CHAPTER: II

DETERMINANTS OF SECURITY: A THEORETICAL APPRAISAL

Any analysis of the security issues and strategic environment of a state requires identification of the significant factors and forces which shapes it, and also the nature of interaction between them. Security is dynamic and complex, and of crucial consequence to the stability, well being and viability of the state. However, the analysis of the security issues of a state is highly problematic because of conceptual, empirical and normative difficulties and challenges. Given the co-existence of supposedly conflicting as well as fundamentally competing theoretical paradigms or episteme, the fact of highly differentiated social histories and level of social development of different cultural regions, and also the differences within states in the nature and pattern of their political development, social character of their civil societies, state apparatus and state structure, all scholarly effort to put forth an universalised acceptable topology of the crucial factors and forces constituting the security problems have failed to achieve the desired purpose. Yet, ongoing analysis of the security and strategic environment of a state is unavoidable, because it is of vital importance not only to its viability and stability but also to the security of its region and also for peace and prosperity of the larger international society. Such analytical scholarly endeavours cannot be undertaken in an unsystematic or impressionistic manner. In other words, the analysis has to be founded upon some theoretical framework which help to provide indepth and meaningful understanding of the multiple challenges faced by the state in managing its survival and security in the context of international and regional environment, as well as promoting development and stability in its civil society at the domestic level.

Further, differences among scholars over the usefulness of the different analytical frameworks and their relation to the ideologies and interest of the state makes the task difficult as most of the existing framework have inherent foundational biased towards the Cold War oriented structure of international society. And those formulated after the breakdown of the Soviet Union appear, both empirically and theoretically, to be based upon a very naïve understanding of the interaction between state, civil society and international society. The paradigms of power politics, political economy and social and development help to explain the phenomenon of
globalisation in their existing theoretical moulds. This problematise the effort of a fresh student of international relations and security studies as no 'gospel type' tools are available for facilitating a study of any particular area or region. Such an academic situation impels one to research on the merits and demerits of the existing analytical frameworks as well as the constantly varying nature of interaction between and among different factors and forces perceived to be of crucial importance to the security of South Asia in general and Sri Lanka in particular. This, thus, will enable the researcher to formulate a relatively useful operational framework for undertaking the analysis of the security issues faced by states. It is also important to note that some states have remained more or less unaffected by their regional/international constraints (cold war paradigm etc.). Sri Lanka has always been pre occupied with its internal and overwhelming presence of domestic conflicts.

The preceding sections briefly but critically surveys some of the seminal works and approaches in order to lend clarity and enhance ones understanding of the problem while enabling the researcher formulate an operational framework for guiding the present study.

The International/Systemic Determinants of Security

Studies galore relating to the meaning of 'security'. The academic universe was flooded with literature dealing with this aspect of the state especially on the aftermath of the Second World War, which was marked by global bi-polarity and intense cold war between two dominant bloc, led by two contending super powers, the USA and the USSR. As a result of the bi-polar ideologies the culture for the study of strategic and security dimension of states were influenced by the state power structure. Furthermore, because of the immensity of literature it is impossible for us to deal with them individually and hence it is considered appropriate to examine it within the fold of generic ideas or schools of thoughts, of course giving adequate importance to their seminal exponents. However, one would like to mention at the onset that there is the problem of inevitable overlapping of views and categories among various tradition, which may make such typological classification open to criticisms of being exclusive and over simplified, although this is not being treated as
an excuse to deter criticisms and for being selective of using only few schools of thoughts or individual authors.

Broadly speaking, the existing literature in the area can be divided into four schools on the basis of their fundamental assumptions and perspectives of the constituents of the security dimensions.

State Centric Approach

The systemic perspective is used as a canopic term to bring underfold works which emphasised that the external dimension of the state play the 'most important' role in its viability, stability, autonomy, security and status. Prior to the emergence of international relations as an independent discipline following World War II, literature dealing with this view was relatively simple in formulation and conceptualisation. Conceptualisations of the era and those between the two wars are also often referred to as the 'balance of power' theories, which depicted international milieu to be more or less a 'billiard ball table' and states as 'billiard ball', where states interact to further the balance of force for their mutual security. Diplomacy was the main constituent for furthering of national interest. However, states resorted to war to protect their national interests or to alter the balance of power, if it did not suit their interests. However, there were other scholars, who in addition to diplomacy and balance of power had given special weightage to military capabilities. Such scholars viewed that diplomacy was meaningless if it was not backed by military power, which conveyed to other states that the concerned states had the capacity, will and resolve to protect its interest if it failed to further them through diplomacy.

Following the expansion of the inter state order, emergence of modern technology, and growth of theoretical knowledge in the field of social studies, the state-centric theories were found highly inadequate to explain international relations from both theoretical and normative point of view. Theoretically such view were challenged from several dimensions. The billiard ball perspective was found to be highly immature with the emergence of the notion of international system and international society. The state-centric constructs were theoretically unacceptable, because it restricted the international system to only state actors while international
politics dealt with all type of actors, (such as World Bank, IMF, WTO, Red-Cross, etc.), and all aspects of interactions. Thus it was a hindrance to the proper understanding of international politics calling for rigorous reasoned conceptualisation.

The approach was found very limited in its analytical scope and concerns with rise to prominence of Marxist class struggle approaches, the pluralist perspectives, theories of socio-political development, social stratification, decision making and organisational behaviour, culture and ideologies and imperialism. These theoretical developments coupled with the post war depression, spread of communism to backward regions, and rise of nationalism and anti colonial movement in the non western dominated world testified that treatment of the state as the hard billiard ball shell was inadequate to conceptually seize the complex relationship between international society, the state, its domestic civil society and foreign policy. Such theoretical and empirical developments led scholars to formulate new theories for identifying the crucial elements of the external realm of the state and its relationship with its domestic environment. From theoretical point of view the international societal perspective put forth by scholars such as Martin Wight, Hedley Bull and their academic progenies and the international system approach formulated by David Easton, Kaplan, Rosecrance and others found favour for providing clue for improved understanding of international system.

