence of a powerful indigenous communist movement. Decolonization movements had both emotive and practical claims on Sri Lanka, itself a former colony. Participation in the process of decolonization was at once a moral and pragmatic politico-strategic consideration, even necessity, for Sri Lanka if it was to effectively refrain powerful states from eroding its sovereignty. In economic terms, Sri Lankan tea export was dependent on London and it greatly influenced its relationship with Britain. Contrarily, the island's acute dependence on India prior to independence was perceived as an unwelcome advantage the latter had over Sri Lanka, in addition to what nature and history had bequeathed, inclining Sri Lankan nationalism to press toward undoing this dependence. More recently, structural changes in the international order ushered in by the post-cold war setting has impelled the US, Russia and China to pursue more inward-looking foreign policies

and to urgently attend to their own state and economy building programmes. Changes in the interaction of these powers, once entrenched in cold war positions, has expanded India's autonomy and manoeuvring space in South Asia, and simultaneously shrunk the space for Sri Lanka's traditional policy of exploiting its vulnerability to India in order to avail generous politico-economic and strategic assistance from powerful countries. Lastly, globalization has had a telling effect on Sri Lanka's traditional foreign policy discourse; with the marginalization of competing paradigms and programmes it has become almost hegemonic and, hence, synonymous with development.

Foreign Policy Objectives

Given the above setting, Sri Lanka has pursued the following objectives: (i) protecting its territorial integrity and political independence; (ii) using foreign policy to maintain internal economic and political stability and promoting economic development; (iii) ensuring world peace and stability; (iv) opposing colonialism, apartheid and racism; (v) ushering a New International Economic Order conducive to the fulfillment of the economic aspirations of Third World countries; (vi) indentifying with other small and weak states; and (vii) strengthening the NAM, the Commonwealth and the UN.

Foreign Policy Strategy

To actualize its foreign policy objectives, Sri Lanka adopted nonalignment as its foreign policy strategy, distinctly spelt out in 1956. All parties regardless of their ideological moorings have adhered to nonalignment as the guiding framework of foreign policies, though the emphasis of their interactions varied.

Chapter Three, 'Foreign Policy Making in Sri Lanka : Institution and Processes,' is about the foreign policy making edifice and the role of various functionaries therein. The

foreign policy of Sri Lanka is formulated and executed by designated personnel. Other individuals and social groups who are knowledgeable in international relations and whose socio-economic, cultural and political interests are inter-linked with the external relations of the state try to influence the foreign policy making process. The citizens are not directly involved in or concerned with the making of foreign policy, except when situations in the international area affect their religious, linguistic or cultural sentiments. Even on such occasions, it is the socio-political elites who mobilize the masses or act in awareness of popular sentiments and interests, thereby foreclosing mass assertion.

At the time of independence in 1948, Sri Lanka did not inherit any foreign policy tradition or institutions. The colonial administration did not maintain a diplomatic corp (whether within or without) except for an office in New Delhi to address problems of the Tamil immigrant labour force. Nor did Sri Lankan leaders' particularly of the dominant political party, the UNP, evinced much interest in international relations during the colonial period and had left, almost willingly, this crucial area to the colonial government. It was only towards the end of colonial rule that some leaders began to demand for the devolution of power in the sphere of external affairs, but neither was the request made vigorously nor was the colonial government inclined to give in.

Thus, the responsibility of creating a foreign policy machinery and making it work fell upon the Sri Lankan leadership that took over from Britain. D.S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of independent Sri Lanka, established the Ministry of External Affairs, a very rudimentary level organization that co-existed with the Ministry of Defence. Under its aegis diplomatic relations came to be initiated with a handful of countries, mainly the Commonwealth States and the US. From there on the Foreign Office gradually evolved into an elaborate apparatus in terms of both its internal structure and the number of foreign missions it had spawned. In 1972, the Foreign Office separated and became an autonomous ministry.

