

personnel" in Sri Lanka.¹⁷ The port of Trincomalee was not to be made available to the military forces of any other country, "in a manner prejudicial to India's interests." India also secured an assurance that foreign broadcasting organizations operating in Sri Lanka, such as the Voice of America, would not serve any military or intelligence purposes. In short, the peace treaty was a one-sided affair in which India gave clear notice to its regional rivals that Sri Lanka was off-limits.¹⁸ If the Sri Lankan episode reflects New Delhi's intention to implement the South Asian Doctrine, the ongoing development of the Indian Navy could represent an important step towards extending its tenets to the larger Indian Ocean region. Naval developments are, however, only one stage in a much more complex process.

If regional dominance is in fact New Delhi's ultimate objective, then there should be evidence of an evolving Indian Ocean policy encompassing a range of measures designed to enhance India's long-term position. These measures would include:

- A general expansion of India's military forces, particularly the navy;
- reduced extra-regional influence in the region, especially in terms of naval deployments;
- the removal of Pakistan as a security threat, by military or political means;
- the broadening of regional economic ties; and,
- an expressed intention to protect the wider population of Indian origin in the region.¹⁹

An assessment of the above conditions in the widest regional context indicates that all have been addressed or are in the process of being met. All elements of the Indian armed forces, and the defence budget, are expanding; before the Iraq crisis erupted, the superpowers were reducing their presence in the Indian Ocean and seemed content to let New Delhi play

¹⁷ These external powers are unnamed in the Accord. They are recognised as being the United States and Israel.

¹⁸ See: *Exchange of Letters*, annexure to "Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement To Establish Peace And Normalcy In Sri Lanka," July 29, 1987.

¹⁹ Adapted from: Elkin, Jerrold F. and Major W. Andrew Ritezal. "New Delhi's Indian Ocean Policy." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. XL, Number 4, (Autumn 1987) pp.51.