The most concrete and holistic exposition of this view is credited to Hedley Bull who based his work on the writings of his mentor Martin Wight. The English scholars situated their understanding of international politics not within the confines of the notion of balance of power but within the contour of international society. The key concerns of these scholars were: a) to abstract the present international society; and b) to understand power and modalities of maintenance of order and social development, or otherwise.

International society was perceived as the larger frame of reference for international relations, while the term international system was considered to deal with processes in international politics. This distinction led to perceive order at the level of international society, and order at the international system as distinct and also
related. Order in international system was maintained through balance of power between major adversaries, international institutions and laws, which influenced behaviour of state and facilitated in resolving conflicts among them. More importantly it laid the foundation for assessing the legitimacy of state action and behaviour. Finally they gave high precedence to diplomacy and limited war for management of international power and maintenance of order and stability. Order at the level of international system was an essential prerequisite for achievement of justice at domestic, international and global levels. Imbalances at this level had adverse bearings on inter state order, as also without inter state order it was not possible to promote social development and social justice in international society. Conflicts were treated as an aberration when it disturbed the furtherance of the ideals, and necessary when it furthered it. Thus the English school pointedly opposed the internationalism and idealism put forth by idealist pacifist across the two continent, who repudiated conflicts and war in absolute terms and favoured the abolition of the institution of state, since it was perceived as a source of war and disorder in international system. It is for the above stated reason that international societal approach is clearly rooted in the power oriented realist tradition, although it includes many of the important aspects of the English and Dutch naturalist and positive juristic tradition.\textsuperscript{12}

**System Approach**

The international system approach is predominantly an American conception but its intellectual foundations also dates back to Europe, in the sense that its exponents were influenced by positivist and structural-functional mode of studying social evolution put forth by social anthropologists from England, France and Germany. But the foremost source which went into the conceptualisation of system theory is the notion that it is possible to create a science of political relations as it is the case with the physical world, by working at the political systems in terms of structures which inter-relatedly perform function for maintenance of equilibrium. Dysfunction in the role of structures lead to conflicts. From a policy making perspective, such dysfunctional roles can be anticipated, corrected and managed through necessary ‘inputs’ and ‘interventions’.\textsuperscript{13}
The general system theorists such as, Beratalanffy, Rapport, Ross, Asley and the like were deeply concerned about the rapid widening horizon of scientific knowledge and its atomistic development on disciplinary lines, although it was desired necessary to integrate different perspectives for acquiring an indepth understanding of the physical and biological world, since in reality physical and biological world were interrelated inseparably. In this respect, Bertalanffy conceptualised the general system theory for enabling him to integrate scientific knowledge from other disciplines to enhance the scientific understanding of the bio phenomenon. In other words the two significant ideas of general system theory and structural functionalism, which appealed to political scientists in studying international politics from international system perspective were the notion of interrelatedness as well as the laws underlining order and change, and also that no phenomenon exist in isolation from its environment, yet the process is distinct from its situated environment or context.\textsuperscript{14} Foremost among the new generation of political scientist were Easton, Kaplan, Almond, Powell, Rosecrane and the like. Some of them focussed their attention on domestic politics, while others emphasized on understanding international phenomena.

In the international context Kaplan is considered to be the pioneer of the perspective, if not the foremost system theorist of today. He perceived the international system as 'a set of variables so related, in contradiction to its environment, that describable behaviour regularities characterise the internal relationships of the set of individual variable to combinations of external variables'\textsuperscript{15} Unlike the national-state political system which had legitimate centres of authority for governance the international system does not have a legitimate centre of authority super ordinate to states. In the absence of such a legitimate governing authority international relations is shaped by the structure of the relationships between states and processes therein, within the overall context of its environment. Kaplan formulated six ideals type of models to describe and explain international behaviour, patterns and trends, namely; a) Balance of Power system; b) Loose bi-polar system; c) Tight bi-polar system; d) Universal system; e) Hierarchical system; and, f) Unit of veto system. He described the types of behaviour of states in each of the systems separately and the nature of transformation of the behaviour of state within the system and of the system itself. From perspective of social theorising, the contemporary
theory appears to be relatively simplistic, but when it was initially put forth it was considered to be a very novel intellectual innovation. It dominated the international scene for nearly three decade and influenced the minds of successive generations of scholars, who went ahead to formulate more rigorous theories of international relations in response to higher rigour of conceptualisations, based on improved analytical and normative cognition and methodological innovations and new modes of explanation and logic.16

Like Kaplan, Richard Rosecrane attempted to formulated a more historically grounded systems which was based on European history from 1740 to 1960. His theory was to a great extent akin to the input-output model of David Easton. There were others who attempted to understand international politics form the system perspective too, such as Modelski with his notion of industria and agraria states; Kenneth Boulding with national role conception and international behaviour; Andrew Scott with the idea of international interaction and Nye and Keohane with transnationalism, interdependence and international regimes.17 Collectively they have extended the theoretical frontiers of the discipline but they are not free from criticisms. However, for our purpose these theorists have helped to improve our understanding of the factors and forces operating in the international sphere and how to categorise them. To be more specific, from Kaplan one obtains the understanding that the patterns of interactions between states plays a vital role in shaping the future political interactions within and between states; from Rosecrane one gets the sources of conflicts and stability in the international system, and from Scott, Cox, Giplin, Ashley and others one acquires notions such as international interactions, hegemony, institutionalisation and reification, transnationalism and interdependency as source of stagnation, mal- development, disorder and crisis, as well as change, transformation, evolution and revolution, and progress and development.18

