Unique Features of Foreign Policy of UNP Regimes (1948 – 1965) and Bandaranaike Regimes (1956 – 1965)

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Abstract

Foreign policy is a key component of a state which represents the nature of its relations with the world. Regime changes in a particular state are always have an impact on the foreign policy and it changes the nature of it. This study has been conducted in order to "identify the common and unique features of the foreign policy of UNP regimes from 1948-1965 and Bandaranaike regimes from 1956 – 1965." The methodology that has followed for the study is qualitative in nature while only based on secondary data and used descriptive analysis. The study has been conducted as a comparison as well as contrast of the two regimes in the particular periods in order to find out the features. According to the study, during the period of 1948 to 1965, foreign policy of the most of UNP leaders were similar in nature with the distinctive feature of pro-western policy and anti-communist attitude. UNP regimes did not conduct firm relations with the India during the particular period. Foreign policy of the SLFP regimes was mainly characterized by the "non-alignment policy" which emphasized on equal relations with all the countries. At the same time specially, Mr.Bandaranaike had cordial relations with the communist countries as well as with India which was a great achievement in the foreign policy of Sri Lanka.

Key words: Foreign Policy, UNP Regime, SLFP Regime, Pro-western, Non-alignment

Introduction

Foreign policy of a country plays a key role in conducting cordial relations in international arena. It always symbolizes their relations with the power bloc in the existing world political sphere. Some countries may aligned with the United States or some may aligned with Soviet Russia and some may aligned with each powers in the world while been neutral in their relations. When it comes to the context of Sri Lanka, the foreign policy of Sri Lanka always tended to be clear and specific. It is need to be understood that, the nature of the foreign policy of a country is changing due to the changes in leadership and governments. Most of the time, according to the governing party that country's foreign policy reshapes. Sri Lanka is that over the years there has been change but this has been on a stable continuum of noninvolvement in the politics of the rival power blocs. The end result is that the system, the outputs, the explanation for behavior patterns and the forms of interaction available with neighbors as well as friendly powers leaves Sri Lanka's Prime Ministers little option but to operate along the only continuum of action available: that is, non-involvement but at the same time involvement as an intermediary or conciliator when such action becomes necessary (Gandhi, 2002). At the same time, the country's national interests, economy and other requirements also tended to be change as per the interests of the governing party. When it comes to Sri Lanka, the foreign policy tended to design only after the independence. After the independence, Sri Lanka's foreign policy came into the forefront of the world while sharing unique characteristics. The main political parties which reshape the foreign policy of Sri Lanka are Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and United National Party (UNP). After 4 February 1948 the country's political system appeared to be a model of a parliamentary democracy which included two party system. These two parties alternated with each other in power after fairly contested elections. But the foreign policy according to UNP and SLFP, contained distinguished characteristics while sometime sharing same attitudes.

Regimes of United national Party (1948-1965)

After the independence, UNP was come into power as the first political party under the parliamentary democracy system. There were four Prime ministers who represent the UNP such as D.S.Senanayake (1948-1952), Dudley Senanayake (1952-1953), Sir John Kotelawala (1953-1956) and Dudley Senanayake (1960 and 1965). It is need to say that UNP played a main role in the independent movement and D.S.Senanayake was a famous leader among the people. Then he became the first prime minister of Ceylon and he won the majority in 1952 and continued in power until he died in 1956. Generally the UNP is having pro-western policy while SLFP is having pro-eastern policy. Even though Sri Lanka gained independence from the British Empire, the first 8 years of the period of Sri Lankan foreign policy was closely collaborated with the western bloc. This is one of the most important features of the Sri Lanka foreign policy under the leadership of the all UNP members. There are several incidents which prove that the UNP regime since the independence was pro-western.

