CHAPTER: I

INTRODUCTION

Theorisation and praxis in the discipline of international relations have been developed as well as dominated by the 'Cold War' that lasted for nearly half a century. The Cold War was seen as an all encompassing and enduring phenomenon and studies on security, foreign policy and behaviour of states were based on bipolar phenomenon. However, in the early 1990’s international system witnessed momentous changes with the unification of Germany, breakdown of Soviet Russia, democratization in Eastern Europe, movement towards integration of Western Europe and the inward foreign policy of China leading to the crystallisation of the end of the Cold War. These changes have had profound impact on the international system, global security alignment, regional conflicts and on the patterns of international economic linkages and world trade as well as on the foreign policy outlook and relations between states.¹

The Cold War witnessed the combination of ideological and geopolitical competition of the super powers in the Third World for political influence, military position and prestige. Both the blocs were active and the client states also took advantage of the rivalry for procuring from them economic assistance and 'security umbrella'² However, with the end of the Cold War the super powers’ interest in Third World politics declined if not totally eroded. The Soviet Union lost its capability to play any significant role in Third World security. This was seen in the Gulf as well as crisis in Eastern Europe. The US is dominant but it may also hardly play any major role as its economic crisis at home is deepening.³ Further, the capacity of the super power to co-operate on issues of mutual interest may reduce the flexibility of Third World states to use super power rivalry to their own advantage.⁴

The newly independent states of Asia and Africa following decolonisation were caught in the Cold War rivalry and tension depending on their geopolitical setting. Third World countries, which had little autonomy in international affairs, endorsed the Non Align Movement (NAM) to keep at bay Cold War rivalry and, to preserve and promote their independence.⁵ The NAM also enabled the Third World to manoeuvre super power competition and receive aid and assistance both economically
and militarily. But now these assistance and aids are not forthcoming. Furthermore, the dominance of the western bloc led by US has drastically left Third World little room to manoeuvre international politics. It makes them more vulnerable to the pressures and restraints emanating from the west. 

South Asia's geo strategic location between West Asia and Southeast Asia, the two areas of concern to the super powers, saw the involvement of US, USSR and China in the region. The region was caught in the global rivalry as each of these powers sought to check the influence of the others through the policy of containment and counter containment. The end of the Cold War has dismantled the matrix of global tri-polarity operating in the region. It has led to the disengagement of Russia from the region, a major readjustment of American involvement, and the inward policy of China, which in combination deprive these regional states of large scale assistance military and economic and financial. Thus the dismantling of tri-polarity has compelled South Asian states to search for other options for meeting the goals of their states which are indeed very demanding and need urgent redressal as they pose impending challenges to the stability and security of the state.

South Asia is highly conflict prone, with unresolved territorial disputes, water disputes, and ethnic-religious conflict of cross border dimensions. The disengagement of the super power from the region could lead to a regional imbalance; it may inject a new realism in the region. President Clinton, during his visit to the region in January 2000, opined that South Asia has become, 'the most dangerous place on earth'. Furthermore, most of the South Asian states are characterised by weak governments and economies. They are also saddled bequeathed with a crisis of legitimacy from within.

The end of the Cold War is being synonymously used to refer to the beginning of a New World Order (NWO) and Globalisation. These have been seen as the triumph of liberal democracy and also the end of history as well as the creation of a free global market economy. The New World Order has yet to unfold itself and globalisation has been received with skepticism and uncertainties. Further, while globalisation in the developed liberal countries seem to have disengaged the state from the grip of territorial ethno-cultural centric nationalism, such tendencies are not
evident in the less developed countries. Ethnicity and nationalism reign dominant and the civil society has thrown demand for further democratization and also devolution of national power and authority especially in pluralist societies where issues of national identity still remain unresolved.\textsuperscript{12}

Furthermore, most of the South Asian states are sceptical of, as well as constrained in unquestioningly embracing globalisation because of fears regarding their independence and security as well as threats to their existing economic institutions, which in term of quality and technology, for instance lag behind MNCs of the developed countries. Once dependent and integrated within the European market as producers of primary commodities, this dependency has not ceased to exist while the changed environment has pressurised them to take economic measures and to liberalise and privatisate their economies to facilitate penetration of multinationals. The emergence of trading blocs is likely to further marginalise these smaller states.\textsuperscript{13} Thus imposing restriction on globalisation may not serve their desired goal as foreign capital and technology would flow to regions where it has more freedom of operation and better chances of larger dividends. Faced with these paradoxes, South Asian states have began to simultaneously explore options within the framework of regionalism. SAARC is an example of this effort, but as a regional organisation in the line of the EEC and ASEAN it has yet to take off and one major reason for this is that most South Asian states have inter-state disputes.\textsuperscript{14}