Structural Realism

Kaplanian systems approach was faulted following the revival of normative critical theorising in Europe and America, and crisis in social development and international relations on a world scale. The critical theory tradition was highly critical the framework provided by realist, especially those that had a strong bias
towards status-quo, imperialism and the cold war, and those emphasising on depoliticisation and degeneration of grand political ideological discourses and dialogues. Critical theoretical discourses opposed instrumental and institutional notions of states as they failed to relate states, state apparatus and civil society in a meaningful sense, and criticised the system and structural functional theories for their ideological biases and emphasises on stability, ahistoricity and cognition and perceptions. Furthermore, they found faults with the tradition for having inappropriate understanding of global cultural communities without compromising on the larger concerns of social justice and equitable development.

Kenneth Waltz, who in his classic of the 1950's 'Man, the State and War,' has given evidence of his sensitivity to such creative thinking. He was one of the first political scientists to capture European structuralism, and reinterpret international relations theory within an innovative structural framework. Like his earlier book, the present study was considered seminal and path breaking. His statement grounded in systemic power political tradition, but free from the criticism levelled against his esteemed predecessors, such as Kaplan, Morgenthau, has been nomenclatured as neo-realist or structural realism.

Waltz presents a very parsimonious theory in the sense that it consists of very limited number of concepts, which are defined clearly. Following the tradition of his predecessors, he assumes international realm of states to be anarchic, since it does not have an universal political system. This assumption has been explained in detail by Wight, Bull, Morgenthau and Kaplan.

The second assumption is that the states are primary national actors in international politics. The third assumption is that all states have similar functions, common among them is the protection of their own existence as the external system is anarchical. The fourth assumption, which is a reality, is that states differ in terms of their capability. The fifth assumption, which follows the fourth shows that it is evident that the strategies and method a state would adopt to achieve their key goals will not be similar because of the difference in their capabilities. It is also inevitable for states to favour balance of power because any other form of balance among states would jeopardise their own existence and legitimise the undergoing of the institution
of states. In other words, the structure of the international system, states and society co-exist, complexly interacting to maintain peace and order in the international system and, security and stability of state and civil society.\textsuperscript{19}

Waltz used this simple parsimonious structural framework to examine actual international interaction in three areas; international economic relation, international political relations and negotiation and conflict behaviour, where he convincingly demonstrate the higher analytical explanatory and methodological potency of his perspective. Waltz’s structural realism has been by and large appreciated, barring on two grounds: 1) he has been criticised for neglecting the relation between domestic factors and the state apparatus, and his framework also fails to explain the changes in the valuational, ideal aspect of the structure of international system over centuries because of socio-political, economic and technological developments; and 2) like the European structuralist he has been criticised for favouring status-quo and institution of state over higher ideals of social justice and democratisation. The debates on both the counts are rigorous and ongoing.\textsuperscript{20}

More or less this period, i.e., the emergence of structural realism in the American political academic scene, witnessed the arrival of the world capitalist system approach which acquired much popularity among radical circles. This school is similar to the structural realist framework but focuses on socio-economic development. Its main exponent, such as Immanuel Wallerstine, Samir Amin, Andre Gunder Frank, and the like were inspired by French structural Marxist school associated with the names of Althusser, Poulantars, Brandel and classical neo-Marxist theorists of imperialism, such as Luxemburg, Hilferding, Lenin, Hobson, Baran and the like. Opposing the instrumental interpretation of imperialism of the Soviet bloc Marxists, capitalist system theorists contended that following the renaissance and industrial revolution a world wide capitalist system emerged within which there was division of labour and capital. Structure of the world capitalist system induced the production and reproduction of capital and strengthening of the system itself on a world scale. In this regard they made a three fold categorisation of states namely; core, semi-core and periphery. While the core was keen in maintaining its predominance; the semi core was keen to upset the domination of the core with the help of the periphery and the structural reality of the system placed the periphery in
Many Marxist political activist and Marxist theorist also put forth similar views in different languages. The most elicit explanation were from the pen of Leo Troskty, Mao and Frank Fannon to name a few. However, the post cold war international scene, especially with the rise of the five ‘little dragon’, has posed serious challenge to some of the foundational aspect of such theories.

Transnationalism and Interdependence

The transnational and interdependency tradition in international politics emerged as a criticism against the state centric, realist-idealst approach. Initially it was inspired and founded on pluralist and elite theoretical perspectives, which led it to favour the disintegration of the institution of the state in the internal context, and emphasised on non state factors in the international institutions, international non-state actors, NGO's, MNC's and transnational issues such as religion, culture, ethnicity, language, aspirations, environment and the like. This led it to contend that state are a multiple agenda in the international sphere rather than having security as its primary goal. It replaced the primacy of security by adding socio-economic and welfare issues, which in its opinion were as important, if not more, than security.

This approach had found grounding in Marxist historiography under the name of the world capitalist mode of analysis whereby its exponent now situate their construct within the folds of world historical movements, which has further led it to move towards a liberal, historical, political and economical tradition while keeping its grounding in transnationalism and inter-dependency.

