US Vice President Nixon's visit to Ceylon and its role in the return of the Ceylon American rapprochement in 1953

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Abstract

This research sheds light on the important events that the country witnessed in 1953, especially with US President Eisenhower's assumption of power in the United States of America, to implement his foreign policy, which was devoted to containing communism and limiting its expansion in the continent of Asia, and it began with the visit of his deputy, Richard Nixon, to Ceylon It took 3 days as part of his Asian tour in order to contain the communist tide, and what effect it had on restoring relations between Ceylon and the United States of America after it was marred by some kind of tension and cutting off American economic aid to Ceylon. After the Ceylon-Chinese economic cooperation and the exchange of rice for rubber.

As a result of Ceylon receiving very little foreign aid from a few countries of the western capitalist bloc, so in 1950 Ceylon joined the Colombo Plan, and made an agreement with the American administration in the hope of obtaining American assistance under the Four Point Programs, however, the experience was frustrating. The system of the United National Party government, when it saw that the expected assistance from the United States of America was not within reach (1).

As a result, in January 1953 Ceylonese government spokesman R.C. Sanayaki made a statement in the House of Representatives, in which he said: "We have waited for foreign aid, as you know, Sir (Speaker of the House), and we have repeatedly made appeals for point program aid. The fourth, and we got the help of a cook only for the Kondasal School for Girls" (2), but despite the cruelty of the United States of America towards Ceylon, it tried to attract and approach it and not to abandon it, so when (John Kotelawala) took over as prime minister, political relations began between The two countries are developing (3).

After the Ceylonese trade crisis with China and its repercussions on US-Ceylonese relations, the year 1953 witnessed the establishment of a kind of coexistence and a softening of the atmosphere between the two countries. (Philip Kingsland Crowe) was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Ceylon from the ninth term The tenth of September 1953 to the twenty-seventh of it 1956, It was considered a change in the attitude of the US administration towards Ceylon. Upon the arrival of the new ambassador to Colombo, he called for building better trade relations between the two countries, and he stated, saying:

the United States of America will provide all possible cooperation in order to establish better relations between our two countries. (4).

The commitment of the United States of America towards Ceylon depends on the type of foreign policy strategy that it adopted in implementing its globally directed policy, which is the strategy of containment, as that policy that emerged under the administrations of Presidents (Truman and Dwight Eisenhower) (5) had a clear impact on The US-Ceylon relations, as it came in order to contain the communist tide, although Ceylon is not a country threatened by the danger of global communism, and this formed the basis for the low-profile position of US policy towards Ceylon until the sixties, and that strategy was basically designed to confront any threat of a military nature from On the side of the Soviet Union (6).

During the administration of US President Eisenhower, American foreign aid to Asian countries was restricted, as he wanted to reduce the volume of American foreign aid (7), but he found it difficult to do so, because he realized that foreign aid was necessary to support the strategic political campaign of Secretary of State (John Foster Dulles) (8) to complete a ring of strong points around the communist bloc, but Secretary of State Dulles' preoccupation with the military aspect of containment and his personal bias against non-alignment greatly affected the allocation of US aid to Asian countries during his tenure (9).

With regard to the main importance of Ceylon-American relations, the United States of America, especially during the era of US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the American administration acted as if Ceylon was the only country of primary importance among the new states and potential military allies during the Cold War (10).

On a related level, on October 12, 1953, John Kotelawala assumed the premiership in Ceylon, who spent twenty-five years active in Ceylon politics, having been a minister since 1936 and speaker of the House of Representatives in 1951. He was very ambitious and wanted to leave his mark. In the world, and he was more interested in world politics than the rest of his predecessors, he entered the international stage with a bang (11), since he was frank in expressing his anti-communist political views, which brought him more difficulties at home and abroad (12).

Although John Kotilawala's government did not terminate the rubber-for-rice agreement with China; Because of his anti-communist and pro-US policy, however, the American administration felt that his government wanted to maintain good relations between the two countries, and it hoped that Ceylon would cancel the deal with China and provide military facilities to the United States of America, so the American administration initiated an official invitation for him to visit it. In November 1953 (13).