Most of the South Asian states are characterised by a weak government and economy. They have adopted the political legacies of the west but are yet to come to terms with national building. The societies are still divided along lines of ethnic, religious, linguistic and tribal diversities. They are also faced with problems of underdevelopment, unemployment and inequality of income. Capitalism as well as Socialism have failed and proved inadequate to resolve the crisis of underdevelopment and take up welfare schemes and meaningfully address the rising aspiration of their civil society.\textsuperscript{15}

The end of the Cold War has not only brought international changes but also demanded changes internally. South Asia is experiencing these changes in its internal and regional power relations as well as extra regional relations. In the region one can
see a 'retribalisation' of political process. A host of indigenous forces – ethnic, racial, religious, cultural – have challenged the social order and are demanding a restructuring of the prevailing political system and arrangements. Further, inter-state and intra-state conflicts, especially those associated with ethno-nationalism and fundamentalism have threatened the state system in the region making it a highly conflict prone area in contemporary world politics.\(^{16}\)

The major shifts that have occurred in the structure of international relations with the end of the Cold War explain many of these changes that have been occurring at a time when most Third World countries are undergoing enormous internal turmoil, a turmoil that may change the nature of nationhood or even the political geography of the states.\(^{17}\) In Ayoob's words, "the end of the Cold War did not ease Third World security, and the demise could make the predicament more acute."\(^{18}\)

On the whole the world security environment has experience significant changes over a wide array of issues and areas. The most significant trends have been the end of bi-polarity, economic globalisation and political democratization. Neither the security of the international society nor that of South Asia is an exception to these trends which are leaving a profound impact on the states, posing to them new challenges in terms of security, sustainability and stability. It is in this context that studying the security of a state such as Sri Lanka, which has been facing internal and external challenges, becomes imperative. This thesis is a modest attempt to examine the consequences of the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the new world order and its consequences for the structure of politics in South Asia in general and Sri Lanka in particular.

Before going any further on questions of security of Sri Lanka a brief discussion of the changed international environment and its impact on the Third World states would enable one to locate the problems of the study in a better perspective as well as underline the rationale of the study.
The Changed International Scenario

The Cold War era was characterised by bipolarity and tension between two rival blocs – USA and USSR. This engaged them in competition to increase their sphere of influence as well as enhance their nuclear capabilities to gain decisive upper hand over each other. However, this was an order that emanated from a perceived sense of nuclear parity between the two powers and in which it was more appropriately the balance of terror rather than a balance of power which internationally peace. Confrontation was prevented by their mutual realisation that both had second strike capabilities, a situation which came to be strategically designated as 'Mutually Assured Destruction’ appositely known by the acronym MAD. The Cold War confrontation between the East and West mainly between US and USSR passed through many phases: policy of containment, deterrence, détente, entente, and also through severe tension that could lead to the out break of another world war, such as the Berlin Blockade crisis, the Cuban Missile crisis, the Korean, Vietnam and Afghan wars and other proxy wars.19

The end of the Cold War has triggered a sea change in the political and ideological context of the world. The geopolitical and ideological struggle between the two super powers is now nearly obsolete. The structural change attending this has also been mediated by the signing of the historic Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty between the USA and the USSR; reduction of number of long range missiles and bombers and general reduction of international tension or rivalry arising out of the Cold War. On the other hand the Gulf war in 1991 reflected the preeminence of the USA.20

Under President G.Bush the idea of a ‘New World Order’ has been envisaged projecting a vision of a new era, a world freer form the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South can prosper and live in peace.21 The New World Order is yet to unfold itself and take concrete shape. It is marked by uncertainties and skepticism. Many view it as the domination of the USA over world politics and the beginning of a pax-Americana followed by a unipolar world. However, this assumption of a unipolar world led by US hegemony is being
challenged by the rise of economic blocs – EEC and Japan. On the other hand many seem to forecast the emergence of a multi polar world with Europe, Japan, China and India becoming the new major actors in the international scene and also the possibility that the balance of power system will reassert itself. It is also visualised that the Cold War has given way to efforts by many countries to fill the power vacuum left by World War II. This point is aptly put forth by Robert Jervis who questions whether the world is unipolar because US is dominant, bipolar because nuclear weapons are still concentrated in two hands, tripolar because of emergence of United Europe along with two super powers or multi polar because of many forms of power especially economic. This raises important doubts as to what is to follow. According to Gaddis, "we are at one of those rare point of 'punctuation' in history at which old patterns of stability have broken up and new ones have not yet emerged to take their place."