Pro-western attitude

There were domestic and international reasons that influenced the maintenance of close links with Brain for Ceylon. Ceylon had, of course strong historical, cultural and commercial ties with Britain, the consequences of being part of the British empire for nearly one hundred and fifty years. Ceylon also had special economic reasons to keep close relation with United Kingdom (U.K.) and there were internal political factors that also made continuing and cordial relations with Britain desirable. First, the constitution of the Ceylon accepted the British Crown as the head of the state, whose powers were vested in Governor-General in Ceylon (2005, Karunadasa). Second, Although Ceylon had a class of administration and politicians and judges willing and able to conform to and to encourage the practice of British standards of "good government". Third, there was a political bid from the Marxist element in internal politics, who threatened the existence of parliamentary democracy. Despite of the domestic factor, the most effective external factor which influenced the relations with Britain for Ceylon was the factor of security. The strategic location of Ceylon in Indian Ocean could not disguise the Frailties of Ceylon's own defence and lack of armed forces of her own which to defend the country. These factors apparently combined to persuade Ceylon's premiers after 1948 that it was necessary to maintain military assistance from Britain. Due to these reasons, during the period of D.S.Senanayake, on the day Ceylon became independent, Ceylon entered into the Defence Agreement with U.K.: Air and Naval facilities, Training of Ceylon Army and it came into force under the terms of Britain trained the use of an airbase at Katunayake and the naval base at Trincomalee. The main contents of the agreement were: to provide assistance according to their mutual interests, Ceylon's government would provide based and facilities for Britain and the U.K. government would provide such military assistance as was necessary for the training and development of Ceylon's armed forces. At the same time, on 11th of November 1947 Ceylon and Britain signed the External Affairs Agreement which facilitated the British to represent Sri Lanka in international level in the context of foreign relations with other countries. On besides of these relations, during the D.S.Senanayake period, he was in much interest of the commonwealth relations with the cooperation of the Britain. But the External Affairs Agreement with Britain did not present a positive image

about Ceylon in the international arena, especially for the communist countries. However, these agreements obviously gave appositive demonstration of the Ceylon government's reliance on assistance from the U.K. Dr.Perera, the leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), said that, Ceylon's independence because of these agreements, was a "fake independence" and had involved a "bartering of the country" (2005, Karunadasa). And also Soviet Union used to identify Ceylon as "Puppet of the U.K.". This Commonwealth defence relationship combined with the politico-ideological identity of the UNP leadership with the West determined the country's overall strategic relationship with the outside world. Thus when D.S.Senanayake's attention was drawn to the idea of a regional defence arrangement for the Pacific which was mooted in 1950 he rejected it off hand. It was only after a defence project for South-East Asia was launched by the United Stated of America that the UNP leadership reconsidered this attitude. Whether there was a pro-Western bias remains an open question but in the opening years Sri Lanka was closely identified with Commonwealth initiatives both in the launching of the Colombo Plan in 1950 as the outcome of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Conference and in the key role which Sri Lanka through its doughty representative J. R. Jayewardene played at the San Francisco Peace Conference of 1951 in a virtual confrontation with the awesome Gromyko.

Relations with Communist countries

However, UNP governments during their first phase in office, 1947 to 1956, consistently refused to establish diplomatic or cultural links with communist states. But again the reason was to be seen in the fear of communism during this time. There was the suspicion that the local Marxists would obtain various forms of support if communist embassies were established in Colombo. However, due to the external affairs and defence agreements with Britain were deeply criticized by Soviet Republic. They recognized Ceylon as a puppet of U.K. and Ceylon's anti- communist attitude has drawn Soviet Union to veto the application of Sri Lanka for the membership at the United Nations even though Britain fully supported Sri Lanka to obtain the membership. A characteristic statement of soviet objection to Cevlon's entry into the UN was made in a speech by the USSR delegate, Jacob Malik, to the UN Security Council in August 1948. Ultimately it was only in 1955 that Ceylon gained UN membership as a result of the so-called 'horse trading deal' then made between the Soviet Russia and the Western Bloc. Nonetheless the policy laid down by D. S. Senanayake was followed by his successors, Dudley Senanayake (1952-1953) and Sir John Kotelawala (1953-1956). Indeed, Ceylon's inauguration of formal trade relations with China in 1953 actually demonstrated the limited and possibly diminishing character of Ceylon's relations with Britain in the years from 1948-1953. The conclusion of trade relations with China indicated that the agreement on external affairs with Britain was not an impediment to developing trade relations with other countries of Ceylon's choice (Wilson, 1974). This was in principle true of Ceylon's diplomatic relations too though the Senanayake governments did not develop any new interests or attempt to initiate diplomatic relations with the communist countries, mainly because of their belief that Marxism was a menacs to genuinely democratic politics. The government of the former was responsible for the rubber-rice trade agreement with the People's Republic of China in 1952. The latter's government established trade relations with Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1955 and with Rumania in 1956. Despite his affirmed opposition to communism, clearly manifested at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Sir John Kotelawala declared that Sri Lanka would not join any power bloc or participate in ideological warfare. And he did not take Sri Lanka into SEATO. Notwithstanding his

