CHAPTER: VI
CONCLUSION

This dissertation has attempted to study the security of South Asia in the changed international environment and its bearing on the sovereignty, security and stability of the state by undertaking a case study of Sri Lanka. The security environment of South Asia has experienced significant change consequent to the end of the cold war, emergence of globalisation and demand for greater democratisation as well as assertion of sub-nationalist groups. Such changes in the international and domestic milieu have posed tremendous challenges to the state necessitating a reorientation of its foreign policy outlook and relations.

The dissertation has attempted to examine the nature of the change and the emerging issues that have posed challenges to the state. In this regard it has analysed the changes and shifts as well as continuities in the structure of the international, regional and domestic milieu and tried to conceptualise the imperatives it posed to the state to protect its sovereignty, identity, stability and security. Thus in order, to understand these developments the dissertation analyses the major patterns and trends and the challenges, and the responses of the state to these changes and challenges. It therefore, analyses the major policies adopted by Sri Lanka to offset these challenges by undertaking an historical analytical approach to draw inferences and while comparing to the present context attempts to delineate the trends and patterns of state behaviour and policies.

The issues that determine the security of Sri Lanka has been examined around six chapters. The first chapter ‘Introduction’ provides a brief statement of the problem of the study. The chapter discusses the changes that have occurred in the international system following the break down of Soviet Union and liberalisation of the world economy. Furthermore, it also discusses new pattern of alignments that existed and those that are emerging, and issues like regional conflicts, arms race, ethnicity, democratisation, development, etc., which have demanded for change in the security perceptions of state. Subsequently, the chapter discusses the rationale for undertaking the study of Sri Lanka.
Furthermore, a brief discussion of the term security is undertaken with a view to lend clarity to its meaning, scope and content. Security is as old as the origin of social political organisation and is deeply entrenched in the innate desire for freedom. The development of the concept, however, became significant with the recognition of the sovereign state system and the growth of national identity. It gained further prominence in the aftermath of World War II, particularly with the emergence of the cold war. A review of the development of the concept of security through a brief discussion of the various literature and schools of thought highlighted few important issues: security which was defined in term of the external realm of the state does not help us explain Third World security problems; the domestic as well as the regional factors which are important determinants of security of Third World states has been is neglected; with the end of the cold war the term security has been broaden to include issues lie weak economy, debt crisis, problem of national-building, underdevelopment, poverty, environment, sustainable resource management, etc.

However, the researcher does not suggest that the theories or school of thought preceding the cold war is limited or irrelevant. In fact they are complementary. Therefore, to understand the security of a state in a holistic manner it is necessary to have an understanding of the systemic, regional and domestic issues and the interdependence and interplay of each level that defines the security problems. The researcher has thus attempted to study the security by adopting a three level of analysis framework – international, regional and domestic. The order of emphasis has been from the more general to specific, hence the international system was analysed first followed by the intermediate system i.e., regional and lastly the domestic milieu.

The second chapter entitled, ‘Determinants of Security: An Theoretical Appraisal’, examines the relevant theories in the discipline of both international relations as well as political theory in an attempt to locate the connotation of the concept of security as provided by various school of thoughts. Since the term security is complex and encompasses a variety of issues it has necessitated an understanding of the concept to enable the researcher formulate an operation framework for understanding security of a state.
The chapter discusses various approaches and theories, such as state-centric, systems, structural realism and transnationalism and interdependence, functionalism, neo-functionalism, modernisation and development, ethnicity and alienation, to identify the dominant patterns as well as the various dimensions of security. At the international level the emergence of the cold war led to the dominance of the state-centric, particularly realist, which equated security to the preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty and threats to security emanated from the external realm of the state. Thus the state seek to enhance and protect their national interest through various foreign policy strategies, such alignment, non-alignment, etc.

The system approach emphasised the notion of inter-relatedness as well as the laws underlining order and change and that no phenomenon exists in isolation from its environment. Thus conceiving the international system to be anarchic, international relations is shaped by the structure of the relationship between states and the processes therein but within the overall context of the environment. Kaplan thus formulated six models that described and explained international behaviour. The approach, however simplistic, have dominated international relations and have helped us understand that the patterns of interactions between states play a vital role in shaping the political interactions within and between states. Waltz, attempted to reinterpret international relations within a structural framework. His main argument was that because the system is anarchical and state differ in capability, the strategies, method adopted by states to achieve their goals would also differ. Therefore, states favour the balance of power as it is a more stable system. However, his work brings out the complex interaction between system, state and society in maintenance of peace, order, stability and security.

Transnationalism and interdependence approach emerged as a criticism against the state-centric, realist-idealist approach. They emphasise on non state factors like MNCs, NGOs, and also transnational issues such as religion, culture, language, environment, etc. It contends that besides security socio-economic and welfare issues are also important goals which the state attempts to achieve.