As opposed to such views, Stanley Hoffman envisages a new world disorder in the Third World, a situation more chaotic than the world of the Cold War. Similarly J. Mearsheimer, argues emphatically that, "a Europe without the super powers...would probably be substantially more prone to violence than the past 45 years, despite growing economic interdependence and role of political and functional institutions." He further states that we are likely to regret the passing of the Cold War. According to the realist and neo realist strand of thoughts Cold War bipolarity provided stability to the system. However, the end of the Cold War has led to the creation of a multi polar system; and according to Waltz war are caused by uncertainties and miscalculation that are characteristics of multi polarity. Although during the Cold War a number of conflicts took place in the Third World region, yet super power rivalry contributed to order and stability and Third World regional conflicts did not escalate into direct global confrontation. Robert Jervis too agrees while saying that, "the super power offered security to their (Third World) clients as well as enforced a degree of restraint on them."

From yet another perspective, the end of the Cold War has also been interpreted as a victory of liberal democracy and rules out the legitimacy and viability of any alternative to it. Francis Fukuyama sees it as the triumph of western liberal democracy and the very end of history. On the other hand Huntington visualises world politics to be a 'clash of civilisation': the principal conflicts of global politics
will occur between groups of different civilisations. The fault line between civilisations will be the battle line of the future. Thus dramatic changes in the structure of international system are still unfolding and emerging making it difficult for policy makers and the states to understand the change and choose the course of action.

The dominant powers opened up their international boundaries to trade and liberalised their trade and tariff regulations. The need was accentuated by their need to overcome stagflation and large scale unemployment. Such policy received much attention in scholarly circles and the advocates of greater freedom for market and lessening of burden of the state. Such developments worked to legitimise the policy of economic liberalisation on a global scale under the acronym of globalisation.

Globalisation too has been received with scepticism, and uncertainties on what it really means or holds prevail among scholars of international relations. The word globalisation is often used to represent the process of change. However, it is generally seen as increasing the importance/dominance of market economy and reducing the role of the state. It is thereby presumed that the authority, legitimacy, policy-making capacity and policy implementing effectiveness of states will be challenged from both within and without. Such intensification of economic, political and cultural borders is likely to transcend or transmute the Westphalian political system. State monopoly will thus give way to multi-centric forms of governance. Economic governance is now a function that can be performed by a wide variety of public and private, state and non-state, regional and international, sub-national and national institutions.

Globalisation is seen as transforming the process of international relations by diminishing further states power and security dimensions. It draws attention to the pluralist thesis of co-existence of a variety of international and transnational actors, and questions the relevance of inter state borders it problematises further the primacy of the states and the idea of their unitary nature. It emphasises the role of transnational corporation in creating global markets and systems of production, creation of capital market and integrated financial system like the IMF for disseminating a particular view of the state’s role.
The optimist envisages a world of economic interdependence and integration that would cut across the divisive lines among different society. The other side perceives it as the demand for greater democratisation and a trend towards regionalism, nationalism and ethnic conflicts. Thus globalisation contains within it contradictory tendencies towards both integration and disintegration, in Rosneau’s words ‘fragmegration’. However, to proclaim the end of the state is premature. The state’s role of a welfare organ will not diminish, although it will have to adapt to the forces of globalisation. The state is being sucked in by the forces of supra national integration at one end and sub national disintegration on the other end of the spectrum. This dual transformation varies in extent and depth across issues, time, locale and space. Thus for instance the European Union is the most integrated regional bloc while SAARC has yet a long way to go.

The Third World countries cannot be insulated from this systemic change as it is inextricably linked to the international system. They will inescapably experience the trickle down impacts of the global transformation, which have serious and significant bearings on questions of sovereignty and security, identity and stability of the institution of the states. The problems thus raised and that need to be addressed are: how have Third World states, especially South Asian states, responded to these changes which are both uncertain and competitive? And, what are the challenges and threats posed by these changes and their response to it?