In another development within the repercussions of the political crisis that took place between the United States of America and Ceylon, US Vice President Richard M. Nixon (14) arrived in Ceylon on the twenty-seventh of November 1953 as part of his tour in the countries of South and Southeast Asia (15), in an attempt to establish an understanding on the trade deal with China, and thus Richard Nixon, US Vice President, became the first high-ranking American politician to visit Ceylon (16).

On November 27, 1953, in the afternoon, an American military transport plane descended from its flight path and landed on the runway of Ratmalana Airport in the capital, Colombo. Jonasina de Zoiza, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the

American Ambassador to Ceylon, was waiting for him. Philip Kingsland Crew to conduct the reception ceremony for the visiting guest, and the visit garnered interest from the local media, with the Ceylon Daily News writing: Richard Nixon has become the first holder of this office to come to this country and the first high-ranking American politician to come here in recent times (17).

US Vice President Richard Nixon embarked on a tour of official visits to the countries of South and Southeast Asia, and his primary task was to expand the circle of containment in light of the Cold War in Asia, and part of that tour for the US Vice President was to spend three days of them in Ceylon (18).

Upon his arrival, he agreed to answer the questions of the journalists present at the airport, and explained the reason for his presence there and summarized the purpose of his visit and considered it a unique opportunity to convey the greetings of the United States of America and US President Dwight David Eisenhower to the Ceylonese. However, he had no instructions to effect any changes in US policy towards Ceylon.

After that, the American ambassador Crowe decided to end the meeting, arguing that he had listened enough to the questions of the journalists, and according to the New York Times: Ceylon was a priority for the United States of America during the Eisenhower administration, and Nixon's visit was an important part of the American foreign policy agenda early in the The Cold War, through the emphasis placed by President Eisenhower on the role that Asia was to play in the Cold War (19), As for the purpose of Richard Nixon's visit to Ceylon, it was to reach an understanding on the trade agreement with China, as John Kotelawala gave several clarifications to Nixon about the rubber-for-rice trade agreement with China, assuring him of that by saying: There was no doubt that we did not want to help an enemy identified by the United Nations, that is, we were stuck between the devil and poverty. Ceylon asked the United States of America to buy its rubber at a reasonable price, but the demand was not met. Then the government of Ceylon asked the American government to supply it with rice On a government to government basis, but it went to the open market, it was a matter of life and death for Ceylon, so

It turned to China to extricate It from it's predicament; Because China was able to give it rice in exchange for rubber, and it was like a deal that the two countries could conclude in their favor (20).

As stated in the Ceylon Daily News, On November 27, 1953, Nixon now came east for the first time, being a representative of the (Republican) party. His political program in the presidential elections promised great things for Asia and severely criticized the previous policy towards Asia, i.e. the policy of the Democratic Party, within a period of time. His first term as vice president, Nixon visited (32) countries (15) of them in Asia, (3) to the Near East, and (2) to Australia and New Zealand, who counted South and Southeast Asia as part of their regional region, and the gaps and shortcomings in American policy were filled. in Asia and its treatment (21), Nixon's arrival in Ceylon on the twenty-seventh of November 1953 against the background of a world clearly adapting to the demands imposed on him by the Cold War, while inside America the United States of America was living under the pressure of Joseph McCarthy (22), in the twenty-sixth From November 1953, one day before Richard Nixon's arrival in Ceylon, McCarthy was attacking the White House administration of President

Eisenhower, and after the fall of China in the grip of the Communists, motivated by the domino theory (23).

That is the main reason behind the US Vice President's visit to Ceylon, and upon Nixon's answer for his part, Eisenhower saw that it is in the interest of the United States of America to be closely linked to the security and well-being of other free countries, and his belief that the existence of an unstable Asian country is waiting to fall according to the <u>Domino Theory</u> (24) which likened the countries of Asia to a row of dominoes, In the case of the fall of the first stone, the rest of the stones will continue to fall, and this constitutes a threat to American interests. Therefore, it can be said that when asked a Ceylon journalist about whether the US government expects Ceylon to adhere to the line of American foreign policy, if it receives assistance according to the fourth point program, he said: The countries that trade strategic commodities with another country and were at war with the United States of America will not get help (25), As a result, the Ceylonese government under John Kotelawala could do nothing to undermine the trade agreement with China (26), As a result, the Ceylonese government faced a difficult situation; because of its association with communist China, and that the United States of America will refuse to make Ceylon a tool of communism, and therefore will cut off any assistance to it under the pretext of the law of battle & However, the danger facing the United States of America when a barrier is placed between them, or any other Asian country, may push those countries into the arms of the Communists.