From this brief critical appraisal undertaken schematically, it is clearly evident that the external realm of state is a highly complex social terrain. It has given rise to varying conceptualisation some of which in their existing form purports to conflict with one another. Needless to mention such conflicts which are predominantly perceptual in nature since the theories are to a large extent, if not exclusively, mental constructs of scholars and theorist. For our purpose, it will be sufficient to derive
from the review the salient constituents of the external social realm in order to facilitate a holistic analysis. From the survey of the state-centric, realist-idealist approaches, the structural neo-realism, world capitalist system tradition and the pluralist inter-dependence school it is now possible to surmise some of the major factors and forces operating in the external environment, which have bearing on the state security, viability and stability and progress of the state. These are:

a.) significant socio-political and economical trends in international politics;
b.) the nature and character of the nation state system;
c.) distribution of capabilities of states in its all encompassing dimension:
   i) dominant trends in the world capitalist system;
   ii) technological developments and its distribution; and
   iii) defence system of state, security and challenges confronted by individual state and regions from within and without;
d.) international normative power structure consisting of international institutions, regimes, laws and norms and legal institutions etc.;
e.) global and transnational processes and their linkages within and between across states; and,
f.) status and international role conception and aspiration and expectations of states in the international system.

The structure of the international system imposes considerable constraints and pressures on the independence, autonomy and security of small states. In this sense it is one of the most decisive determinants of their security matrix and plays a leading role in shaping their foreign policy strategy and behaviour.

The Regional Determinants of Security

The region has of late become an important category for analysing social developmental processes and trends in domestic and international politics, since it has been recognised as a significant factor affecting the security of the state and having immense bearing on its socio economic and political processes. The success of the EEC and ASEAN as regional organisation experiments have led scholars and
statesmen to promote regionalism in other parts of the world, especially during the post cold war era.26 The seeds of such conceptions can be traced to the post World War I, League of Nations and the philosophies guiding its formation. Philosophers like Kant, Rousseau, Grotius, Smith and the like articulated the idea of regional political communities for achieving peace and social development.27

Presently, regionalism is a multifaceted concept. For students of political theory, the concept falls in the disciplinary boundaries of geography, social anthropology, economics, politics and strategic studies. It is perceived as a mosaic of political entities having distinguishing cultural, social, linguistic and historical characteristics.28 In the post cold war era, regionalism has been concerned as a framework for overcoming the multiple crisis of multi layered societies having new states due to historical fractures in their integrated plural society.29 There are varied conception of regional organisation based upon differing conceptual assumption relating to the nature and character of forces and trends of integration potentials.30 In South Asia, the efforts to promote regionalism precedes the attainment of independence but such efforts could not fructify, following decolonisation of the region, because of the divisive Hindu-Muslim politics in India creating autonomous colonial states giving rise to distinct nationalism, and it had similar consequence in other parts of South Asian British empire. The divide and rule policies of the colonial state weakened the challenges to its domination in the region and also created hindrances to regionalism. Nonetheless, such efforts were not discarded following decolonisation and bifurcation of the sub-continent. However, the spirit of South Asianism aspired for institutional manifestation in the late 1970's because of significant alterations in the regional and global geo-politics.31 For a better understanding of the regional security environment of any state it will be useful to briefly analyse various schools of thoughts pertaining to regionalism.

The concept of regionalism has different connotations in the field of international relations. It is an attempt to create a ‘supranational’ or ‘super regional’ or ‘international’ political entities based on functional or technical bonds that would ferment various political organisations, usually having defined geographical space.32 The aim of such attempts is to search for common goals and need which would lead them to co-operate and overcome unhealthy competition and conflicts between them,
which often calls for resorting to military action for resolutions. In other words, regionalism is an attempt to undermine coercion and violence in the political sphere by emphasising on consensus on promotion of nobler ideals among citizens, and fulfilment of basic needs and desires of the people.\textsuperscript{33}

The proliferation of regional organisations in the Third World during the post World War II era is a clear evidence of the aspiration of the Third World countries to defuse conflictive-competitive international relations, which is prone to generate military violence and coercive destructive tendencies in their societies. They have made efforts to further the idea of regional and international consensus and co-operation for amelioration of socio-economic maladies regionally and globally and also promote peace and responsible governance in the international system. They have tried to further these ideals through several ways, prevalent among them are: a) federalism; b) functionalism; and, c) neo-functionalism

The Federalist Perspective

The federalist perspective is one of the most popular approaches to promote political integration. It has a long history. There are two main strands; regional federalism and world federalism. The exponent of regional federalism proposes a federal form of government confined to a limited geographical area having common socio-cultural, historical and political characteristics, while the international or world federalism espouses the establishment of a world federal government of existing nation states on the basis of democratisation of international power, socio-economic egalitarianism and accountability of governance.\textsuperscript{34}

Federalism is defined as a form of constitutional organisation that unites into a single polity a number of diverse groups so that individuality of the component parts are largely preserved, while integrating them within a distinct political unit. It originated from the thinking that war and conflicts arose because of the absence of super-ordinating and/or legitimate authority over conflictual, unstable and unviable political entities. The establishment of common institution would promote the growth of common attitudes and sense of belonging to a larger community. Theoretical approaches to federalism can be further distinguished as: active group and theorist
group. The active group aims at regional federation through the conscious consensus building for enactment of a constitution and establishment of suitable administrative structure. On the other hand, the theorist group are engaged in theorising on processes and pattern of federal integration, and disintegration including identifying the major factors and forces which have bearings on them. In reality, the two groups are not separable in the sense that they are mutually complementary forming the theory and praxis of the movement for federalism.  

The Functionalist Perspective

A strand of the idealist perspective the functionalist perspective was seminally stated by David Mittrany in his short pamphlet, ‘A Working Peace System’. This work has also provided the intellectual foundation to the neo-functionalist approach to regionalism and integration theory. According to Mittrany war, violence and conflicts in inter-state and intra-state interactions are to a great extent result of the ideology of nationalism and principle of national sovereignty and national power. Durable peace is unachievable so long as nationalism and sovereign nation states are the ordering principle of international society. Thus he advocated the replacement of the twin concepts, nation-state and nationalism by organisational identities and affiliations based on functional principles which he thought would be conducive for the promotion of social equity, and responsibility and accountability in the international society.  