Earlier, during the period of détente and towards the end of the Cold War, when the super powers began to build bridges the impact on numerous conflicts in the Third World was profound. The Iran-Iraq war ended; Soviet troops pulled out of Afghanistan; Vietnam began the process of disengagement of its troops from Cambodia; China toned down hostilities towards Vietnam; the Palestinians accepted UN Resolution 242 and 338 and implicitly recognised the existence of Israel; the Soviet Union persuaded the Cubans to withdraw from Angola; Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian relations seemed to be on the mend and even North and South Koreans began talking of reunion. These have roused the hope that there will now be a moratorium on the Cold War inputs from the super powers to perpetuate and intensify regional and bilateral conflicts in the Third World. In addition there are signs on the part of the super powers to exert their influence on many Third World rivals to moderate
their conflicts and seek avenues and areas of mutual understanding, adjustment and cooperation.40

However, the paucity of incentives for armed conflicts among the major power does not mean that cooperation is guaranteed. Conflicts of interest and rivalries remain, as does the potential for suspicion and misunderstanding.41 Moreover, the odds of the coming era lie in the difficulty of locating the main axis of conflicts. The most obvious dividing line in world politics is between the rich and poor countries – the North and the South.42 Furthermore, the North South relation especially with the Third World quest to change the international regimes through the agenda of the NIEO still remains conflictual and unresolved.43 So it seems that the end of the Cold War process is not very encouraging for peace, stability and development especially in areas of arms flow; regional and internal conflict and problems of economic development.

Arms Flow: The reduction of arms in Europe has resulted in a surplus of arms in the market and these may find outlets in Third World countries. They will be supplied at rock bottom price and easy supply procedures as destruction of these weapon proves to be financially costly and environmentally hazardous.44 This could result in the creation of new strategic imbalance and tension and intensify prevailing ones thus providing a new impetus to arms race in the Third World regions.

Regional Conflicts and Security Situations: The Cold War inputs while fuelling and intensifying conflicts and tensions also acted as a restraining influence in deterring many Third World rivals from starting or prolonging war. However, the end of the Cold War may not eliminate these conflicts but rather create scope for the possibility of exploding persisting regional conflicts and the surfacing of new, potential ones. Moreover, Third World conflicts are rooted in their respective region’s and are historical. There are unresolved territorial disputed, ethnic, religious and political conflicts across international boundaries. The end of the Cold War would create a power vacuum in these regions and it will witness new power centres attempting to fill the vacuum by strengthening their military capability thus leading to regional tension and insecurity.45
Dilemmas of Development: Besides of strategic and security aspects, the economic fall out of the post Cold War era will pose a formidable challenge to the task of development in Third World. Foreign debts of Third World have crossed (U.S) $ 1.3 trillion and a sizeable portion of these debts have accumulated as a result of arms purchase. Moreover, as indicated earlier aids and assistance are not forthcoming. The Uruguay round on trade called by the North was devised to further its global interest.46

In support of competition the major economic powers are offering aid and investments in Third World regions on a selective basis, which is used to promote their political as well as economic interests. The Third World, on the one hand, is pressurised to take measures against narcotics and terrorism policy, reduce defence expenditure, while on the other hand is called upon to liberalise and privatise their economies to facilitate penetration of multinationals.47

The competition among the major economies – EEC, USA and Japan – is manifesting itself in the form of regionalisation of global economy and emergence of trading blocs - North American hemisphere common market – US, Canada, Mexico; European Community and Asia Pacific Community. The emergence of trading blocs may lead to further hardship and marginalisation of the Third World. The gap between the North and the South will widen with the poor becoming poorer.48

Internal Security: Most of the developing states are characterised by weak governments, political systems and economy. Being mostly ex-colonies they are still grappling with issues of nation building. The ethnic, religious, linguistic and tribal diversities and cleavages pose problems for the evolution of national identities and the building of political institutions.49 Further they are suffering from economic and infra structural underdevelopment. Thus Third World countries face a greater challenge in their endeavour of achieving sustainable social, economic and political progress.50

Moreover, development at times may prove to be destabilising because progress in a particular field, such as political liberalisation or economic growth may cause an upheaval in another area such as, for instance, inter communal relations. Action taken to alleviate underdevelopment and improve the economy through
competition, etc., may have the negative consequences of indebtedness or ecological degradation. Thus insecurity is reflected in acute anxiety about the efficacy of a political system and frustration about any system’s ability to deliver the ‘good life’. With 3/4th of the world population of over five billion people living in the Third World regions insecurity takes a more basic form - the quest for survival. Such problems at times undermine the autonomy and very survival of the state. Indeed these internal dilemmas form the main security challenges to most developing countries.\textsuperscript{51}

Thus the end of the Cold War is not the end of problems for the Third World and they are posed with challenges of various sorts. The security and strategic field of the Third World countries may have to confront formidable challenge of living with conflicts and tension externally – both from international and regional level and to grapple with turmoil and instability internally. This also increases the possibility of pressures and intervention (subtle or direct) from major powers.\textsuperscript{52} The changed international environment while redefining the existing structure has also demanded a change in the foreign policy environment of states. These challenges and threats faced by these states can be answered by raising some of the following questions.