markedly anti-communist stances, the Chinese Foreign Minister at the time, Chou En-lai, invited the Prime Minister just before the Bandung meeting to pay an official visit to China. This did not work out as Kotelawala was defeated at the general election held next year (April 1956). However during the regime of Sir John Kotelawala there was a genuine fear that Sri Lanka would find its way into the Anglo-American bloc by entering SEATO. But the ex-Prime Minister, Dudley Senanayake and his influential cousin, R. G. Senanayake resolutely opposed possible attempts to have Sri Lanka involved in any international entanglements (Jayawardane, 2005). As Prime Minister of a "National Government" in 1965-1970, Dudley Senanayake pursued the same policy of noninvolvement whilst maintaining friendly ties with the West lay down by his father, D. S. Senanayake. His government was critical of the U.S. presence in South Vietnam. For the American bombing of North Vietnam, the Smith regime in Rhodesia and South Africa's control over South West Africa (Wettasinghe, 2015). The Prime Minister was strongly supportive of China's admission to the United Nations Organization. And his government maintained friendly relations with, and continued to receive aid from, the Soviet Union and China. As evidence of his desire to establish closer relations with the two leading communist states, he appointed former Marxists as ambassadors to the Soviet Union and China. According to the above details, it's clear that the UNP regime did not conduct cordial relations with communist countries in the world and at the same time communist countries also did not had a positive image regarding Sri Lanka mainly due to the Defence Agreement with Britain which was Ceylon entitled to. But during the last period of UNP regime, trade relations with China have been grown to some extent. This is one of the unique features of the UNP regime that they extended their relations with the communist countries despite of the western countries especially with China.

Relations with India

Relation between India and Sri Lanka was not so strong especially after the independence due to the Defence Agreement of Britain ad Ceylon. The main reason for that is, from the Indian perspective this agreement was a threat to the security of India. Due to this main issue, since the beginning, the image of Sri Lanka for India was somewhat suspicious. Accordingly, the relationship with India was always an inescapable factor in Ceylon's diplomacy. With the defeat of Japan in 1945, thereafter the principal-even if not immediate-external threat to Ceylon was, for Senanayake and his colleagues India. This view was held as late as 1955 when Kotelawala expressed fears of possible Indian aggression and thereby justified his country's close relations with the U.K.. More specifically the character of Indo-Sri Lanka relations, in Professor Mansergh's words"....were ostensibly cordial, but of a rather low-key almost tepid kind apart from the vexatious issue of the conditions and treatment of Ceylon's Indian Tamil's which was contentious..." (2005, Karunadasa). The whole controversy began to resolve around the matter of permanent settlement for Indian immigrants in Ceylon. Indian non-flexibility and pressure on the 'Status of Indian Tamils' no doubt, worsened the general nature of Indo-Sri Lanka relations, and it also accentuated general Sri Lanka's apprehension regarding possible political threats from India. Due to this situation, especially the Senanayake government decided to resolve this problem in a peaceful manner and several steps have been taken in order to sort this out. First attempts were made to resolve the problem by legislative measures. The Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Indian Pakistani Residents (citizenship) Act of 1949 was passed in the House of Parliament to achieve this end. Nevertheless, these Acts provoked objections in both India and Ceylon. Indian objection to the Citizenship Acts came from both official and unofficial levels. Pandith

Nehru, in his correspondence with Mr. Senanayake during 948, stated that the Citizenship Acts were not acceptable to India. These strong objections to Senanayake governments declared intention to 'solve' the problem became aggravating issues in the inter-state relations between India and Sri Lanka. Despite all these objectins, Citizenship Acts, particularly the Indian and Pakistani Residents's Citizenship Act, came into effect on 5th August 1949. The main object of the Act was to reduce the number of Indian Tamils. However, this issue did not permanently resolve during the UNP regimes. Only after the appearance of Bandaranaike, this issue was effectively addressed. As per the facts, it's clear that during the period of UNP leaders in power, relations between Sri Lanka and India were not cordial and strong even though India is the closest neighbor of Sri Lanka.