According to Mittrany, the Westphalian order had promoted the idea of a strong and powerful state to impose order and stability in the international system. It legitimised ideology of nationalism on historical, ethnic and cultural grounds based upon socio-cultural differences and distinction and value systems. Under these historically evolved conditions, states would not surrender their power and authority voluntarily to a supreme organisation. Consequently, he proposed the ‘Functional Alternative’.  

The functional approach envisages that activities were to be organised on functional lines such as transport, health, and welfare necessities, scientific and cultural activities, trade and even production on regional and international scale. This
delegation of specific tasks from national governments to international organisations would help to foster closeness and co-operation among the concerned countries. As time progresses activities from peripheral activities, those which could be delegated to functional organisation by the national governments easily, would gradually enhance its scope by acquiring activities of the state because of its good functional and performance track records. This process of ramification would reduce citizens loyalties to the state, erode the spirit of nationalism and sense of belonging to narrow cultural specificities. In turn it would promote a sense of identification with the transnational functional organisation. As a result, a 'working peace system' would evolve.38

The Neo-Functionalist Perspective

Neo Functionalist defined the functionalist approach more clearly by limiting the scope of their endeavour to 'region', that is stating that the efforts is to integrate states in a region in order to achieve regional peace and security, that is 'peace in parts'.39 It does not advocate the creation of a world organisation straightaway for promotion of human development. In this manner neo-functionalism is a modified version of Mittrany's functionalism. It was most impressively conceptualised by Ernst Hass in his study of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSE). According to Hass, integration is initiated in a functionally specified and important sector of the economy. The starting point is usually shared problem of the concerned states that collective solution to the issue will provide superior dividends than managing it within the narrow confines of their individual political system. As this scheme successfully progresses it would 'spillover' to the larger economy bringing more functions within its folds. This eventually would lead states to co-operate to establish supranational organisations for solving mutual problems and meeting basic needs of people, culture, polity and social economy. The success of the ECSE experiment resulting in the formation of the EEC has lent creditability to this theoretical approach.40

* Scholarly efforts by Nye, Keohane, Lindberg, Deutch and the like were attempts to refine and advance the functional approach provided by Hass and Mittrany. Joseph Nye is a prominent scholar, who attempted to break away from the
Eurocentric approach in his book, ‘Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflicts in Regional Organisation’. He revised the notion of automatic politicisation and spill over by introducing the categories of process mechanism and integrative potentials, which helped him to correct the unilinear process which overwhelmed the conceptualisation of Hass and Mittrany. Thus he was able to account for both integration and disintegration process in regional and federal experiments. Furthermore, he proposes that progressive or regressive tendencies in integrative schemes are influenced by the roles of external governments, international organisations and non-governmental international and domestic actors, such as pressure groups, interest groups and political parties. He conceptualises the conditions propitious to integration within a four fold typology under the rubric of the term integrative potentials:

a.) symmetry of economic equality of units;
b.) elite value complementarity;
c.) existence of pluralism; and
d.) capacity of member state to adopt and respond.41

The process of integration, which originates from these potentials, were seized under several categories such as politicisation, redistribution of economic benefits, status, power and externalisation. Thus functionally specific or micro-regional economic and political organisation will contribute to the development of ‘island of peace’ and he visualised that in course of time they will supersede nation state holding potentials for development of larger regional federations.42

In this sense regionalism is seen as an alternative to global federalism or world government approaches. The neo-functional approach provides scope for peace-meal praxis programme as well as scope for respecting natural cultural regions and functional organisations within its theoretical purview, eg., Commonwealth of Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Arab League, Association for South East Asian States (ASEAN) and the like. In other words, it suggest a formally evolved functional association of independent states with some sort of permanent organisation without ‘forced’ surrender of their statehood. And this functional organisation is based on issue area on regional scale. It gradually crosses the limits of geographical proximity, through the process of emulation and functional logic.43
The EEC experiment was emulated by several Third World states in the cold war era to overcome their vulnerabilities and acquire political stability and economic prosperity, besides enhancing their status in international politics. Such efforts were also attempted to overcome the dependency through the promotion of collective self reliance. The success of the ASEAN and the EEC scheme has made the functional approach to integration popular in weaker and underdeveloped regions of the world having the essential preconditions for regional integration. This model has not augured well in various countries of the Third World because of their highly conflict ridden socio-economic and political size, population, gross national product, per capita income, highly sectarian growth of religious and cultural identities, and due to the process of intrusive forces.44

The Domestic Determinants of Security

The treaty of Westphalia and the post World War occurrence had led theorist to equate national security to protection of its territory and preservation of its sovereignty. The domestic setting of the polity took a back seat in such conceptualisations. Perhaps, this was because challenges to authority of the government could be easily suppressed or managed or resolved by the coercive state apparatus. Furthermore, there were seldom challenges to the integrity of the state from within. However, such an analytical scheme is inadequate today because challenges to the legitimacy of the state and its integrity are a common feature because of the growing democratisation of the civil society including rising aspiration for assertion of cultural and sub cultural identities and interest. Such processes have tended to gain strength progressively because political parties have ued such schism to build their electoral or authority legitimising bases.45

Waltz was one of the early writers who has systematically examined the importance of factors and forms in which they oppose challenge to national stability and security. According to Waltz internal organisation of a state has major bearing on its security, and is a significant factor of peace and war in its region.47 Other theorist like Roseanau, Wilkinson, Graham Allison, Baghat Korany, Michael Breacher and others had taken up the study of domestic structure and shown its affects on decision
making and foreign policy. However, their explanations were limited because they only attempted to understand the decision making processes, without giving due emphasises to historical, economical and socio-political aspects of a state and the challenges they pose to the legitimacy of the state and stability of the civil society and thereby to its national security.