The questions and issues imply answer as well:

a. What are the security predicaments and implication of the end of the Cold War to South Asian region in general and Sri Lanka in particular;

b. What are the external compulsion or push and pull factors that will guide South Asian states and Sri Lanka’s behaviour and policies;

c. Bearings of globalisation on the nature, role and function of state sovereignty and its impact or influence on state and regional economy and development;

d. Political and strategic relations between South Asian states and Sri Lanka;

e. Nature and pattern of regionalism;

f. The demand for democratisation and economic development, problem of state, nation building and sub national activities and states response to it.
Before embarking on a comprehensive analysis of Sri Lanka’s security, it is imperative to clarify the meaning, scope and contents related with the term ‘security’ in general.

The term security is as old as the origin of social political organization, defined in terms of group or community identity and consciousness. It is deeply entrenched in the innate desire for freedom, security and autonomy of the community and its constituents. National identity is a significant stage in the evolution of the spirit of social community and state is the institutional mechanism which has been formed historically to look after the social development of the nation. But the most primary task is that of the protection of the nation from external encroachment and challenge from within. Security, development and peace are integral part of any state’s foreign policy process, hence it takes into account its internal and external dimensions too.

The Oxford dictionary defines security as freedom from dangers or worry/anxiety. In the words of Walter Lippman, “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war.” Thus in the realist position, by security we mean the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation – political independence and territorial integrity. In international relations the term security is expressed in term of external threats and the states take all measures to protect its sovereignty and national interest (core values).

The concept of security gained prominence in scholarly circles and became an important engagement of policy makers and leaders in the aftermath of World War II. This, however, does not mean that security was not the concern of states prior to this. The problem of security has been understood as early as the Greek times. Thucydides in his classical book, the Peloponnesian war argues that the immediate cause of wars between Athens and Sparta was the mistrust and fear about the growing powers of an
adversary.\textsuperscript{57} According to Thucydides ‘men are motivated by honour, greed and above all fears.’\textsuperscript{58}

The Westphalian Treaty of 1648 was a landmark in the history of sovereign state system (SSS). The end of the Great War not only created dichotomy between religion and state, but also recognised the sovereignty of the states. International Relations was marked by peace, balance of power and diplomacy. But peace was not to last long. Arms accumulation, growth of military and secret treaty and alliances shifted the balance leading to World War I. Later the great depression of 1928 gave rise to dictators, who exploited the concept of sovereignty and once again the shifting of balance witnessed World War II.\textsuperscript{59}

The period between the two world wars was remarkable for the attempts in theorising and analysing international relations. Two traditions, idealism and realism emerged although the latter dominated international relations studies and practices.

Legally oriented scholars like Grotius gave high precedence to the role of norms, values, ethics, laws for peaceful resolution on inter state relations. Wilson gave the concept of ‘collective security’ through the formation of the League of Nations.\textsuperscript{60} Those who favour this approach are associated with the idealist school of thought. According to the idealist war is preventable. War occurs due to faulty institutions and peace can be attained through legal institutions and organs and democracy. They prescribed the creation of a common wealth of nations. The break of World War II exhibited the failure of the league and idealist principles.\textsuperscript{61}

The early strand of realist thought is attributed to the writing of Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Kautliya. But the most influential theorist were E.H.Carr, Hans Morgenthau and latter Waltz’s neo-realism which emerged as a dominant theory in the 1980’s.\textsuperscript{62} According to the realists international society is anarchic i.e., Hobbesian in nature. War is inevitable, as states cannot co-exist. Thus every nation is compelled to protect its physical, political and cultural identity. The national interest is identified with national survival and every nation seeks to preserve its national interest by enhancing its capabilities both militarily and economically. The realist, thus conceived security in relation to state interest.\textsuperscript{63}
The term became the central organising concept of both policy makers and academicians. The reference, scope and concern of the term security has enhanced and expanded and national identity, national security and national sovereignty were enshrined as cardinal and sacrosanct to the state and its civil society. This was clearly expressed in the covenant of the League of Nations and later in the Charter of the United Nations. Security was seen primarily in term of national power and the Cold War witnessed states locked in a power struggle, especially military power. Thus security became synonymous to power. Thus the paramount concern of states has been freedom from threat of war. Security thus refers to both objective and subjective freedom from threat of individual and groups. In international relations fear and mistrust in relations between states destroys the prospect of cooperation and increases pressure for confrontation and even conflict, and the anarchic nature of the system amplifies the problem. Security is thus the feeling of insecurity of a state, which leading to competition for more power in a vicious circle. Thus the measure of one state to counter measure the other is what John Herz termed as 'Security Dilemma'.