From the brief survey of the various school of thoughts some of the major factors and forces operating in the external environment, which have bearing on the
security, stability and progress of the states were identified: nature and character of 
nation state system; significant of socio-political and economic trends in international 
relations, distribution of capabilities, viz., technological, military/defence; and, global 
and transnational process and their linkages, etc.

However, the failure of the systemic approach to explain the foreign policy 
and behaviour of the third world and small state led to the importance of the 
regionalism as an approach to explain behaviour of states. It has attempted to study 
the interactions of states at both at the inter as well as intra level. The neo­ 
functionalist emphasised on shared problem and concern of states and envisaged that 
collective solution to issues would be managed better than within the confines of 
individual states. It conceived the establishment of organisation based on functions as 
well as on issues of regional concern to foster cooperation and peace. Furthermore, 
economic cooperation would promote collective self reliance and enable states to 
overcome dependency as well as enhance their status in the international system. 
However, much of the study developed in the context of the cold war and bi-polar and 
deals with development and economic cooperation neglecting the larger context of 
security and stability. Furthermore, the approach did not augur well with the third 
world as most of the state relations are marked by conflict arising from overlapping of 
boundaries, ethnic and religion besides weak economy, dependence on agriculture as 
well as the presence of intrusive forces.

Following the rise of behavioural and pluralist approach the domestic 
environment received considerable attention to correct the emphasis of external 
environment of foreign policy. Sprout and Sprout, Rosenau and others attempted to 
examine the relationship between man, society or the domestic milieu but their 
explanation was limited to decision making process. Subsequently scholars have 
made attempt to study the interaction of domestic and external factors of the state, and 
approaches like modernisation and development, dependency theory and theory of 
ethnicity and alienation have examined such internal-external relationship of the state. 
Lucian Pye emphasised that formation of nation-state and acceptance of universal law 
as the first step towards development therefore system required structural 
differentiation, functional specificity and movement from particularism to 
universalism. Furthermore, modernist theorist assumed that modernisation and
economic development would supersede local and parochial loyalties and division. Their assumption failed because modernisation and economic development in Third World occurred unevenly and the states got torn by civil strife arising from ethnicity, racism, etc.

The dependency school of thought, which was a voice from the periphery, have provided an external explanation to Third World development. Unlike the modernist and development theorist who assumed that Third world underdevelopment was because their society was based on traditional ascriptive values, over population, the development theorist claim that colonisation and foreign development were the main force that reversed the development of Third World countries. Paul Baran has shown how British colonisation has contributed to the underdevelopment in India and uprooted local societies. Furthermore after independence in order to boost their economy and meet the rising expectation of the people they were forced to take loans and credit from the IMF and World Bank. However, the failure to meet the goals and payment they secured more loans and fell into a debt trap. Consequently, they take recourse to cut government expenditure by reducing welfare programme, which adversely affects the masses leading to protest and anti government agitation.

The continuing discontent in society and social conflicts have witnessed the growing interest of scholars to attribute such issues to the problem of alienation. The main argument of such theorist is that post industrialisation and modernisation has resulted in men being cut off from his social moorings because of the over importance laid on production and competition. In the words of Herbert Marcuse production principles has replaced happiness principles. Furthermore, Nisbet argues that industrialisation and modernisation have destroyed the primary group in society to which individual were attached and felt secured. This isolation has lead individual to identify himself with race, class, religion and other ethnic issues. Such ideas also came forth from the post-modernist school of thought, particularly Habermas, who discusses the problem of legitimacy crisis in the civil society arising due to modernity and industrialisation.

Although, the discussion highlights the problems posed by modernisation and industrialisation it does not imply that state should not choose the path of
modernisation and industrialisation, but reassures the need that a balance between the societal need and human self should be maintained to offset institutional crisis, problem of legitimacy and conflicts arising from ethnicity, anti-government movement etc.

The above discussion clearly indicated how socio-economic, cultural and political structures and processes within the states determine the security and stability of a state. However, the limitation of this approach is that while it enables to understand the problems of security of Third World, it neglects the role of external factors completely.

However, it should be noted here that the aim of the discussion was not to single out the limitation of any approach or perspective but to highlight the importance of each factor or issue which have bearing on the security, stability and behaviour of state. It also aimed at bringing out the distinct issues, factors and determinants whose complex interplay enables one to undertake an holistic study of security. Furthermore, the aim was not to compartmentalise any determinant as exclusive as at times all determinants may act in concert and at other times only one or may be more than one may be instrumental in determining the security of a state. Therefore, it is only by understanding the interdependence of the various determinants as well as their interplay and linkages that we are able to understand and analyse the nature and problems of the security of a state, especially weak and small state like Sri Lanka. Therefore, the dissertation undertook the study of the security of Sri Lanka from a three level perspective international, regional and domestic.