In an article published by The New York Times reporter Drew Middleton, he referred to the four crucial issues for Ceylon's relationship with the United States of America during the confrontation of the Cold War. The trade route between the Middle East and the Far East, and the second is the economic and social fluctuations within the island, an increasing birth rate and a deteriorating economy, unmployment has risen 31%, bringing the number of unemployed to (116) thousand per year, and the trade balance has begun to fade and foreign assets are declining, which makes it a potential target for the Communists. This reporter found in Colombo and other places in Ceylon that the economic decline resulted in part from political trends. As for the third matter, the status of Ceylon represents a model case for the political and economic choices and issues facing Asian countries, the outcome of which will be decisive for the foreign policy of the United States of America in the region. As for the fourth issue, the impact of the United States aid programs on the faltering economy of Ceylon may be decisive to keep the island within the sphere of influence of the West, and as a result, the status of Ceylon for the United States of America, in terms of real value and a test case for American activity in the countries of South and Southeast Asia, " When Richard Nixon toured the island, a proposal was put forward in the Ceylonese parliament to withdraw confidence from the government of John Kotelawala by the opposition People's Party, but these developments caused great concern in Washington (27), In his final report on the issue of the refusal to report strategic goods to Communist China, Averell Harriman (28), Director of Mutual Security, gave a critical assessment of Ceylon's relations with China, in which Harriman noted, "This deal is important because Ceylon was The only non-communist country that ships rubber to the regions controlled by Moscow," he added, "Ceylon's new relationship with communist China must remain a source of grave concern for the United States of America, and it seems that the goal of communist China from that agreement is not

to get the rubber it needs only, But for the political and propaganda value that the South and Southeast Asia Trade Agreement holds," Ceylon was included in Nixon's itinerary. around the world"

Eisenhower was worried that the United States of America would ignore the emerging countries in Asia or any Asian country in the world of the Cold War. Because it would be very dangerous, and as a result Nixon was sent to Asia, Nixon and the Eisenhower administration had certain priorities in Asia, as stated by The New York Times correspondents present in the capitals he visited when they emphasized that "the visit came to reassure the peoples of Asia that the United States of America is interested in their problems and aspirations in the same way The same that others care about, listen to their opinions, and collect facts about current conditions to report them to the president for guidance and benefit in reaching policy decisions" (29).

One of Eisenhower's primary goals for Nixon was to understand the hopes and desires of ordinary citizens in Asia and to convey to the peoples of the region a positive and friendly image of the United States of America. imperialists, autocrats and self-interested, And it was that image that Eisenhower and Nixon were trying to change through that trip. In a handwritten note on the sidelines of the weekend itinerary, Pat Nixon, the vice president's wife, revealed her amazement at the warm and enthusiastic reception of the staff and patients at a home for the elderly. "The old men were happy," she wrote, so the essence of that whole visit is to prove the humanity of American policy abroad and to forge alliances between Americans and those peoples who wish to remain free (30), And that applies to why Nixon went to Ceylon and what he did there. Ceylon wasn't fighting any war, but it represented a unique opportunity for the Eisenhower administration to prove its early Cold War slogan which was to ignore no Asian country, no matter what was happening in Asia. Nixon himself gave a score important to Ceylon, so Nixon could begin an unprecedented process of integrating South Asia into America's geopolitical security complex, and that process could begin in Ceylon with its experienced government fighting like a rear guard against socialist forces, and because the country continued to exist under the watchful eye of the Office of The British Commonwealth, so Ceylon was in the grip of relatively easy for the United States of America in the region, It would take very little effort for the two countries to become closer partners, in the sense that Nixon would have started a reverse, protective domino effect for South Asia, since more than 600 million people live outside the communist-controlled areas of the South and South. East Asia are the key to American hegemony in the region. So these people were to be won or lost depending on their inclusion in a new, more nuanced American regional policy that would integrate the nuances of local social, economic, religious, cultural, and political interests. Such was the importance of winning the minds, hearts, and souls of men in Asia that Nixon believed in himself, Ceylon represented an ideal opportunity to begin to tip the balance in South Asia, and as a result Ceylon was important to the United States of America in 1953 (31), But the only major obstacle to the growth of such a relationship was Ceylon's dealings with Communist China, although it resulted from economic requirements and not a solid ideological relationship, so the new relationship of Ceylon with China forced the United States of America to give priority to close relations with the island as a source of concern. The rubber-for-rice agreement was the only agreement of its kind in South and Southeast Asia at the time, so Nixon's primary task upon his arrival in