The phenomenon of security dilemma is one of the most significant and pervasive features of relations between states. "Security dilemmas arises from a perennial problem in interstate relations, namely the inherent ambiguity of some military postures and some foreign policy intention. The dilemmas are direct result of the difficulty governments have of unambiguously determining what is defensive and what is not." Robert Jervis in his article, 'Cooperation under the Security Dilemma' states that security dilemma exist when 'many of the means by which a state tries to increase its security decreased the security of others'. This leads to a spiral, which describes how the interaction of states that are seeking security can fuel competition.

The contending school of thoughts defined security in external term, with state as the unit of analysis which is inextricably intertwined with that of the whole (systemic). This conceptualisation of security fails to take into consideration the security problematic of most of the Third World countries, and reflect a lack of adequate inquiry into the security issues of Third World countries. It is of late that
scholars like M. Ayoob, B. Buzan, G. Rizvi, Raju Thomas and Caroline Thomas has drawn attention to Third World's security issues and problems. They have attempted to study Third World security from an independent perspective emphasising the primacy of domestic factors of security.

Ayoob rejects the orthodox conceptualisation of security as it reduces the explanatory power of the concept when applied to the Third World. He defines security-insecurity to vulnerability - both internal and external – that threatens or has the potential to break down or weaken state structure – institutionally and territorially as well as regimes. According to him ‘the security predicaments of Third World countries is related to two factors: the early stage of state making; and, their late entry into the system of state in which they form the weak intruder majority’. Buzan argues that security is affected by five major factors - military, political, economic, societal and environmental.

The end of the Cold War has raised doubts about the significance of the geopolitical boundaries that constituted the major fault lines of international politics. It has also provoked rethinking about commonly held assumptions as well as practices concerning security. On the other hand some scholars are still sceptical about the future. Geopolitical boundaries will remain and so will competition. ‘Countries have always competed for wealth and security, and the competition has often led to conflict’ ‘Why Should the Future be Different from the Past’ writes Kenneth Waltz. However, the new international order has opened spaces for broadening security to cover issues such as, problem of nation building, weak economy, debt crisis, poverty, underdevelopment, proliferating interstate conflicts besides ecological degradation, diminishing resources etc.

With the dominance of the realist paradigm security threat was seen to emanate only from external threats. However, the development of the study of sub system as an important component of international politics has laid emphasis on the regional milieu as an intermediate factor between global and individual states interactions. Thus according to Buzan, a systematic analysis of security dilemma of a state would attempt to locate the security perception of the state within the ‘security complex’. A security complex is a sub system of the international community of
South Asia consists of the states of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal. It can be defined as a sub system on the basis of its historical and geopolitical linkages. They share historical heritage, and commonalities in ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious spheres. Besides, members of the international system recognise South Asia as a distinct congeries of states. All South Asian states can be considered as post colonial states, even though Nepal and Bhutan were not formally under the colonial rule, and they all share similar problems of state formation, state building and national integration. Furthermore, members of a sub system project a ‘notional regional identity’ with manifestation of loose regional cooperation during exigencies. 

Like Waltz’s three image perspective, one could also analyse security from the angle of core, periphery model; where the domestic factors occupy the core, the periphery are other states with the regional subsystem and intrusive sector consisting of other powers who are endeavouring or have endeavoured to manipulate the power structure/system to further their respective foreign policy goals. Security can also be studied or analysed from three levels: one top level dealing with structure and character of the entire international system; the bottom level dealing with basic individual states in terms of stability and its vulnerabilities to threat from outside; and, the intermediate level, i.e., the region, comprising states within the sub system interacting and influencing each other.

The new security environment of most South Asian states, undoubtedly, have compelled them to reorganise their foreign policy outlook. They have been trying to reorganise their foreign policy orientations, strategies and goals so as to overcome the hindrance from the past and for creating a desired future within the framework of globalisation. Although, the civil society has thrown up demands for greater democratization, social justice, welfare activities, the states are constrained to meet these demands. Most of the states are tied between state centric nationality and plural nationalism. Although, both big and small states of South Asia have made attempts to conceptualise new policy options and strategies for achieving legitimisation on the
basis of good governance and consolidation of existing state structure, they have yet
to come out with an all encompassing policy for resolving conflicts and facilitating
better governance. This an arduous task which requires collective critical and creative
thinking for formulation of a meaningful, viable and a catholic policy perspective.