The third chapter, ‘International Determinants of Sri Lanka’s Security’ discussed the international environment to analyse and understand its influence on the behaviour of states of South Asia in general and Sri Lanka in particular. It therefore attempted to examine the nature of the cold war environment as well as the emergence of the post cold war environment and the implication of the changed international environment and the states response to it. In this regard it discussed the foreign policy of Sri Lanka since independence under the various regimes and how it responded to the security needs of Sri Lanka both in terms of protection of its sovereignty, national
interest including economic and domestic needs, as well as protection of its identity in the international system.

In the initial years Sri Lankan leaders carried the apprehension of India's domineering presence and saw it as a threat to its autonomy and identity in the region. Besides, the rise of communism both internally as well as externally was also seen as a major threat to its existence. D.S. Senanayake, the then Prime Minister, entered into a defence pact with Britain thus ensuring its protection from external force while also keeping itself outside of any alliance system. It further maintained close ties with the Commonwealth countries which not only benefited Sri Lanka in term of trade and economic assistance but also enabled it to gain strength in the larger comity of nations. However, Sri Lanka had to pay the price for maintaining close ties with Britain and the West as the Soviet Union opposed its membership to the UN.

D.S. Senanayake pro-West policy and antipathy towards communism was clearly evident from his decision to provide aid to Burma to fight the communist force and also permitting American Battleship to use Sri Lankan harbour facilities during the Korean war. He also rejected China's request to open an embassy in Sri Lanka.

However, Sri Lanka pledged its support to anti-colonialism and national liberation struggle by actively participating in the Asian Conference of 1947 and 1949 and Bargio conference of 1950. Furthermore, it also hosted the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers conference wherein steps towards economic cooperation and mutual aid arrangement were discussed.

Dudley Senanayake followed in the lines of his father. He continued to be favourable to the West and maintained close relation with its neighbours. However, domestic compulsion forced him to deviate from the anti-Communist policy followed by D.S. Senanayake. The fall in price of export of rubber as well as tea and coconut coupled with the rise in price of imports of rice, which Sri Lanka imported to meet the need of domestic consumption, had led to an escalation of balance of payment crisis. Furthermore, the refusal by the US to pay higher price for Sri Lankan rubber and sell rice at subsidised rates forced Dudley Senanayake to entered into the rice-rubber agreement with China which offered a higher price for rubber as well as provided rice
at price lower than the international market rate. This pact with China was not received favourably received by the US who pressurised Sri Lanka by withdrawing economic aid.

Kotelawala who succeeded Dudley Senanayake was openly pro-West and was vehemently critical of communism. He refused to establish diplomatic ties with communist countries although he continued with the rice-rubber agreement with China. He developed close ties with the US and was able to secure large amount of aid. He also showed a keen interest to be a part of the SEATO, however opposition from within the party did not allow him to carry his ideas further.

Kotelawala played an active role in Asian conferences and advocated for Afro-Asian solidarity. At the Bandung conference, which also covered issues of economic and cultural cooperation, he accepted the principle of panchsheel and was critical of the big power for failing to bring peace. During his tenure Sri Lanka foreign policy witnessed much continuity which was marked by close ties with the West particularly UK and the Commonwealth countries.

When Dudley Senanayake came to power in 1965 much change in Sri Lanka’s foreign policy had occurred. Sri Lanka’s relation with the US and Britain were strained due to the nationalisation policy of the SLFP and Sri Lanka’s relation with the communist countries had been pursued with much vigour. Furthermore, domestically the economic situation had also deteriorated with the fall in the price of exports and rise in price of imports coupled with the cut in US aid and assistance. Thus his main task was to revive the economy by seeking aid and assistance from the West. In this regard he visited several countries, particularly US and appealed for aid and assistance to help Sri Lanka revive its economy. He was able to prevail on the US which along with other countries organised a Aid-Ceylon group under the auspices of the World Bank. It was through the aid group that Sri Lanka received huge amounts of aid.

Dudley Senanayake continued with the policy of NAM and friendship with all countries and played important role in the Indo-Pak and Indonesia-Malaysia conflict. Even in the Vietnam crisis it was among the 17 NAM countries that appealed to the
US and Soviet Union to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the issues and end hostilities.

Sri Lanka foreign policy witnessed a major shift during the tenure of the S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. At the international level the cold war was at its high and was spreading its tentacles all over. At the domestic level the Sri Lankan society was marked by rise of nationalism. Such developments, particularly in the international milieu, led Bandaranaike to break away from its dependence on Britain and the West. Thus in order to keep itself at bay from the cold war politics he advocated for the middle path, i.e., non-alignment. Non alignment became the cardinal principle that guided his foreign policy.

He visualised neutrality as the best policy and wanted that Sri Lanka’s foreign policy should neither be pro-West nor anti-Communist but pro-Ceylon. He therefore established diplomatic ties with both Soviet Union and China. He also visited the US and convinced the American that Sri Lanka was for Non-alignment. Such move by Bandaranaike enable Sri Lanka receive aid and assistance from both communist as well as Western countries.