Following the behavioural approach and the rise of pluralism in political science, the domestic environment received considerable attention to correct the singular emphasises to external environment of foreign policy. Scholars such as Sprout and Sprout, Wilkinson, Roseanau and others attempted to systematically examine and analyse the relationship between man and his societal or domestic milieu. In this regard they were guided by structure-functionalist frameworks of Almond and Powell and the input-output model of David Easton as well as the analytical historical approaches of earlier generation scholars to analyse political processes and human behaviour. However, like their intellectual predecessors their efforts did not cross beyond typologically describing them. Taking clue from the existing literature they attempted to capture the domestic milieu to categories such as, geographical setting, social-structural, economy, political institutions and political cultural settings and processes. The more theoretically sensitive scholars were aware that such exercise were necessary to over come the neglect of the domestic factors in the study of foreign policy and international relations, but it was far short of meeting the then existing cannons and principles which demarcated scholarly efforts from being theoretical and conceptual, this which led most of the scholars to call their intellectual exercise as analytical framework or pre-theories. The humility of these scholars have not been without dividends. Subsequently scholars have made efforts to conceptualise more rigorous integrated framework to study the interactions of domestic and state for external factors. The approach such as legitimacy crisis, modernisation, development and dependency, theories of ethnicity, alienations examines the internal-external relationship more indepthly and historically.

Theories of Modernisation and Development

Theories of political development emerged in the West, especially America, to study political processes and state formation in the Third-World. Political
development is identified with all aspects of modernisation, which can be summed on the Parsonian term 'rationalisation'. The seminal work of Lucian Pye, 'Political Culture and Political Development' was path breaking efforts in this regard. According to Pye the formation of a nation-state, wider acceptance to universal laws was the first step towards development. Furthermore, the system implied greater structural differentiation, functional specificity and integration of participating institutions and the capacity to cope with popular demands. Summing the various variables of the process of development, Huntington has said that these process involves a movement from particularism to universalism, from diffuseness to specificity, from ascription to achievement and from affectivity to affective neutrality. Moreover, it also involves nationalism and national integration.52

Modernist theorist also assumed that with modernisation and economic development local loyalties and conflicts based on ethnic, parochial and cultural divisions would disappear and be superseded by wider loyalties. However, their assumptions proved to be a failure as economic development and modernisation occurred unevenly and states both developed and developing got torn by civil strives, ethnicity, racism, secessionist movement and other form of violent conflicts and politico-social aberrations.53

Fred Riggs declares that political development refers to the process of politicisation, increased participation or involvement of citizens in state activities, power calculations and consequences. Moreover, functional changes and western model has been adopted and with much importance being laid on functional changes and neglect of structural values. Thus, there is a fear of loss of traditional culture and values. Unless this balance between structural and functional changes are not met political development is likely to get into a 'development trap.54

Huntington, has pointed out that rapid economic growth has led to increase mobilisation and participation, but progress made towards development of democracy, stability and national integration is often dubious, since institutionalisation. A small upper class or elite belonging to the political organisation behaves in term of a set procedures limiting the scope of adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of organisations and procedures. This lacunas in the political
organisation and working of administrative organisation has hindered institutionalisation leading to what he termed as 'political decay'.

The writers belonging to the modernist perspective makes a dichotomy between traditional and modern society. Moreover, they studied development only in terms of institution, development and functional efficiency, system and stability using terms as diffusion, differentiation, rationalisation and the like.

The Dependencia Theories

The Dependency school challenged this intellectual hegemony of the American by providing an external explanation to the Third World development, and as such is a protest voice from the periphery. Scholars like Andre Gundre Frank, Luxemberg, Wallerstine, S.Amin and the like have attempted to explain this relation. The modernization school assume that there are many hindrance in the Third World – such as misperceived tradition, culture, over-population, little investment or lack of achievement motivation, and that is why Third World countries are backward and stagnant. But according to the dependency school, the Third World cannot look to the West as mentors and follow the Western path of development, because the West have not experienced colonisation. Infact colonisation and foreign domination have reversed their development and forced them along the path of economic backwardness. Hence, its wrong to characterise Third world as primitive, traditional or feudal because many countries -such as China and the Indian sub-continent - were quite advanced before colonisation.

A.G.Frank's book entitled, 'The Development of the Underdeveloped' shows that underdevelopment is not a natural condition but created artificially by colonisation. He thus gave the concept of Satellite - Metropolis model to explain this phenomenon. The colonial create new centers of production and market, modern poles, in the Third World to facilitate the transfer of economic surplus to the mother country. The colonial cities become the satellite of the metropolis, and this transfer of economic resources have led to the impoverisation, while economically benefiting the Western colonisers.
Paul Baran another leading scholar belonging to this perspective has shown how British colonisation have contributed to the underdevelopment of India, through plundering, deindustrialization and uprooting of local societies. The colonial government create a native elite called the 'clientele social class - loyal to them and helping in the transfer of surplus and thus turning the Third world into a peripheral nation.60 Faced with the problem of underdevelopment and economic backwardness the third world, after independence, have attempted to boost their economy and meet the rising aspirations and demands through industrialisation. These expansion policies compelled them to take loans from financial creditors and financial institution like IMF, World Bank etc. However, unable to fulfil the desired goal and the inability to meet the loan payment they continue to secure more loans falling into the 'debt trap'. Consequently they subject to the influences of international institutions. Moreover, they have to take recourse to cut in government expenditure, increase tax-rate, devaluation of currency, cut on welfare programme, education health care, etc. These reduction in welfare programmes and other government policy have adversely affected its people leading to protest, anti-government agitation and movement and at times culminating in civil-strife, ethnicity, secessionism and violence.61

Theory of Ethnicity

The central problem of a plural society and polity is the rise of ethnicity and consequent demand for separate state, and secessionist movement concomitant with arm conflict, guerrilla warfare and terrorist activities. In contemporary times inter ethnic cleavages, competition and conflicts, which have acquired great intensity has posed challenges to both developed and developing countries.