This thesis attempts to study the security environment of a state in the changed
international environment. Hence to understand the security of any given state one has
to understand the systemic, and also regional pattern of security interdependence.
Therefore a framework of analysis should enable one to take any single country and
build up a picture of the successive levels from internal to global that define both
security context and it security problems. This endeavour thus attempts to study
security from the three level of analysis as referred by Waltz in his seminal work,
'Man, the State and War'. Thus taking clue form the three level of analysis, the
researcher will analyse security from international, regional and state or domestic
level. Further, to provide an indepth analyses of security environment the researcher
adopts the case study method. Thus locating the problems within the framework of
the South Asian region, Sri Lanka will be taken as the case for further study and
analyses.

Sri Lanka a Case Study

Sri Lanka has been preferred for study over other states because, since the last
two decades, it has experienced extraordinary challenges to it security and also to its
state structure. As a society with multi-ethnic social structure politics in Sri Lanka
has been punctuated by the traditional Tamil-Sinhalese ethnic rivalry where the
Tamils have demanded separate statehood and the Sinhalese ardently opposed the
idea of division of their state or even devolution of political power and authority.
Further, the socio-economic-political and historical uniqueness of Sri Lanka’s
state and society demand special attention for academic research. Beside these
problems the state is strategically located internationally and possess characteristic of
a small and developing states which make the choice impelling.

Strategic Location: Sri Lanka is located at the periphery of the Indian sub-continent,
and its international setting in the hub of international navigational and sea trade
network had given it a high degree of strategic importance during the Cold War. The importance of Sri Lanka’s location was reiterated by many nations who laid a covetous eye on Trincomalee harbour. Sri Lanka has been cautious of this and has also taken advantage of it. However, even with the end of the Cold War and globalisation it still retains its strategic importance and its harbours offer a gateway to access the markets of Southeast Asia, West Asia and also China.84

Small State: Like most of South Asian states Sri Lanka is a small state in terms of its geographical size. However, it varies enormously from the micro state of Bhutan with an area of 47 thousand square kilometres to the relatively vast state of India with an area of 3288 thousand square kilometre Sri Lanka like most of the state has a small geographical area of 66 thousand square kilometres.85

All the state so of South Asia share a common history of British colonial rule and also maintain the political legacy in term of administration and constitution. Further, all the states share a common history and culture which is Indo centric, although linked each is unique in terms of language, culture and religion. Sri Lanka dominated by a Buddhist population has a minority of Tamils, Christian and Muslims.86

High Literacy: In comparison to state of South Asia Sri Lanka maintains a higher literacy rate of 88 per cent. The levels of other states vary from 52 per cent to a low of 34 per cent. India has a literacy rate of 52 per cent, while Bhutan and Pakistan have a low literacy rate of about 35 and 34 per cent respectively.87

Weak Economy: Sri Lanka like most of the South Asian states depends on foreign capital and aid, World Bank and IMF loans, in its attempt to diversify its economy. Further, the Sri Lankan economy, inherited from the colonial past, remained a dependent capitalist system with high reliance on foreign market for selling its products as well as procuring its commodity requirement. Although the SLSSP and the Communist Party attempted to put a socialist flavour its success continued to be questioned. However, successive regimes attempted to open the market for generating capital flow and boosting the economy.88
The South Asian states also fall into the category of the poorest 45 countries classified as low income by the World Bank. Their economies are characterised by low per capita income, low saving, unequal distribution of wealth, unemployment, adverse term of trade, food shortage and dependence on external assistance and heavy debt. Weak economy and underdevelopment have left each country to depend on external assistance in the form of foreign investment, loan and aid. Even for their security they depend heavily upon the external sources for weapons and armaments and military requirements. Thus they are very much vulnerable to external pressures.89