Bandaranaike strongly felt that the defence pact with Britain could lead to Sri Lanka’s involvement in any conflict between the West and the communist and it was not in the interest of Sri Lanka’s security as its location in the Indian ocean provided easy access to both the Soviet and China. He therefore abrogated the defence pact with Britain and negotiated the transfer of Trincomalee and Katunayake bases.

Bandaranaike played important role in international crisis such as the Suez and Hungarian crisis. He did not hesitate to criticise the invading party while also advocating for peaceful settlement of the issue. His commitment to NAM and world peace brought much recognition to Sri Lanka and enhanced its identity in the international system.

Mrs. Bandaranaike followed the policy of neutrality set by her husband S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. She ardently followed NAM and maintained close ties with both the blocs. However, the policy of nationalisation strained Sri Lanka’s relation
with Britain as well as the US. She developed close ties with China and this relation received a further boost with the signing of the Maritime agreement. Sri Lanka also maintained close relation with the Soviet Union and received much aid from it as well as other communist countries.

Mrs. Bandaranaike expressed concern over nuclear testing and endorsed the NAM view on disarmament, cooperation in economic field and peaceful co-existence. She initiated the idea of Indian Ocean Nuclear Free Zone in maintaining her stand on disarmament and nuclear testing and became a signatory to the NPT in 1963.

During her second tenure in office i.e., 1970-77, her relation with the communist countries, particularly China witnessed further growth. Chinese aid increased which was marked by interest free loans and outright gifts of industrial machinery and armaments. Furthermore, her relations with India and the Soviet Union were cordial and her stand towards the West had become moderate and restrained. Such change in attitude towards the West in particular was imperative because of the deteriorating economy which needed Western aid and assistance.

Following, the Indo-Pak war in 1971, Indo-Soviet friendship treaty and Pakistan close association with the US the presence of the Super Power and the cold war rivalry entered the Asian region. Such change in the security environment proved to be detrimental to Sri Lanka’s interest and security. Mrs. Bandaranaike was quick to respond to the changing environment and therefore proposed for Indian Ocean Peace Zone, which aimed to protect the South Asian states from foreign intrusion by removing vital strategic areas from the arena of the Super Power rivalry. Her relentless campaign did not bear fruits as the move was not received favourably by the Super Powers.

When Jayawardene came to power the international system which had witnessed a period of détente following disarmament, especially the SALT and relaxation of tension between US, Soviet Union and China-ended with the 1979 Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. This event had significant bearing on the security of South Asia. Besides, following the second oil crisis of 1979, the economy situation worsening as trade and stagnated On the domestic front the economic condition had
further deteriorated following the socialist policy adopted by the SLFP and also ongoing ethnic problems. Thus his main policy plank was revival of the economy. He therefore, laid much emphasis on liberalisation and took step to create an investor friendly environment by creating the Free Trade Zone. He further deregularised the economy, eliminated trade restrictions and foreign exchange control. Such move was favourably received by the West who saw it to be a pro-West approach. He also developed close relations with the US, UK and Commonwealth countries. Sri Lanka benefited from this relation in terms of aid and assistance.

However, the escalating ethnic violence affected the liberalisation process initiated by the UNP. Furthermore, the hard stand of the Jayawardene government towards the Tamils was not received favourably by India who stressed on resolving the issue by political means. Jayawardene’s close relations with the West also did not enable him receive assistance as the West refused to get directly involved in the ethnic imbroglio. This led Jayawardene to develop closer relation with China and Pakistan not only to seek military assistance to fight terrorism but also to counter India’s overarching dominance. Another important dimension of his foreign policy was his efforts to develop closer links with Israel as well as closer economic ties with Japan and countries of South East Asia.

Although Jayawardene advocated an independent foreign policy and preferred to avoid high visibility in international politics he played a key role in handing various issue of international importance. He was also careful not to take side on the issue relating to Egypt’s expulsion from NAM but also boldly refused to recognise the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea as it had seized power by force. Furthermore, with regards to the Afghan issue he advocated the principle of non-interference and non intervention by condemning the Soviet’s action. He also equally condemned the US for its action in Grenada. Jayawardene took initiative to play a mediatory role to resolve the Iran hostage crisis. He thus advocated to the principle of NAM and played an impartial role in international issue.

Premadasa was engulfed in two major problem the JVP insurrection and the Tamil ethnic separatist war. However, he pursued the policy of liberalisation more vigorously and developed close relation with the West and received much aid and
assistance particularly from the EU. During his tenure the issue of the IPKF and the Israel Interest Section dominated Sri Lanka’s foreign policy, while the ethnic crisis and insurgency dominated the domestic milieu. However, to revive the ailing economy he relied heavily on the West for economic aid and assistance.