The word ethnic is derived from the Greek work 'ethnos', which refers to the idea of living together and being alike in culture, having a symbol of common decent arising from a shared history and culture. In some views, ethnic group is a substitute for minority; in this sense it is a political term. In the syncretist view ethnic group are a historically formed aggregation of people having a real or imaginary association with a specific territory, a shared cluster of belief and values i.e., shared cultural emblem such as race, language, religion, dress, diet connoting its distinctiveness in relation to similar group and recognised as such by others. Distinctiveness and
belongingness to a group can also be self ascribed. Broadly speaking there are four different explanatory approaches and perspectives on ethnicity: a) primordialist; b) cultural pluralist; c) modernisation and development; and d) Marxist and neo-Marxist.\(^62\)

The primordialist assume that society being traditional having particularistic ties i.e., tribalism, or caste having attachment to non-rational domain of human personalities, leading to social turbulence and violence and impedes the development of a civil society. Whereas a culturally plural society encompasses within a single society the co-existence of various group having institutional system - social structure, value system, belief pattern - which are mutually incompatible. Hence the required political order for a plural or diverse society leads subordination of one or the other thereby leading to demands by the other aspiring group at times leading to violent conflicts.\(^63\)

Marxist and neo-Marxist view ethnicity as a devise for distracting the consciousness of class interests manipulated by leaders and vested interests. It is a reactionary impulse antithetical to the development of class-consciousness and solidarity. However, for Marx it was a passing phase of capitalism irrelevant to the class struggle and would certainly be engulfed by class warfare when the latter developed. Furthermore, some Marxist have pointed out that 'internal colonisation' and because of cultural division of labour, a ethnic group is placed at a subordinate position within a given state.\(^64\)

Paul Brass have equated ethnicity to the elite competition dominant in modernising society. According to him ethnic communities are created and transformed by particular elite groups in modernising and post-colonial societies experiencing rapid social change. This process involves competition and conflict for political power, economic benefits and social status through political competition and bargaining. Consequently as modernisation tend to move unevenly benefiting some ethnic group or region more than others, political and religious elites find it advantageous to use and to co-operate even with external authorities and adopt the dominant language, religion or any other distinctive symbol or symbols.\(^65\)
Related to this the modernist school, giving the analogy of the core-periphery have discern ethnic problem with subordination of the periphery by the core. Rapid industrialisation has further increased exploitation of the peripheral hinterlands resulting in migration of labours to production centres, where they locate themselves in cultural enclaves and under competitive conditions reaffirm and reassert their identities especially under economic and cultural threats. Furthermore, the general theory of political conflicts have given the approach of 'relative deprivation' which Ted Gurr defines as, a gap between the expectation and perceived capabilities of a person vis-à-vis his economic situation, political power and social status in relation to others.

Theory of Alienation

Over the past years there has been growing interest among scholars on the problem alienation. The dictionary meaning of alienation means a feeling of isolation and estrangement. Writers like C. Wright Mills, Hannah Arendt, Eric H. Erickson, Herbert Marcuse, Nisbet, Frantz Fannon and the like have deplored over the human condition in post-industrial, modern society and have suggested a return to pre-industrial positions. In other words, in the post-industrial society men has been cut out of his social moorings, and abandoned form self because of the over importance laid on production and competition. Although the concept and idea were brought forth by the existentialist, like Karl Jasper, Jean Paul Satre and the like, it was the young Marx who gave the economic explanation for alienation. According to Mark man under the capitalistic order is separated from his work - as he plays no part in deciding what to do and how to do; and from his own product - since he has no control over what he makes and is separated from his material world and fellow men. Competition and class hostility alienates man from man. According to Marx communism would return man to himself as a social being, and he attempted at transcending all estrangement from religion, state etc. to social mode of production.

On the other hand, Herbert Marcuse is not against industrialisation and its material benefits, but the 'production principle' should be replaced by 'happiness principle', because man has obtained much control over nature and productivity dominating all sphere of his activities to build a higher form of culture based on man
and nature. Moreover, the capitalist urge of making huge profits does not eliminate the scarcity, compelling repression on individual by forcing him to work more and more. Another sociologist, Robert Nisbet, concerned about the problem of alienation has contended that man is in a perpetual quest for community, behind which there is a search for security. But industrialisation and modernisation have destroyed the primary groups in society to which individuals were attached and felt secured. The state has become over powerful and the centralisation of the state has penetrated into man’s economic, religious and social realm creating disjuncture in the society.

Unlike others, he traces the problem not to the capitalist structure but to the political state. The isolation when becomes intolerable, man began to identify himself with race, class, religion and other ethnic identities, to answer the question who am I? Such awareness was in the Indian sub-continent, too. Mahatma Gandhi also opposed large industries and centralized government. Instead, he proposed cottage industries and rural development as not only an economic means of livelihood, but also as a way to keep man attached to his social and cultural moorings. Furthermore, he advocated for grass root democracy and a minimal state, where power would be decentralized. Nisbet also proposed similar solution to the problem of alienation. He advocated for social pluralism and administrative decentralization in autonomous and meaningful groups.