State /Nation Building: Nation building process has been weakened not only by the diversity of religion and language but also by weak institutional capacities of various regimes. The governing elites have consistently centralised and concentrated powers to vitiate the representative nature of local authorities. In India secular polity had given way to Hindutva of the ruling BJP; Bangladesh moved from democracy to single party to presidential and military rule; and in Sri Lanka the Buddhist or Sinhalese ideology of unified sovereignty maintained the unitary character of the state. These tendencies often drive other minorities to seek alternative ways of realising their aspiration and pursuing them intensively and at times proving regimes inability to effectively responding to their demands. The end result is a breakdown of social cohesion and rise of a national identity crisis. Consequently, societal fissures give rise to ethnicity, sub nationalist movement, civil unrest and also separatist movement. Sri Lanka’s multi ethnic social structure has been punctuated by the Tamil-Sinhalese ethnic conflict which has taken a bloody path with the Tamils demanding a separate statehood. The state has not been able to respond to the long continuing battle despite various regimes attempts to devolve power and further democratise the system.90

With the above features and problems Sri Lanka is taken as a case study for the present research. It needs to be clarified here that the present effort is not an exercise in the area study tradition. Although it analyses the security environment of a state i.e. Sri Lanka, it attempts to root it in the larger international, regional, domestic, historical and theoretical contexts. This endeavour is thus undertaken with
the aim that it will enable one in the understanding of security of Sri Lanka and also of other small states in South Asia or elsewhere

**Hypothesis**

Sri Lanka's security concerns are not, in a conventional sense, dictated by any given framework - on the contrary it evolves. Sri Lanka in order to establish its national identity encounters internal as well as external challenges which in turn define the parameters of its security and development.

**Methodology**

Since the study is both theoretical and empirical the analysis would be based on both quantitative and qualitative data drawn from primary and secondary sources. A substantial part of the data collected are from secondary sources from books, journals and newspaper. The method of content analysis is also adopted to draw inferences from the secondary sources. The study is an historical analytical study as it draws from the writings of the past and makes comparison with the present context in an attempt to delineate trends and patterns of state behaviour and policy. However, at the very outset the researcher would like to point out to a limitation faced during the data collection process. There would tend to be a gap in the data as much writing on Sri Lanka in the post Cold War era has not been forthcoming. Besides most of the literature available deals mainly with the LTTE and issues related to it. The researcher attempts to make use of data available in from news paper reporting and on the internet. Ideally a visit to Sri Lanka would have helped to cover such gaps but finances and time were a major constraint.

**A case Study:** The present work as indicated above has selected Sri Lanka as a case study. This enables one to take a particular problem and analyse it indepth, thereby providing a better understanding of the problematic.

**Chapterisation Scheme**

The thesis is divided into six chapters as follows:

1. Introduction
2. Determinants of Security: A Theoretical Appraisal
3. The International Determinants of Sri Lanka’s Security
4. The Regional Determinants of Sri Lanka’s Security
5. The Domestic Determinants of Sri Lanka’s Security
6. Conclusion

The first chapter discusses the changes the international environment have undergone and its implications for the Third World especially South Asia and Sri Lanka. It further attempts to examine the notion of security in its historical context as well as its relevance in the present changed international scenario. It also tries to delineate the security issues that are posing challenges to the international system as a whole. The chapter thus provides hindsight into the problem and the rationale of the study.

The second chapter examines the relevant theories in the discipline of both international relations as well as political theory in an attempt to locate the connotations of the concept of security as it figures in different schools of thoughts. The term security is complex and encompasses a variety of issues, hence it requires a deep understanding of the various analytical frameworks from which the researcher can formulate an operational framework for analysing ‘security’ as an imperative that any state needs to grapple with for survival and sustenance.

The third chapter examines and analyses the international environment during both the Cold War and post Cold War eras. The purpose of the analysis is to understand how international milieu influenced the behaviour of the states of South Asia as a sub subsystem and Sri Lanka in particular. It further tries to examine the implication of globalisation and the states response to it. The chapter also deals with NAM as a third force opposed to the super power rivalry, its response during the Cold War and its relevance in the post Cold War era.

The fourth chapter discusses the regional determinants of South Asia security problematic and how great power politics had influenced the relations between the various states. It also examines the regional cooperation in the form of SAARC, the reason why it could not take off and how cooperation could be beneficial to face the challenges of globalisation.
The fifth chapter examines the domestic determinants of security of a state. It examines why Third World countries in general and Sri Lanka in particular have inherited the problems of ethnicity and nation building which is posing grave problems to the legitimacy of the state. It also discusses the problems faced by the Sri Lankan state and the response to it. It further examines why the state has failed in resolving the crisis and its impact on foreign policy and economy.

The last chapter summarises and concludes the discussion of the preceding chapters and attempts to provide answers to various questions as well as test the hypothesis posed by the researcher. It also tries to provide some solution to the problems and find alternatives through which the state could delve in the changed environment and domestic crisis.
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