However reviewing the period of UNP regimes that were in the power, several characteristics have been identified. Basis ideology of the United Nation Party is pro-western and this feature has come into the forefront in each leader's policy during this period. And they followed an anti-communist approach when conducting relations with the other states and finally only for the commercial benefit, UNP governments initiated trade relations with China through the Rubber Rice Agreement. At the same time, these governments did not conduct firm relations with India, since after the independence. Both countries have followed suspicious approach towards each other.

Regimes of Sri Lankan Freedom Party (1956-1965)

After the 1956, there was a regime change and then S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike came into power representing the Sri Lanka Freedom party. This regime change has marked a significant milestone in Sri Lanka foreign policy. Initially S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike was a member of UNP, but later due to the several controversial issues, he resigned from UNP and Bandaranaike formed the People's United Front (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna—MEP), composed of his own SLFP, the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaja (LSSP), and a group of independents. There were several features of SLFP regimes which differ from the features UNP regimes. The main players of the SLFP regime are S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike and Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Sirimavo Bandaranaike came into power in 1960 and her foreign policy was much similar to the foreign policy of S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike. She was able to form a government, becoming the first woman in the world to hold office as prime minister.

Policy of non-alignment

The most important feature that the Bandaranaike regime consisted of was the policy of non-alignment which simply intended to remain in a neutral position in conducting relations with other countries without being align to any power bloc. S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike was one of the key players in developing the "Non-alignment Movement" around across the world which boomed up from the third world counties. His foreign policy also based on the non-alignment concept. In the parliament, he explained the non-alignment policy as "first, not align to any power bloc during the cold war gain the right to criticize the behavior of any country even though they are our friends and secondly, remain neutral in war and always try encourage to gain a respective and peaceful solution". At the same time, when concerning the active participation of Sri Lanka for the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), in the first non-align summit in September 1961in Belgarde, Sirimavo Bandaranaike called for the ceasefire in Sino-China war and in the second NAM (57 countries) in Cairo in October 1964, Sri Lanka played a key role in the preparatory meeting held earlier in march 1964 in Colombo (Gandhi, 2002). At the summit Mrs.Bandaranaike emphasized of the liquidation of last vestiges of

Colonialism. Sri Lanka's proposal to accept nuclear free zones was also been accepted at the summit.

Relation with Western Countries

Even though the UNP regimes followed a pro-western policy, S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike's policy was quiet different towards the western bloc which basically shown to be anticolonialist. It reveals from the removal of the British military bases in Katunayaka and Trincomalee. But he did not abrogate the defence agreement. This meant that Sri Lanka could still rely on Britain in the event of attack. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike herself has insisted that the defence agreement remains intact. Perhaps there is the belief that these bases could be made available at very short notice in the event of attack by a hostile power. The main purpose of removing the military bases of British in Sri Lanka was to gain the complete independence from Britain. However, this act has negatively impacted on Sri Lankan relations with Britain. Sirimavo Bandaranaike also followed the same policy towards the western countries, especially towards Britain. But Bandaranaikes always tended to maintain relations with the commonwealth. In the Suez crisis, he said that Egypt has the right to take such decision and in New Delhi in 1956 at the Conference of Colombo Powers he criticized the invasion of Egypt by France. In the Hungary issue also Sri Lanka decided to not to vote at the United Nations (Wilson, 1974). All these incidents reveal Bandaranaike regimes needed to have relations with all countries but at the same time they followed a complete nonalignment. However, Ceylon took the benefit of all financial aids especially through the commonwealth and Colombo powers. It means that, even though there were political controversial, SLFP regimes were determined to strengthen the economic relations other countries. Mrs.Bandaranaike committed her government to pursuing continuation of her husband's agenda, including nationalization of enterprises. Ceylon Petroleum Act in 1961 marked detrimental impact on the relations between western countries and Sri Lanka. As per this act, Sri Lanka established the Celon Petroleum Cooperation to compete with western companies such as Caltex and Shell. However, eventually the assets of Caltex and Shell Essco have been nationalized after realizing that the Sri Lanka can provide petroleum for a lower price into the market. As a result of this act, the aids which were given by United States of America (USA) were reduced to some extent. During the premiership S.W.R.D.Bandaranike, Sri Lanka have established diplomatic relations with 15 countries including China and U.S.S.R. This proves that Bandaranaike regimes step forward with the other countries in building relations without stick into the western power bloc.