Ceylon was to reiterate Washington's displeasure with that relationship, obtain reassurances from Ceylon that it remained committed to a free democratic future, and solidify the bilateral relationship, between the two countries (32), For its part, Ceylon tried to reassure the United States of America by saying: "Its trade agreement with China was not aimed at helping the enemy." As for the American administration, it worked to mitigate the crisis between the two countries when it confirmed by saying: "It realized the situation that Ceylon faced in the crisis." and further accepted its staunch ideological opposition to communism", while convinced of the economic constraints of Ceylon; Because of the trade deal with China, that was the only point that disturbed the relations between the two countries (33), When US Vice President Nixon met with Prime Minister John Kotelawala in Ceylon, the main topic of conversation was some issues of common interest to the two countries, mainly the rubber-forrice agreement with China and the US embargo on aid to Ceylon. From that meeting, a mutual understanding of the positions adopted by the two leaders and their countries emerged., so he described the meeting as a success; Because Ceylon has recently become the only Asian country outside the sphere of communist Soviet influence, but it exchanges large quantities of strategic goods with the most populous communist country in the world, and this is what the United States of America considers contrary to its directions, so it cut off aid to the island, and it is remarkable that the two countries They may sit down to discuss and reach a friendly understanding, Nixon and John Kotelawala came out of their meeting convinced of the justification provided by the other side for the actions of their individual state, and they were positive that the future of bilateral relations was still bright. a gateway to more visits by him, his president and other members of his government and that mutual understanding of their problems would help in strengthening relations between the two countries, John Kotelawala also expressed his "gratitude to the Vice President for the understanding he expressed publicly and privately, while visiting our problems," with the Ceylon Daily News reporting on its front page that "Nixon's meetings with Sir John Kotelawala had convinced him of the true nature and good intent of Ceylon's Cold War commitments." And the newspaper added, "It is clear that Ceylon entered into a rubber-forrice agreement with Communist China, for purely economic reasons, and misunderstandings about this agreement and the free world's position on it must be removed" (34), The first goal was achieved through his cordial and fruitful meetings with Prime Minister John Kotelawala, and the diplomatic atmosphere between the two countries was calmed after a state of mistrust that prevailed due to the rubber-for-rice agreement, when the two men reassured the two countries of their commitment to bilateral ties, and perhaps Nixon's greatest challenge was in Ceylon It is to make American power an attractive alternative to Soviet power, when Nixon asserted in Ceylon by saying: "I can say unequivocally that the United States of America strongly supports the organized progress towards self-rule throughout the world, and that the United States of America has no imperial ambitions at all in Asia or any other part of the world. Of course, not everyone within the Ceylonese political system was persuaded by Nixon's pacification attempts, and many remained suspicious of American motives in the region. They belong mainly to two general groups, those who ideologically oppose the principles of American capitalism, and those who fear that American intervention in South Asia could destabilize the region (35).

In a statement to Nixon before leaving Ceylon, he confirmed that he was convinced that Ceylon entered into the agreement for purely economic reasons, saying: Anyone who thinks that the agreement indicates sympathy for the Communists is wrong in his assessment of the continent." He indicated that the agreement is the only point of annoyance. However, he stressed, "It will not affect the good relations between the United States of America and Ceylon. Meanwhile, the Ceylon government's view of the rubber-for-rice deal underwent a major change; Because the Prime Minister, John Kotelawala, has hinted that the agreement could be reviewed and could be revoked (36).