The main actors in foreign policy making have been the official political elites especially the Head of the Government, i.e. the Prime Minister during the era of

Parliamentary Democracy and the President during the period of Presidential form of Government and the bureaucratic elites with a few exceptions have acted as policy executors, although in the initial years of independence some civil servants enjoyed considerable autonomy in policy making because of the political leadership's inexperience in the realm of diplomacy. D.S. Senanayake had a low profile in foreign policy matters. This initiative fell short of embarking on a foreign policy designed to project and promote Sri Lanka's international identity and status. This was also true of his successor, his son Dudley Senanayake. It was only when Sir John Kotelawala assumed Prime Ministership that foreign policy came into its own. He evinced keenness toward an important role in international affairs whether it was the Commonwealth or the Afro-Asian movement. With S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike coming to power, foreign policy gained even greater prominence. He was keen to project Sri Lanka's identity and status in international politics. During the terms of his wife, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, this remained an abiding concern. She embarked upon a dynamic foreign policy, particularly in the Non-aligned Movement. Although J.R. Jayewardene pursued a more inward looking foreign policy geared to promote economic growth and stability, as the Head of the State and the Government he continued to hold the reins of foreign policy making. He issued directives on all important foreign policy matters, despite having a Minister of Foreign Affairs in A.C.S. Hameed who largely attended to routine foreign policy affairs. Thus, there was no change in the tradition of the Head of the Government being the principal figure in the foreign policy making process even after the adoption of the Presidential form of government.

The roles of the non-official elites was dependent upon their ability to assert power through articulation of popular opinion. The ruling political elite tended to give in to such pressures which posed a threat to the legitimacy of their authority. However, under normal circumstances the establishment furnished little scope for the non-official elites to influence the decision-making process excepting on issues that were inherently advantageous to their own political interests. The media has been a noteworthy actor in the sphere of foreign policy. The Lake House group exercised significant influence during the UNP phase, but it had waned by the time the SLFP assumed power, so much so that the SLFP led government nationalized the group in 1970.

Although the ruling political leadership exercised both formal authority and actual say in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, they did not enjoy the latitude to give unimpeded vent to their idiosyncrasies, the latter being effectively circumscribed by the ideology and world-view of the party in power or the prevailing definition of what constituted national interest. Thus, for example, Sir John Kotelawala's move to make Sri Lanka a member of the SEATO failed owing to the combined opposition of his own party – the UNP and of the opposition. In a similar vein, Dudley Senanayake, although a staunch anti-communist himself concluded the Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement with China under severe economic compulsions. Hence, notwithstanding the centrality of the leadership in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, the ideology and world-view of the parties and economic imperatives are decisive factors delimiting its role and scope of action.

Chapters Four and Five discussed Sri Lanka's behavioural patterns and trends in the international system during the governments of the UNP and the SLFP respectively. The two parties displayed distinct patterns in the foreign policy interactions of the island. The UNP governments were pro-West while the SLFP governments, although not clearly pro-East, authored a more assertive stance. However, environmental factors, that is domestic and external determinants, led to areas of convergence between the two parties inclining their governments to pursue similar roles. With the passage of time, this bipartisan approach has, if anything, become more pronounced.

During its first tenure in power, between 1948-56, the UNP had three different persons as Prime Ministers, namely, D.S. Senanayake, followed by after his untimely death, his son Dudley who prematurely relinquished office under popular pressure and was succeeded by his cousin, Sir John Kotelawala. All the three leaders pursued a pro-West and anti-communist foreign policy, even as all three pronounced that they were pursuing a 'middle path' in international politics. D.S. Senanayake entered into a Defence Agreement with Britain according to which the latter retained its air base at Katunayake and naval base in Trincomalee in return for Britain providing security to Sri Lanka. Furthermore, Sri Lanka maintained cordial relations with other Commonwealth countries, and the US, but refrained from establishing diplomatic relations with the communist countries. Not just

this, D.S.Senanayake granted port facilities to American war ships enroute to suppress communists in Korea. Likewise, Sir John Kotelawala permitted refueling facilities to American planes carrying French troops to fight communist forces in Indo-China. As recounted before, Sir John Kotelawala at one point even considered joining the American sponsored military alliance, the SEATO, but gave up because of adverse domestic and international pressures. Not only this, the three leaders refused visas to foreign communists and delegates from communist countries on several occasions. The UNP governments banned the import of communist literature and films but allowed the US to distribute anti-communist literature in the island. Indeed the Sri Lankan government took upon itself the distribution of American anti-communist literature.