Relations with communist and socialist countries

S.W.R.D.bandaranaike tended to be identified as a socialist. Due to that, during his period, one of the main aspects, he tried to strengthen the relations with the socialist countries. In September 1956, Sri Lanka and China and Sri Lanka and Soviet Union signed out joint communiqués on the establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations.6 The question of diplomatic representation with China was finalized during Chou En-lai's visit to Sri Lanka in early 1957 and in February 1957 Wilmot A. Perera was appointed as Sri Lanka's first ambassador to China. Same year Prof. G. P. Malalasekra was appointed as Sri Lanka's ambassador in Moscow. The government began to exploring the possibilities of increases trade with communist counties and the prospects of economic and technical assistance from the Soviet bloc. In February 1958 Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia Villiam Siroky visited Sri Lanka and as a result of that exchange of student and scholars between Ceylon and the communist countries, and free travel by Ceylonese in such countries was begun. Sino –

Ceylonese relations had received a great fillip by the visit to Ceylon of Chou En-lai between 31 January and 5 February 1957. During the course of visit, the Chinese leader had stressed the five principles of peaceful co-existence (panchasila) and the "Bandung Spirit" as being the basis of china's foreign policy and the essential basis for the co-operation of countries with different political systems (Wilson,1974). Ceylon's first agreement with a communist country for the provision of economic and technical assistance was signed with Czechoslovakia in August 19565. By this agreement, the government of Czechoslovakia provided credit facilities for the purchase of capital goods, at 3% on unpaid installments due. February 1958, the Soviet Union concluded an economic aid agreement with Ceylon under the terms of which a line of credit of 27 million new roubles was granted at 2.5% interest, repayable in 12 years. The biggest donor of foreign aid to Ceylon among the communist countries however was the Peoples' Republic China. By signing a agreement in September 1957, China offered economic aid in the form of goods up to the value of Rs: 75 million to Sri Lanka. The Prime Minister wanted to be "friends of all, enemies of non" Bandaranaike took steps to establish diplomatic relations with Soviet Union and China, to permit the importation to Sri Lanka of communist literature and entered into closer collaboration and closer commercial ties with the communist countries. When it comes to the period of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, she tended to be more in favor of communist countries rather than socialist countries. She mainly built effective trade and other commercial ties with China. Sri Lanka's role and neutralist stand this dispute appeared to have been greatly appreciated in China, where Mrs. Bandaranaike was warmly received and feted during her visit in January 1963. Sri Lanka and China entered into a Maritime Agreement in July1963, which gave most favored nation treatment to the contracting parties in respect of commercial vessels engaged in cargo and passenger service to and from the two countries of third country. A similar agreement had been entered into between Sri Lanka and USSR in February 1962. Besides renewing the Trade agreement with China in 1957 and 1962, SLFP government also entered into bi-lateral trade agreements with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary Poland and Rumania. These agreements not only decrease the dependence on Ceylon on western markets for the sale of her raw material products, but also opened up new sources from which the island could obtain her requirements of food and manufactured products. Even in Mrs. Bandaranaike's era China played a major role, Economic Aid Agreement signed between two countries in October 1962, China for the supply of complete plants, agriculture equipments and machinery. Finally, in October 1964, an agreement signed between Ceylon and China provided for an interest free loan of Rs: 20 million to finance complete sets of equipment machines and farm implements.