Nixon had no doubt that the government of Ceylon and the vast majority of the people were aligned on the side of the free nations, and at the time Nixon was giving a speech before leaving Ceylon, Prime Minister John Kotelawala was also giving a bold anti-communist speech in Devorapitiya to an enthusiastic crowd There, he said, Communism can easily be overcome by the cooperative efforts of all and one can only imagine that the speech at Deviturapitiya was Sir John Kottelawala's farewell gift to Vice President Nixon (37) Given the considerations of the law of battle, the question arises on what basis did the Ceylonese Prime Minister make that suggestion? On December 1, 1954, the Ceylon Prime Minister told reporters, If the question of American assistance comes up in his next conversation with President Eisenhower, and if that assistance becomes a reality, Ceylon will not need any rubber deals with China.

as result, it can be said that John Kotelawala considered canceling the Chinese agreement depending on the level of the US government's commitment to providing economic assistance to Ceylon, but this was not achieved by John Kotilawala's visit to Washington and the US aid to Ceylon was not returned, although it contributed to the appreciation of the United States of America to the meaning of the Chinese agreement and put it in its proper perspective, as indicated by the Prime Minister (38).

As a result, the visitation gains importance; Because it comes in light of highlighting the interest in contemporary events in Korea, Japan and Indochina (39) and the beginnings of American intervention in that region (40).

As a result, John Kotelawala was determined to find a place for himself among the great statesmen of the world, and for that, within (50) days, i.e. from the tenth of November to the thirty-first of December 1953, he created a "belt around the world" inviting governments (Vali) France, Britain, Canada, the United States of America, Japan, the Philippines and India to highlight the status of Ceylon abroad, as it can be proud of holding the Colombo Conference of Asian Prime Ministers (41).

Margins

- 1. Chandra Mani Prad han, OP. Cit, P. 132.
- **2.** *Ibid* .
- **3.** Athulasiri Kumara Samarakoon, Op. Cit, P. 93.
- **4.** Birty Gajameragedara, Op. Cit, P. 267.
- 5. Dwight D. Eisenhower: The thirty-fourth President of the United States for the years (1953-1960), he was born in 1890 coming from World War II, and was appointed Commander in

1944, Chief of Staff of the United States Army for the years 1945-1948, he succeeded in reaching the presidency In 1952, he became ... Eisenhower in 1969. See: Roger Parkinson, Encyclopedia of Modern War, translated by: Samir Abdel Rahim Chalabi, Part 2, Baghdad, 1990, pp. 225-226; Alan Palmer, Encyclopedia of Modern History 1789-1945, part 1, translated by: Sawsan Faisal Samer, Yusuf Muhammad Amin, reviewed by Muhammad Muzaffar Al-Adhami, Baghdad, 1992, pp. 269-270; Douglas D. Newman, The Diaries Of Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953 – 1961, Library Of Congress, 1986, Pp. 1 - 50.