Like security motivation, the pursuit of stability motivation had a pro-West tilt. The three UNP governments favoured western capital to promote economic growth and development, assuring potential investors that there would be no restrictions in the remittance of profits and dividends abroad. Although significant amount of foreign capital did not flow into the island because of lack of profitable opportunities, Sri Lanka did not face dearth of foreign capital liquidity as it had accumulated a huge sterling balance through war time activities especially due to the boom in the prices of its exports, such as tea and rubber.

But on issues of colonialism and imperialism which were not embroiled in cold war politics, Sri Lanka identified with the growing spirit of Afro-Asianism. Contrary to previous examples, it denied Holland facilities to use its airport and harbour during Dutch operations against Indonesian nationalists struggling against Dutch colonialism. But Sri Lanka changed its stance when it came to anti-colonial struggles enmeshed in cold war politics. In such instances, the attitude of Sri Lanka was pro-West.

There were two exceptions to the pro-West and anti-communist pattern of interactions. While recognizing the People's Republic of China in 1950 it refrained from establishing diplomatic missions in Beijing. Presumably, the decision to accord recognition to China was prompted by Britain extending recognition to China, a decision

in tune with Britain's economic interests in South-East and East Asia. As Sri Lanka's foreign policy was heavily influenced by Britain, Colombo followed British policy towards China. However, it did not accede to Chinese invitation for opening a Sri Lankan diplomatic mission in China. Instead, it averred awkwardly enough that the British mission in Beijing would take care of Sri Lanka's interests. The second exception was the signing of the Rubber-Rice Barter Agreement between the two countries in 1952 whereby the Chinese bought rubber from Sri Lanka at a price higher and sold her rice at a lower price than the prevailing world market prices.

China's 'generosity' stemmed as much from economic as strategic reasons. The UN and the US had banned supply of 'strategic materials' to China following her involvement in the Korean civil war. This included rubber traditionally supplied by Malaysia, Singapore, etc., forcing China to look for alternative sources for rubber. Further, in order to nullify the US sponsored embargo on her, she supplied Sri Lanka with rice. The US retaliated with withdrawal of aid to Sri Lanka, amounting to about one million dollars, in keeping with the Battle Act of 1951. This, however, did not prevent the UNP leaders from continuing to maintain cordial political relations with the US or ceasing to admire it.

The period 1956-1965, when the UNP was out of power, saw major changes in the architecture of international relations as also in Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Internationally, the cold war was on the wane following the Cuban missiles crisis, the Soviet Union embraced the doctrines of peaceful co-existance of all nations and the Non-capitalist Path to Socialism through parliamentary means; and finally, the communist bloc saw a split with China emerging as an international player challenging the hegemony of the Soviet Union, which it considered revisionist, and of the US as well. Domestically, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike when in power, Sri Lankan foreign policy turned towards nonalignment. The state not only gave recognition to all the communist countries, it established diplomatic relations with them. The communist countries came to play an important role in Sri Lankan economy, making the latter a beneficiary of their generous aid programmes and lucrative markets for Sri Lankan exports, thereby reducing Sri Lanka's dependence on the West. Under Sirimavo Bandaranaike Sri Lanka's shift towards the Eastern bloc and China deepened further.

The main objective of Dudley Senanayake (1965-1970)was to promote economic growth and development as the economy of Sri Lanka was faced with the problems of huge population growth, large scale unemployment, rising expectation of the masses coupled with increasing prices of imports and decline in the prices of export products. Under these circumstances, he had to implement a populist economic programme. Dudley alleged that the previous SLFP government was biased towards the communist countries and that he would follow a genuine nonaligned policy in international relations; but what this actually meant was that his government distinctly veered towards the West. Dudley faced hurdles to attract western investment because of the actions of the previous SLFP government. He assured foreign investors that his government had no intention to nationalize foreign companies, and in case it was constrained to do so in the nation's interest, adequate compensation would be paid. The UNP led government settled the differences with the US arising after Mrs. Bandaranaike's nationalization of the Anglo-American oil companies. This measure on the part of Dudley Senanayake led to the resumption of American aid to the island. In addition to receiving bilateral aid and assistance from the US and other western countries, Sri Lanka received assistance from the US dominated international development agencies like the World Bank and the IMF.