Kumaratunga followed the policy of NAM and friendship with all countries and also promoted regional cooperation. She also pursued the policy of liberalisation set by her predecessors. She therefore maintained close link with the UK, particularly the EU. The EU supported the peace process facilitated by Norway and was one of the four co-chair of the Tokyo Conference which pledged huge funds for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of conflict affected area of Sri Lanka. Kumaratunga also maintained close ties with the US and her efforts to resolve the ethnic issue and bring peace in the island was appreciated by the US. The US pledged cooperation in area of defence, education, commerce and human rights. Sri Lanka- US economic ties also witnessed an upward swing.

Kumaratunga continued to maintain bilateral relations with Japan and Germany and received much development assistance and financial aid. Like the Bandaranaike, her parents, she maintained close ties with China beside Russia and Middle East. However, realising the need and importance for regional cooperation, she gave much importance to the maintenance of friendly and closer relations with India and the neighbours.

She also played important role at the international forum. She pushed the case for the NPT review for its extension and also ratified the Chemical Weapon Convention. At the Commonwealth meeting she initiated the move to include the need for international action to combat terrorism.

Furthermore, placing high priority to economic development as well need for liberalisation and globalisation, at the Commonwealth Business Forum, she espoused the cause of ‘managed globalisation’ to avoid dangers inherent in the process, while also calling for the need of ensuring a level playing field to the developing countries. She also supported closer collaboration between NAM and G77 countries. Furthermore, base on the proposal put forward by Sri Lanka, a NAM Ad Hoc panel of
economist was formed. Thus keeping in view the economic compulsion she consolidated Sri Lanka’s relation with all countries like US, UK, EC, China, Russia, India, Japan, South Korea, Germany and Middle East.

The fourth chapter entitled, Regional Determinants of Sri Lanka’s Security, has undertaken a two fold task. Firstly, it has examined the connotation of the term regionalism and has analysed the challenges faced by Sri Lanka. It has further tried to examine the process of regionalism in South Asia, i.e., SAARC, while also looking at the factors that have hindered the growth of the organisation.

From the discussion of the regional determinants of Sri Lanka’s security it was clearly evident that during the initial years of independence Sri Lanka’s security concern was based on the assumption that the most likely threat to her independence would come from India. Besides the conflictual relationship between India and her neighbours particularly Pakistan kept such apprehension alive. Therefore, to offset such threat perception D.S. Senanayake entered into a defence pact with Britain and became a member of the Commonwealth which provided Sri Lanka a better bargaining capability vis-à-vis India.

On the regional front it steered clear from bilateral conflict and tried to maintain cordial relations with all neighbouring countries. It further joined India in the promotion of Afro-Asian cooperation. Dudley Senanayake as well as Kotelawala pursued this policy quite vigorously. However, Kotelawala showed keen interest to join SEATO and ASEAN. But the opposition on ground that such move would lead Sri Lanka into the vortex of the cold war led Kotelawala to pull out from such move. Sri Lanka thus continued to follow the policy of NAM while also developing close trade ties with India as well as Pakistan and China.

It was during the tenure of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike that Sri Lanka’s relation with India received further boost mainly because of the shared vision of South Asian regionalism and NAM. The two Prime Ministers exchanged visits and Bandaranaike reaffirmed his faith in the principle of Panchsheel. His good relation with Nehru also enable Sri Lanka initiate negotiations with regard to the problem of Indian Tamils, which was latter partly resolved under the Sirima-Shastri agreement.
The close ties with India was further strengthened during the tenure of Mrs. Bandaranaike. She also developed close links with China. However, she was careful not to take side during the Indo-China war, but instead took initiative to bring the two parties to the negotiation table and prevented escalation of hostilities. Furthermore, she also maintained neutrality in the Indo-Pak issue of Kashmir. She sought to maintain cordial relation with Pakistan as it helped Sri Lanka maintain a balance vis-à-vis India.

The post 1971 development in the region, particularly the Indo-Pak war, Indo-Soviet treaty and Pakistan membership to SEATO and CENTO, besides the JVP insurrection which was allegedly supposed to have links with China threatened Sri Lanka's security at both the regional and domestic plane. Sri Lanka feared the presence of the Super Power and its rivalry in the region to be detrimental to its security concern. Such developments led Mrs. Bandaranaike to propose the idea of Indian Ocean Peace Zone. However, Sri Lanka was able to evolve a policy that served the security interest by maintaining close and balanced ties with India, Pakistan and China.