- **6.** Birty Gajameragedara, Op. Cit, Pp. 236 237.
- 7. See Appendix No. (2): Foreign assistance provided by the United States of America to Asian countries
- 8. John Foster Dulles (1888-1959): A prominent American politician, born in New York in 1888, belonging to a Christian family on the doctrine of Calvin, as his grandfather was among the American missionaries to India and Ceylon. He worked as a consultant on foreign political affairs in the Republican Party, such as Nations The United States participated in several negotiations, including the Japanese peace treaty at the end of World War II. He became Minister of Foreign Affairs between (1953-1959), and he became famous for his strong hostility to communism and the non-alignment policy that was widely supported in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He played a major role in establishing military alliances. He held the position of US Secretary of State under President Eisenhower for the period between 1953-1959, and he died in 1959 ! For more details, see : Lubna Naji Muhammad, John Foster Dulles and his political role in the United States of America (1888-1953), master's thesis, unpublished, College of Education for Girls, University of Tikrit, 2018; Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali, Encyclopedia of Politics, Part 2, previous source, pg. 644.
 - Michael A. Guhin , John Foster Dulles : A Statesman And His Times , University of Columbia Press , New York , 1972 .
- **9.** Richard John Pilliter B.A., The Evolution of The U. S. Containment Policy in Asia, Faculty of Graduate Studies, 1969, Pp. 105-106.
- 10. Birty Gajameragedara, Op. Cit, P, P. 238.
- 11. Ramashish, Op. Cit, P. 27.
- 12. A. Jeyaratnam, Politics In Sri Lanka 1947-1979, University of New Brunswick, Department of Political Science, First edition, The Macmillan Press Ltd London, 1974, P. 244.
- 13. Athulasiri Kumara Samarakoon, Op. Cit, Pp. 91 94.
- 14. Richard Mille Nixon: The thirty-seventh president of the United States of America for the years (1969-1974), he was born on the ninth of January 1913 and entered military service with the rank of a naval equipment officer during World War II. He became a member of the US Congress after the end of World War Second, he is a hardcore anti-communist Republican, even accusing President Truman's administration of being responsible for the loss of China and its fall to the Communists in 1949 In 1953 he became Vice President Eisenha W. He was known for his interest in American foreign affairs. He was elected in November 1968 to succeed President Johnson. He promised in his election campaign to put a quick end to the Vietnam War, and that this would be done within six months, knowing that he did not succeed in that. Only after four years, he resigned in 1974 in the wake of the Watergate scandal. He died on the twenty-second of April 1994. See: Roger Parkinson,

Encyclopedia of Modern War, translated by: Samir Abdel Rahim Chalabi, Part 2, Baghdad, 1990, p. 452; President Nixon's memoirs, The Real War, translated by: Suhail Zakkar, Damascus, 1983: For more details, see: Whitcomb John, Real Live at the White House, New York, 2000, P. 38

- 15. See the appendix: US Vice President Richard Nixon's visit to Ceylon in 1953.
- 16. Athulasiri Kumara Samarakoon, Op. Cit, P. 94.
- 17. Elliott L. Watson, South Asia and the Cold War: Vice President Nixon's forgotten trip to Ceylon, South Asian History and Culture, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 2011, P. 38. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2011.531608
- 18. Ibid .
- 19. Patrick Kellycooper, Cold War Diplomacy in Mainland Southeast Asia: An Examination of Richard Nixon's 1953 Vice-Presidential Asiatic Tour, Whittier College, P. 34.
- **20.** Birty Gajameragedara, Op. Cit, P. 267.
- **21.** Ibid , P . 40 .
- **22.** Joseph McCarthy: Alaa Abdel-Aali Kazem, Joseph McCarthy and his political activity and intellectual role in the United States of America (1950_1957), PhD thesis, unpublished, College of Education, Ibn Rushd, University of Baghdad, 2017.
- **23.** Elliott L. Watson, South Asia and the Cold War: Vice President Nixon's forgotten trip to Ceylon, South Asian History and Culture, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 2011, P. 41.
- 24. The Domino Theory: The first intellectual beginnings of the domino theory go back to the propositions of former US President Eisenhower, as the basic ideas of this theory were related to him when the communist tide worried him, especially in East Asia. An external entity capable of destabilizing the existing state of stability between a neighboring group of entities organized in a certain arrangement, indicating that the fall of one country under the threat of communism will have an impact on other neighboring countries similar to the effect of infection, The theory has put its inevitable conclusion regardless of the size of the threat or the regional importance of the region, and Eisenhower explained in his speech that the source of the threat and anxiety is in "Vietnam", but the level of influence on other countries will appear on different levels, in the short term may appear from unwilling countries To be a dependent state, and in the long run, countries may resort to simulating the approach of change. look: Luke Butterly, Rhetoric and Reality A History of the Formation of the 'Domino Theory, Journal of History Studies, Vol. 13, University of Limerick, 2012, Pp. 25 27.
- **25.** Elliott L. Watson, Op. Cit, Pp. 42 44.
- **26.** Athulasiri Kumara Samarakoon, Op. Cit, P. 91.
- **27.** *Elliott L. Watson* , *Op* . *Cit* , *P* . 45 .
- 28. Averell Harriman: American diplomat, born in New York in 1891. He served in the term of President Roosevelt as a special envoy to Europe, and he was also granted the position of ambassador to his country in Moscow between 1943-1946, and in London for the period from April to October 1946, and in the term of President Harry Truman he held the position of the President's special envoy to Europe, after which he was nominated for the presidential elections for Democratic Party in 1952, and again in 1956. Harriman also provided diplomatic missions under Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. look: The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, VOL.5, University of Chicago, 1993, P. 718.