Frantz Fanon’s view on alienation and revolution brought forth in his book titled, The Wretched of the Earth', broke away form the Marxist idea of revolution, that was to come the ex-bourgeoisie intellectuals, who would play the role of a revolutionary vanguard. Infact, his appeal was to the under-developed region, the social outcast, the most wretched of the culture, the simple workers - the lumpen proletariat-, who would discover the latent psyches that is subjugated and assuming leadership of a revolution would liberate themselves not on the base of class warfare but on the clash of ethnic identities.

The post-modernist school of thoughts, although does not use the concept of alienation, are attempting to find solutions to the crisis of legitimacy, state relation and problems in their in their civil society. The communitarian, like Sandle, Charles
Taylor, Walzer and the like have appealed for a revival of the community. According to them morality is rooted in practice, which precedes theory, and practice is rooted in the community. The communitarian's idea was put forth as a criticism which was aimed against John Rawls, who had proposed the idea of 'Distributive Justice' and 'Justice as Fairness'.

However, the most appealing and prolific idea came from Habermas, who discusses the problem of legitimacy crisis in the civil society arising due to modernity and industrialisation. According to Habermas the advanced capitalist state, modern state have progressed tremendously technologically, but along with it there is over bureaucratisation and technology have dominated every sphere of human society. Technological consciousness and technical rationality have dominated society and reasoning which have disembodied and disenchanted man from himself and society. Therefore he appeals for a revival of the Socratic tradition of dialogue. Furthermore, he states that critical reflection is necessary because it is guided by an emancipatory interest and by critical reflection, reasoning and dialogue we can arrive at a consensus and solve the problem of legitimacy.

In the above discussion we have seen the problem faced by modernisation and industrialisation. This therefore does not imply that state should not choose the path of industrialisation and modernization, but the balance between the societal need and human self should be maintained or its results can be adverse, leading to institutional crisis, problem of legitimacy and civil society, party domination in terms of centralisation and authoritarian regimes culminating in political conflicts like ethnicity, secessionist movement, class warfare and other form of political conflicts.

Conclusion

The structure of the international system which is anarchic makes security a prominent concern of all states. All states attempts to achieve security at all the level i.e., international, regional and domestic. Thus the approaches and theories discussed have identified the dominant patterns as well as the various dimensions of security faced by the states at their respective levels. The dominance of the state-centric,
particularly realist approach, and consequently the emergence of the cold war have placed much emphasis on the preservation of territory and sovereignty from external forces. Thus, the state seek to enhance and protect their national interest through alignment, foreign policy strategies and economic cooperation. Thus the occurrence in the external milieu or behaviour of other states is seen to have a direct relation to the security of a state. However, scholars like Sprout and Sprout, Rosenau, Korany and Allison sought to break away from this narrow understanding of security by taking into consideration factors other than those arising from external sources. They have not put forth any theory, but provided models and frameworks that seek to explain security perception and behaviour of states in term of foreign policy decision making. Furthermore, security continues to be analysed from a systemic perspective.

The failure of the systemic approach to explain foreign policy and behaviour of the 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 the inter as well as intra-state 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.

The domestic approach indicated how socio-economic, cultural and political structure and process within the states determines the security and stability of a state. It was also argued that compared to the realist who see security threats emanating only from external sources, the theories of state-building, modernisation, ethnicity, alienation, dependency provides a better explanation to the understanding of third world security. Thus from this perspective it seems that socio economic development,
socio-political stability and legitimacy are important issues and factors that determine the security 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.

It is thus evident that the various approaches discussed have tended to analyse and explain the problems security in isolation. 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 makes the study of security in a holistic way. Furthermore, the aim is 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 and 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. Hence, security of Sri Lanka can be studied from a three level perspective international, regional and domestic.

The preceding chapters thus discuss the security of Sri Lanka in its international, regional and domestic settings.

1. International determinants of security will identify the external factors and forces that have bearing on the security and stability of Sri Lanka. These are, the nature and character of the nation state system, significant socio-political and economical trends in international politics; global and transnational processes and their linkages within and between states.

2. Regional determinants will identify the factors and forces within the South Asian region and Sri Lanka’s response to it. The evolution of SAARC as a regional organisation and its progress, as well as its role in the changed international environment will also be analysed.
Domestic determinants of security will undertake an in-depth analysis of the problems of ethnicity and insurgencies to analyse the cause of the problems and its effect on the security and foreign policy of the state. The various policy designed by Sri Lanka to address these problems and its outcome will also be seen with the objective to bring out the linkages of domestic policy and politics on the security and foreign policy of a state.
Notes and References


5. Ibid.


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.


14. Ibid.


16. Ibid.

17. For an overview of these contending approaches; see Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, op.cit., pp. 137-171


21. For details, see Brewer, Anthony, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, London: Boston and Henley, 1980; see also, Momsen, W.,


24. Ibid., see also Brewer, Anthony, op.cit.


30. See, Lindberg and Scheingold, op.cit., Chapter 1; and J. Nye, op.cit., Introduction.


33. Ibid.


35. Ibid.; also see Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, op.cit, pp. 417-423.


38. Ibid.


40. See Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, op.cit.

41. See Nye, J., op.cit., and Ibid.

42. See Nye, J., op.cit., pp.65-72.

43. Ibid., pp. 74-93.

44. Ibid.


47. Waltz, K., op.cit., Chapter 3.


49. Ibid.

51. See Randall Vicky, op.cit.


53. Ibid.


57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., pp. 96 – 106.


63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.


66. Ibid.
68. For details, see, Varma, S. P., op.cit., pp. 299 – 319
70. Ibid. pp. 326 – 331.
71. Ibid. pp. 324 – 326.
73. Ibid. pp. 319 – 392; also see, Mommsen, W., op.cit., pp. 128 – 129.