The relationship between Jayawardene and the Janata government in India was marked by development of trade ties. However, when Mrs. Gandhi came to power the relationship cooled off. Jayawardene was critical of India's military built-up and his refusal to give the oil tank farm contract to India proved to be set back in the Indo-Sri Lanka relations. Furthermore, Sri Lanka liberalisation policy was seen to be pro-West and his soft pedalling of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone issue as well as refusal to condemn the US presence in Diego Gracia led India to perceive Sri Lanka stance to be detrimental to India's interest. Furthermore, the ethnic riots of 1983 as well as the appeal to West for assistance was perceived by India as its exclusion from the region and the involvement of foreign forces seen as inimical to India's regional security concern. Following, the escalation of ethnic violence, Mrs. Gandhi was quick to respond to such move and offered India's good office to help Sri Lanka bring about a political solution to the crisis. Despite the negotiations and proposal to devolve power the ethnic war continued. The failure of the talks led Sri Lanka to take to military offensive and blockage of the Jaffna peninsula. India condemned the act and the
refusal of its offer to send relief supplies to Jaffna led Indian to air drop relief supplies. It was a clear violation of Sri Lanka’s air space and sovereignty. Following such strong pressure tactics Sri Lanka agreed to resume talk and the negotiation between Rajiv and Jayawardene culminated in the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

The accord as well as the IPKF presence was not received favourably by the Sri Lankan. Premadasa, who was critical of India’s role in Sri Lanka’s domestic affairs accused India of being a stumbling block in the realisation of peace. He negotiated the withdrawal of the IPKF, and begun dialogue with the LTTE.

Kumaratunga maintained cordial relations with India and realising the consequence of the stand of her predecessor, Jayawardene and Premadasa, in antagonising India she shaped Sri Lanka’s foreign policy palatable to India. She engaged in constant dialogue with India on major foreign policy issues. She also maintained close ties with all neighbours and saw regional cooperation as a mean to improve trade and economic cooperation. It was she who was instrumental to float the idea of SAPTA and SAFTA and by establishing bilateral free trade with India, Sri Lanka-India relation received much impetus. During Kumaratunga’s tenure economic imperative have dominated Indo-Lanka relations.

With regard to SAARC, the initiative by Bangladesh did bring the South Asian states together, although in the initial early years India and Pakistan viewed it with much scepticism. However, although it made a late start it has made significant headway, but the areas of cooperation has been mainly cultural and social development. Economic cooperation in term of free trade and preferential trade has been a late development and much progress in this effect has not yet been made. The development of SAPTA and SAFTA continues to be marred by Indo-Pakistan conflict, the two major power in the region.

Furthermore, SAARC as a regional organisation has not been able to take off because of low level of interaction, absent of nay congruence in security and strategic perception, ideological and political perception and lack of any common foreign policy outlook on matter of major global issues. Moreover, unlike other regions, where major disputes has been resolved, unresolved disputes continues to persist in
South Asia and despite the end of the cold war South Asian states continues to perceive security from the conventional security paradigm. For Sri Lanka domestic instability and its spill over effect to other part of the region continues to be a stumbling block towards regional cooperation.

The fifth chapter, Domestic Determinants of Sri Lanka’s Security, examined the domestic determinants of security. It has particularly discussed how Sri Lanka has maintained the politico-economic stability of the island. Besides it has also discussed two major problems, i.e., the JVP insurgency and the Tamil ethnic issue, which posed a major threat to its legitimacy as well as stability and security of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka’s economy was highly dependent on export of tea, rubber and coconut. The emphasis on export crop led to a neglect of other traditional crops and Sri Lanka had to even import rice to meet the domestic consumption needs. Besides the government also provided subsidy for rice and other consumer goods. The economy was able to sustain such welfare scheme as the earning from export was high. However, the fall in price of export and rise in price of rice compelled Dudley Senanayake to enter to rice-rubber agreement with China. He therefore tried to stabilise the balance of payment crisis by imposing a cut on the rice subsidy was not received favourably received. Latter, during his second tenure, he attempted to initiate a green revolution by modernising agriculture and providing inputs. He also partially liberalise the economy by removing imports restriction to end scarcity of consumer goods. But, to meet the cost of imports he had to resort to loans and the external debt of the economy had rise.

Mr. Bandaranaike pledged to usher a socialist government and base the economy on socialist ideal of centralised planning, nationalisation and greater role for the state. He therefore, imposed import restrictions and exchange control. However, with regard to agriculture he made a significant contribution by introducing the Paddy Land Act, which aimed at fixing the share of crop by share-cropper and wage for labourer. Mrs. Bandaranaike, who succeeded him continued with the policy set out by her late husband. She nationalised petroleum distribution and setup public sector units. In order to boost agriculture the increase in credit facilities, supply of fertilisers and amount of grants only led to increase in the expenditure of the state and...
deterioration in the balance of payment situation. She too continued with the welfare scheme but imposed restriction on imports to offset the balance of payment crisis.

Even when she came to power in the 1970, she continued with the policy of nationalisation and even brought the plantation sector under state control. However, import restriction had led to scarcity of consumer goods and the rationing policy adopted resulted in long queues. Furthermore, the rise in rate of unemployment and government inability to meet the aspiration of the masses, particularly the educated youths, led them to revolt against the state.

Jayawardene sought to revive the economy by adopting liberalisation and free market policy. He also felt that economic development necessitated political stability and strong government. He therefore, pushed for a constitutional change and adopted a presidential form of government.