- **29.** Elliott L. Watson , Op . Cit , P . 46 .
- **30.** Ibid , P . 49 .
- 31. Elliott L. Watson, Op. Cit P. 47.
- 32. Ibid, P. 48.
- 33. Athulasiri Kumara Samarakoon, Op. Cit, P. 94.
- **34.** Elliott L. Watson, Op. Cit, P. 48.
- **35.** *Elliott L. Watson* , *Op* . *Cit* , *P* . *51* .
- **36.** Birty Gajameragedara, Op. Cit, Pp. 269 270.
- **37.** *Elliott L. Watson* , *Op* . *Cit* , *P* . 50 .
- **38.** Birty Gajameragedara, Op. Cit, P. 271.
- 39. Indochina: It is the name previously given to a group of French protectorates, including Tonkin, Wanam, Cambodia, Laos, and the French Chinese colony of Cochin. France seized these territories at different times in the nineteenth century, and in 1954, according to the Geneva Conference, those colonies turned into countries, namely Vietnam North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. For more, see: Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali, The Political Encyclopedia, 1st edition, Beirut, 1974, p. 563.
- **40.** Elliott L. Watson, Op. Cit, P. 53.
- **41.** Ramashish , Op . Cit , Pp . 28-29 .

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- 2. Joseph McCarthy: Alaa Abdel-Aali Kazem, Joseph McCarthy and his political activity and intellectual role in the United States of America (1950_1957), PhD thesis, unpublished, College of Education, Ibn Rushd, University of Baghdad, 2017.
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- A. Jeyaratnam, Politics In Sri Lanka 1947-1979, University of New Brunswick, Department of Political Science, First edition, The Macmillan Press Ltd London, 1974. websites:
- 1. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2011.531608
- 2.https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2009/05/01/america-in-asia-vice-president-nixons-forgotten-trip-to-ceylon/

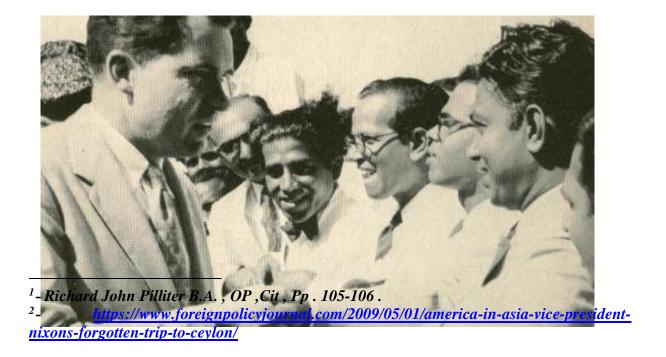
Appendix No. (1)

[1] Foreign aid provided by the United States of America to Asian countries

1963	1959	1955	الدولة
4	19	1	سيلان
736	320	118	الهند
14	3	2	النيبال
378	142	67	باكستان *
10	14	1	بورما
20	21	28	كمبوديا
74	86	109	تايوان *
77	17	9	إندونيسيا
33	48	65	اليابان *
231	232	279	كوريا *
31	35	37	لاوس
8	24	21	الفلبين
29	48	16	تايلاند *
210	177	203	فيتنام *

- The number (1) mentioned in the table means that the amount of aid is less than (500,000) US dollars.
- The mark (*) mentioned in the table for some countries means that those countries were allies of the United States of America and there was a government loyal to it, so the amount of aid provided to them should be noted in contrast to other countries, especially Ceylon.

Appendix No. (2)
(2) US Vice President Richard Nixon's visit to Ceylon 1953



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