Despite a pro-West tilt of the UNP regime, it continued to interact with the communist countries. Apart from the fact that rescinding it would have cast doubts over its nonaligned credentials, interaction with the communist countries provided Sri Lanka the much needed stable market for her exports and imports. Sri Lanka welcomed assistance from them. But the two major communist countries, the USSR and China, reacted differently. While the USSR and its East European allies continued to help Sri Lanka as had been the case during the SLFP period, China maintained an indifferent attitude. Relations with China were at a low ebb because of a number of conjunctural factors and there was apprehension that China may not renew the Rubber-Rice Agreement but fortuitously for Sri Lanka the Chinese government did not renege.

Under J.R. Jayewardene, the UNP came to power for the third time on a massive landside victory in the 1977 elections, conceding only 8 seats to the SLFP. In keeping with its electoral pledge it switched over to a Presidential form of government with J.R.

Jayewardene as the country's first President. Significant changes had occurred in the international system. There was détente between the US and the USSR although it terminated with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But the US-China relations had improved dramatically so much so that in the words of a high ranking American official China was seen to be the '16th member of the North Atlantic Alliance.' Significantly, western Europe and Japan too emerged as major economic centres at this moment. The international system could now be considered Pentagonal – the US, the Soviet Union, China, Western Europe and Japan as focal points of power. Jayewardene had pledged in the elections to set right the political and economic systems of the island. Soon after assuming power he faced threats of violent Tamil separatism under the LTTE. Thus Jayewardene was required to resolve the twin problems of sustaining the island's socio-economic and political stability and safeguarding its territorial integrity.

Forsaking excessive "dynamism [as being] harmful" to the interests of a poor country, Jayewardene's foreign policy was geared towards rejuvenating Sri Lankan economy along the expected lines: he liberalized foreign exchange control, removed import restrictions, devalued the rupee at the behest of the World Bank and the IMF, abolished the food subsidy to a great extent, so as to create a friendly politico-economic environment for western investment. The development programmes he undertook, such as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme, the Free Trade Zone and the Greater Colombo Development Scheme, made foreign investment and assistance imperative. The West responded favourably. The US and Britain as well as Canada and Japan poured in huge amounts of aid.

Jayewardene appealed to Britain and the US to come to the island's aid to tackle the LTTE led Tamil successionist movement which adopted violent means to achieve its goal. But both powers preferred not to get militarily involved in the ethnic crisis and advised Jayewardene to seek a political solution to the problem. In fact both Britain and the US appreciated the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord. In the absence of military help, Jayewardene sought and received military assistance from China, Pakistan and Israel. Thus, in short, all the UNP governments pursued a pro-West foreign policy, though since

their second tenure in power they were not indifferent toward communist countries like the USSR and her East European allies and China.

In sharp contrast with the UNP, the SLFP government of Mr. Bandarnaike put forward a radical socialist programme, asserting the political and economic independence of the island much to the satisfaction of its social base. The MEP government advocated the nationalization of all essential industries including foreign owned plantations, transport and banking and insurance. Basic heavy industries like iron and steel, chemicals, cement, fertilizer, textile and sugar, etc., were reserved for the state leaving only light consumer goods to the private sector. The successful implementation of its economic programme depended upon the reduction of the dependence of the island upon the West and diversification of its trade and aid.

Essentially this meant counter-balancing the 'pro-west' and 'anti-communist' image of the island. Hence S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike declared his foreign policy to be nonaligned and friendship with all countries, one that was neither 'pro-west' nor 'anti-communist' but 'pro-Ceylon,' and was intrinsically linked with economic objectives as its focus. He negotiated the withdrawal of British military bases, that is the air base in Katunayake and the naval base in Trincomalee, without abrogating the Defence and External Agreements with Britain. He established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, China and East European communist countries. He also abolished the ban on the import of communist literature and films and adopted a nonaligned stance on cold war disputes. This resulted in Sri Lanka receiving aid from communist countries along with the benefits of trade diversification. Through his nonaligned foreign policy, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike endeared Sri Lanka to both the blocs.

Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who had succeeded her husband, with a very brief intermission, pursued a more dynamic and assertive outward-looking foreign policy. In her first tenure Sri Lanka had veered closer to the USSR and her allies and China, but without disrupting relations with the West, even though the nationalizing of American and British oil companies during her term in office led to the suspension of aid from the US and the

American dominated international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. While Sri Lanka abstained from retaliation, it received generous aid from the USSR and China, the former supplied oil at concessional rates which made up for the fiscal loss.

During her second term Sirimavo Bandaranaike, leading a coalition government of the SLFP which included the Marxist parties, the LSSP and the CP, gave a thrust to the objective of ushering in a socialist state through democratic means. Accordingly, in sharp contrast with the preceding phase of the UNP, foreign policy interactions with communist countries increased markedly. However the JVP insurrection of April 1971 threw a spanner in the works. It exposed the weakness of the coalition to meet the varied socio-economic and political challenges facing the country, and diverted the government's attention towards the maintenance of internal security and stability. Although the government succeeded in suppressing the insurrection, because of the timely help it received from the international community – that included the Western and the Eastern blocs as well as China, India and Pakistan - its foreign policy became more inward-looking. The foreign countries were concerned about status quo in the strategically located island being overturned by a non-conformist revolutionary party. However, the insurrection, though unsuccessful, worked to considerably tone down the SLFP's assertive pursuit of its previous foreign policy orientation. It now sought economic and military assistance from all countries, irrespective of their ideological moorings.

As regards status motivation, a bipartisan approach came to prevail. Both the dominant parties opposed imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and the cold war. They worked in concert with other Third World countries to eradicate these aberrations in the international system. Both advocated the reform of the international economic order so as to render it conducive to the economic aspirations and programmes of the Third World countries. They pursued the creation of the New International Economic Order in international fora. There was unanimity on the issue of disarmament. Both the UNP and the SLFP governments worked to end nuclear arms race and mobilized international opinion for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Peace Zone. The UNP government of Jayewardene went a step further by proposing the establishment of a World Disarmament Authority under the auspices of the UN. Sri Lanka mobilized international opinions

through the auspices of the NAM, the UN, the Commonwealth and other such international fora to achieve its goals. For this reason both the parties articulated deep commitment to the NAM, the UN, the Commonwealth, etc. In short, the governments of the two parties tried to strengthen the international normative structure, founded on liberal democratic ideals, as it assured the security, independence, and stability of a small state like Sri Lanka.

Chapter six, "Sri Lanka and the South Asian Sub-System," examined Sri Lanka's external interactions in the region aimed at creating a regional balance of power to fortify the island against a probable attack from either India or intrusive actors like China, and simultaneously to increase its manoeuvring capabilities in international politics. One can discern divergent patterns of interaction as the governmental power alternated between its two dominant parties – the UNP and the SLFP. The early UNP leadership perceived threat from international communist forces and also India, and to fortify the island from both they established special relations with Britain in the form of Defence and External Agreements. Besides, the leaderships became active protagonists of the Commonwealth, in the absence of membership of the UN, deriving thereby a psychological sense of equality with regard to India. During its second term in office (1965-70), the UNP led by Dudley Senanayake followed the foreign policy framework initiated by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike of manipulating the core, peripheral and intrusive sectors to Sri Lanka's advantage. In this period the UNP's leadership perceived greater threat from China and tried to mitigate the threat perception by cultivating closer relations with India. At the same time Senanayake's government maintained close relations with the peripheral actors, particularly Pakistan, to minimize India's pro-eminence. Furthermore, he continued with the traditional UNP policy of friendship with the UK, the US and the Commonwealth countries.