Relations with India

UNP regimes did not maintain strong relationship with India during their times, but it became stronger in the period of Bandaranaikes governments. As a founding member of non-alignment movement, S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike had a fruitful relationship with Pandit Nehru and since that, the relations between Sri Lanka and India became to strengthen. When the Sino-India war broke out in October 1962, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike resisted the pressure from elements within the government party as well as from outside it to brand China the aggressor but instead took the initiative in summoning the Colombo Conference of six non-aligned nations to explore ways and means of bringing India and China to the conference table and setting the boundary dispute. The Indian government accepts the Colombo proposal *in toto*, but the Chinese acceptance was subject to reservations, and although in the event the mediation of the non-aligned powers didn't lead to a resolution of

the conflict. Sri Lanka's role as a peace-maker in the Sino – Indian conflict was motivated by her manifest desire to prevent the continuation of hostilities between two countries with both of which she had close political and economic ties, and with neither of which she could have afford a breach of the existing goodwill and friendly nation. The most notable diplomatic achievement of Sri Lanka's relations with India was the signing of the Indo - Ceylon Agreement (also referred to as the Sirima – Shastri Agreement) of October 1964, relating to the question of persons recent Indian origin in Sri Lanka. Under the 1964 agreement, Sri Lanka agreed to grant citizenship to 30,0000 of an estimated 975,000 persons of Indian origin in the Island and India agreed to grant Indian citizenship and repatriate to India 525,000 such persons, the period of the validity of the agreement being 15 years (Karunadasa, 2005). At a domestic level the Sirima-Sastri Pact was a monumental achievement which not only resolved an outstanding problem but laid the foundation for meaningful cooperation between the two countries especially in the realm of world affairs. This affirmed the historical reality that the personal relationship and chemistry is at the heart of Indo-Sri Lankan diplomacy which could mitigate the effect of the overshadowing a symmetries. The success of Mrs. Bandaranaike's statesmanship was a classic illustration of this which would cost Sri Lanka dearly if overlooked, as happened later. This is one of the most significant achievements that have gained by the SLFP regime during their period. But this agreement did not work out effectively after 1965 with the leadership of UNP regime.

As per the details the features that the SLFP regimes consisted of also can be identified accordingly. Mainly the non-align policy is the most important feature of the SLFP government and the mean time, the relations with the west when compared with the UNP regime. SLFP governments did not have strong relations with the western countries as UNP regimes had. Even though the SLFP regimes were non-align, they tended to be procommunist or socialists in their relations. And the other important factor is that SLFP governments did conduct cordial relationship India. Mostly, Sri Lanka had strong trade and commercial ties with China.

Conclusion

Since the independence, Sri Lanka was free to follow its own foreign policy. According to the party in power, the characteristics of the foreign policy of a country tended to be change. As per it, Sri Lankan foreign policy since the independence till 1965 had several characteristics due to the two regimes which exercise the power as, UNP regimes and SLFP regimes. Throughout the above details, main characteristics of the both UNP and SLFP governments have been identified. During the period of 1948-1956, all the UNP leaders have followed much similar policy which characterized as, pro western and anti-communist. At the same time, the UNP governments did not conduct firm relations with India throughout that period. But when it comes to the SLFP regimes, their foreign policy is been specialized due to the "non-alignment" concept. They have formulated their foreign policy based on the nonalignment concept, which tended to be more oriented with pro-socialist attitude. The advent of the Bandaranaike government from 1956 has marked a significant shift in Sri Lanka's relations with the west as it had done in respect of Sri Lanka's relations with the communist countries. Through the foreign policy of Mr.Bandaranaike, eh emphasized that the importance of neutral position of a country especially when it comes to the third world category. Even though, the image of Sri Lanka was somewhat negative in the period of UNP governments due to the pro western policy, Sri Lanka archived the international prestige because of the role played by Bandaranaikes in the Non- Alignment Movement. Even though,

the UNP government was reluctant to establish diplomatic relations with the communist countries, during the period of Mr.Bandaranaike, he established diplomatic relations with many communist countries including China and USSR. The only similarity between the two regimes that have identified is that both regimes have conducted trade relations with China. But the Bandaranike governments had much more stronger relations with China in terms of economic and political. Specially, Sirimavo Bandaranaike has maintained strong relationship with India with the Indian Tamil citizenship issue. When comparing the characteristics of the two regimes, it can be identified more differences rather than similarities.

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