On the economic front he laid much emphasis on private enterprise and minimising the role of the state. He initiated the Free Trade Zone and removed all exchange restriction and control. In order to secure loans and aid he towed the guidelines provided by the World Bank and the IMF. However, the liberalisation policy was stalled due to the ethnic crisis. Furthermore, he laid much emphasis on the Mahaveli Project, which was seen as a panacea to solve the agriculture and power problem of Sri Lanka. In fact, much of the fund were diverted towards the scheme which resulted to be capital intensive.

Premadasa continued with the liberalisation policy and provided much incentive to export industry. During his tenure the garment industry witnessed a tremendous growth. Furthermore, foreign investment showed improvement and the foreign reserve also grew with the rise in remittance from expatriate Sri Lankan.

The People's Alliance under Kumaratunga continued with the liberalisation and privatisation policy. She liberalised the telecommunication sector, airlines and even the plantation management. However, the rise in price of oil and the escalating defence expenditure consequent to the ongoing ethnic violence, the economy was unable to sustain the growth for long. Besides, foreign investments were not
forthcoming due to the prevailing domestic insecurity. Therefore, to stabilise the economy she even signed the 'Standyby' Package agreement with the IMF. Furthermore, the dependence on foreign aid and load to finance domestic requirement continued to be the main feature.

Thus it is evident that Sri Lanka inability to evolve a comprehensive economic planning system not only led to economic stagnation but also created dissatisfaction in the civil society as it was not able to meet the rising expectation of the masses. In term of agriculture no attempt at land reforms were initiated and it sought to increase production by injecting resources which turned out to be capital intensive and unsustainable. Therefore, in order to stabilise the economy successive government resorted to aid and loans. Furthermore, even the liberalisation process did not enable Sri Lanka to come out of the vicious circle of its dependence on aid.

The JVP insurrection in 1971 posed a formidable challenge to the internal stability of Sri Lanka. It was a consequence of the failure of the economy and the government's inability to provide employment, reduce inflation, price rise and economic burden of the masses. Although, the government both of Mrs. Bandaranaike and Premadasa was able to thwart its efforts through coercive action, the ideology of the youth for social redressal has not been completely eliminated. After being banned it has reemerged as a political party and have contested elections. Presently, it's a partner in the UNFP coalition and based on its ideology which is against liberalisation, devolution and talks with the LTTE, the JVP continues to be a force that could pose challenge to the state if the state is not able to meets its demands.

Sri Lanka also faced challenges of creating a sense of identity as a nation within a plural society. D.S. Senanayake adopted secularism as a principal and thwarted all attempts to identify Sri Lanka with Buddhism or Sinhala. Furthermore, to maintain the integrity of the island he adopted a unitary system of government. However, his attempt to create a secular state based on the principle of religious neutrality had led to discontent among the Sinhalese and beneath the surface emotions of language and culture were gaining momentum. Mr. Bandaranaike exploited this feeling by advocating Sinhala-Buddhist culture. He equated nationalism with
language and religion which brought the Tamil minority into conflict with the Sinhalese and divided the society on linguistic and religious line.

Such development led the Federal Party (FP) to demand for autonomy and parity of status of Tamil language. The demand by the FP and the ongoing negotiations led to the Bandranaike-Chelvanayakam pact embodying the means for settlement of the issue. But the pact was abrogated due to stiff opposition by the Sinhalese, particularly the Buddhist monks. Latter in 1965 the FP supported the UNP to form the government with the hope that it would be able to pressurise the government to accept the Tamil demands. This move misfired as Dudley Senanayake lost the confidence motion, and Mrs. Bandaranaike, who regained power emphasised the language bill more vigorously. However, Dudley Senanayake has resumed talk with the FP and allowed the use of Tamil language in all government transaction and communication.

Following, the opposition from the SLFP and Left the FP broke away from the coalition and put forth their demand for a federal form of government. The TULF, which was a united front of all Tamil groups, contested election with a view to solve the issue through parliamentary process. It also participated in the deliberation for constitutional change initiated by Mrs. Bandaranaike. However, the refusal by the SLFP government under Mrs. Bandaranaike, to consider the six points demand of the Tamils and the adoption of policy of standardisation in education further alienated the Tamils and led them to reinforce their demands. In the mean time the Tamil youths took to militancy in the belief that an arm struggle would bring solution to their problems.

Jayawardene attempt to bring all the parties to the negotiation table as well as attempts at devolution failed. The LTTE had led the war for separation too far and the government’s offensive stand only complicated the matter. The military offensive led to India’s intervention in the crisis, which was followed by the signing of the Indo-Lanka accord. The accord led to the involvement of the IPKF and the presence was opposed by the JVP and Sinhalese as well as the LTTE. Premadasa negotiated the withdrawal of the IPKF and begun direct talks with the LTTE. The failure of the talks
and the abrogation of the cease fire forced the government to take harsh steps to curb terrorism.