The SLFP in its first tenure beginning in 1956 articulated a clearly defined regional policy. Under the leadership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka befriended China to contain India without forsaking cordial relations with latter. In deference to India's sensibilities Sri Lanka did not unduly ingratiate itself with Pakistan. When Sirimavo Bandaranaike assumed power she inclined more towards China, thereby considerably

increasing her country's bargaining capacity *vis-à-vis* the core, i.e. India. This is clear from the fact that New Delhi, in order to prevent Sri Lanka's move towards China, made efforts to solve the vexatious Indian Tamil problem with the signing of the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact in 1964. Although Sri Lanka moved closer to China, Colombo did not completely capitulate to the Chinese foreign policy outlook as shown by the fact of its becoming a signatory to the NPT, or not supporting the Chinese call for an alternate and parallel Third World movement to the Non-aligned Movement. As recounted before, the initial pro-China tilt tempered as a fall out of the JVP insurrection but also with reference to the new subcontinental power realities signaled by the break-up of Pakistan into two separate countries it made the government inward-looking in its foreign policy seeking to stabilize the economy and arrest the alienation of the masses especially the unemployed youth.

The Jayewardene led UNP government continued to pursue the strategy of manipulating the core, peripheral and intrusive sectors to preserve the independence, autonomy and security of the island and enhance its capacity to manoeuvre *vis-à-vis* the core. His active role in establishing SAARC was aimed at bolstering confidence in dealing with the core. However, the outbreak of the ethnic strife dealt a blow to this, forcing Jayewardene to woo external political, military and strategic assistance to suppress the Tamil secessionist movement. But both the UK and the US refrained from getting embroiled in the affairs, primarily owing to India's serious reservation in the matter. Hence, cautiously, the two powers sought to persuade Jayewardene to seek a political solution to the crisis through India's mediation. China and Pakistan, however, extended military and strategic assistance but kept short of direct involvement. With external assistance not forthcoming the only option left to Jayewardene was to accept India's mediation much to his own dislike as also of his government and of the Sinhalese people at large.

The brief survey of Sri Lanka's foreign policy substantiates the propositions stated in chapter one that the independence of the island is severely constrained in international and regional politics and the extent of its constraints is proportionate to the degree of its dependence. For instances, the JVP led insurgency of 1971 and the Tamil secessionist

movement of the 1980s resulted in Sri Lanka's acute dependence on the international and regional systems and imposed severe constraints on its assertive role in international politics. Despite this, Sri Lanka was not devoid of playing a meaningful role in international relations. In the international system, Sri Lanka refrained from actions which would alienate major powers, but greatly concerned about peace, security, order and justice, it pursued these goals through the strategy of nonalignment which enabled it to make common cause with other like- minded states and concertedly act through the platforms of the UN, the NAM, the Commonwealth and the like. While there were two distinct patterns of interactions of the governments of the two major parties through these fora it mobilized international opinion against cold war, imperialism, colonialism, and racism. Similarly, through concerted action with like-minded states, it advocated the cause of disarmament and reform of the international economic order.

In the regional context, Sri Lanka tried to counter India's imposing presence by skillfully interacting with intrusive and peripheral actors and participating in international fora and institutions. In the early days of independence, it signed the Defence and External Affairs Agreements with Britain which allowed Britain to retain its air base at Katunayake and naval base in Trincomalee; through these measures Sri Lanka gained strategic confidence with regard to India. Subsequently with the removal of British military presence in 1956, Sri Lanka counteracted India's pre-dominance by articulating its foreign policy strategy of nonalignment more clearly. Its nonaligned strategy enabled it to more skillfully manipulate intrusive and peripheral actors to gain confidence *vis-à-vis* India. Its internecine conflicts limited its manoeuvring capacity *vis-à-vis* India with the US and Britain denying it strategic and military support to deal with the crisis, and on the contrary trying to prevail upon Colombo to seek a resolution to the conflict through the good offices of India. Nonetheless Sri Lanka attempted to stave off its dependence on India by trying to forge closer ties with China and Pakistan among others.

Sri Lanka's dependence on the external milieu is more acute and persistent in the economic sphere. It tried to diversify its economic dependence by expanding its export and import markets and sources of foreign aid and assistance. In the early years of its independence, Sri Lanka was dependent on Britain but since 1956 with establishment of

diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and its allies and China the island has successfully diversified its economic relations. The SLFP governments pursued the diversification strategy with greater vigour than the UNP governments, which is not say that the latter were not concerned with the issue of diversification of economic dependence. In short, Sri Lanka's external interactions have revolved around the perceptions of its governments of the domestic and international milieus as much as the international configuration of forces.

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