Kumaratunga’s People’s Alliance government, which came to power on a mandate of bringing peace resumed negotiation with the LTTE and as a confidence building measure relaxed embargo on goods to Jaffna area. She also released documents presenting the basic idea of devolution and demarcating authority between the centre and the regions. Despite, the cease-fire agreement the LTTE continued with its activity which led the government to take military action and abrogation of the peace talks. She also invited Norway to mediate a peace solution. The Norwegian efforts culminated in various rounds of talks but the LTTE laid down conditions, which were not acceptable to the Sri Lanka.

In 2001 election, the UNP led by Ranil Wikremesinghe formed the government. He headed the peace process and was successful in negotiating a cease-fire. But the LTTE condition that Sri Lankan force should be withdrawn from the Jaffna area, and refusal to surrender of arms were hurdles in the smooth movement of the peace process. Furthermore, at Oslo the parties agreed to explore a solution on the principal of internal self-determination and discussed issues such as power sharing, political and administration mechanism and even possibility of federalism. Wikremesinghe, was also ready to accept the LTTE proposal for Interim Government in return for peace. But the LTTE as usual backtracked and kept changing its demand while also continuing with its terrorist activities.

It is thus clear that the LTTE, who has gone too far with the war for separatism, is not willing to negotiate for anything short of a separate state. Furthermore, LTTE must also change radically and make efforts to design a concrete proposal for peace. It should realise that post 9/11 developments has led international community to take strong stand against terrorism. Therefore, if its continues to drag its feet in resolving the crisis and continues with the war, the international community will emphasise with the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE could even loose the prospect of even achieving autonomy.
However, the alliance of the PA and the JVP poses doubts over the future of the peace process. The JVP's opposition to market driven economy/liberalisation, devolution and talks with the LTTE could be the potential area of new tension that could emerge in the future.

From the brief discussion of the various chapters one theme which stands out as common is that the security problems and issues of a state cannot be understood without reference to factors and issues emanating from all the three levels. Security is therefore determined by the combination of the security of individual/civil society, states, regional and international system.

Furthermore, it is evident that Sri Lanka's security concern was not governed by any given framework. It evolved with the changing nature of the international and regional system as well as the challenges emanating from the domestic milieu, particularly the attempt to establish a national identity, economic development and allocation of resources to its citizens.

The international environment has been and important factors that determined Sri Lanka's security. In the initial years of independence the fear of India and spread of communism dominated its security perception and guided its leaders to incline towards the West as it would enable Sri Lanka to preserve its democratic institution. Besides, the main foreign policy plant had been friendship with Britain and Commonwealth as it provided security and economic benefits. Bandaranaike, however felt that close relation with the West could probably drag Sri Lanka into the cold war rivalry. He therefore, advocated NAM and neutrality. He also moved closer to India as he shared common views on major issues. Following Bandaranaike successive government have adhered to NAM and it has largely governed Sri Lanka's external relation. In fact NAM served as the best defense against any external threat. The post 1980's Sri Lanka foreign policy have been guided by economic imperatives and ethnic issues. Unlike, earlier times, it not been able to play much active role in international forum as its bargaining capabilities has been largely circumcised due to its weak economy and ethnic problems. Furthermore, the dependence on export and its inability to diversify its economy has made it economically weak and
underdeveloped. The liberalisation process as well as the adoption of the World Bank and IMF policy and guidelines has done little to ameliorate poverty and social unrest.

At the domestic level Sinhala nationalisation has played a dominant role in shaping the state and society of Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese insecurity, generated by the education and employment success of the Tamils and also its close proximity to Indian Tamils, has undermined their ability to respond effectively to the grievance of the minority. The conflict between the two groups can also be attributed to the other factors like, state’s inability to accommodate and protect the interest of the minority; state unwillingness to reform institution and broaden the participatory base and the lack of fairness or discriminatory policy in the allocation of resources and opportunities.

It is clear that the security problem of Sri Lanka is mainly domestic in nature. Therefore it is imperative that the political order must be restructured to provide participation and better representation of the minorities and also evolve an economic planning system that would generate growth and enable the state to equitably distribute resources and opportunities.

However, with economic stagnation and the slow process of the peace process, there is doubt that the ethnic conflict may end either like Cyprus, Pakistan or Yugoslavia. The Sri Lankan state has to make efforts to politically accommodate the Tamils, particularly the moderate and thwart pressure from the LTTE. Any move towards a political solution will be received favourably by all countries and with the change of attitude towards terrorism globally Sri Lanka will be favourably place in receiving help and assistance to combat terrorism.

Furthermore, the international development, while also posing challenges have also provided opportunities to develop new strategies and move towards economic cooperation. Therefore for Sri Lanka its imperative that it resolve its ethnic issue and only domestic stability will provide impetus toward economic growth and also increase its bargaining capability internationally.