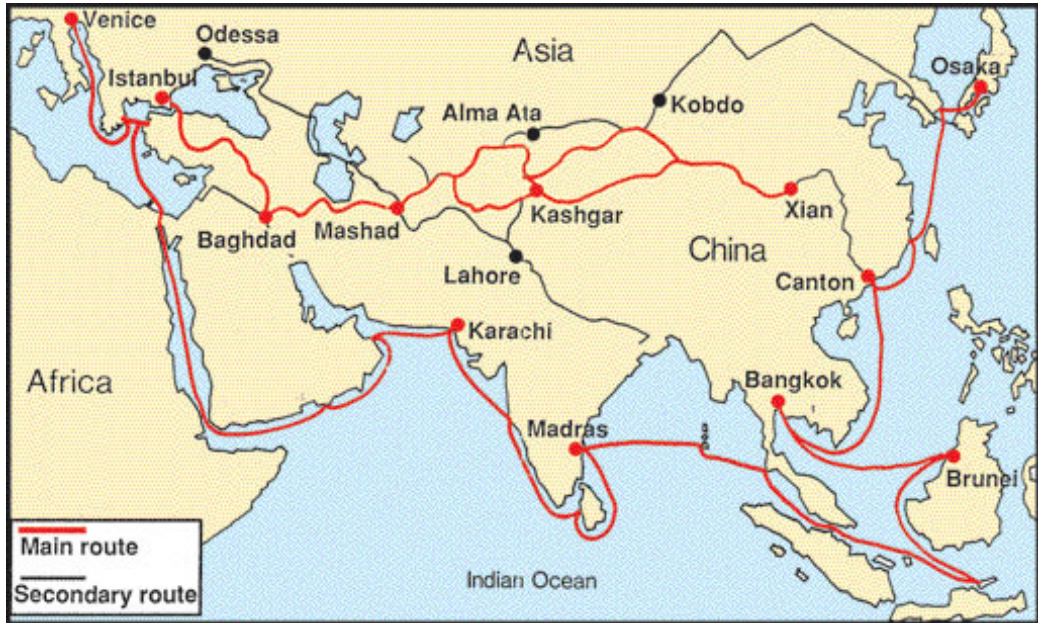


THE EARLY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF SRI LANKA AND THEIR IMPACT ON SRI LANKA

Captain (C) MTS Karunatunga



The goal of Sri Lankan foreign policy at present is to maintain a strong, independent, powerful and united Sri Lanka. When studying early diplomatic relations still this statement is true to some extent. Even this was true to the core when studying colonial period.

2. Sri Lanka recognised as a sovereign state from early times. It had diplomatic relations with several foreign kingdoms. According to historians Sri Lanka had diplomatic and trade relations with the major civilisations of the world. Though India is Sri Lanka's neighbour, because of ethnic problem some historians refrain from talking on diplomatic relations especially with South India.

3. When studying Sri Lankan history The Deepawamsa written in 4 AD and the Mahavamsa, written by Mahanama Thero in 5 AD, trace the origins of the Sinhalese to the regions of Northern and Eastern India inhabited in ancient times by Aryan people .¹Evidence to back this claim includes not only their language, which is related to the languages of Northern India including Sanskrit. The Mahavamsa depicts the history of Sri Lanka as a bitter struggle between the Sinhalese and intruders from the Indian mainland². We had writings even before introduction of Buddhism in 3rd BC. Even during Stone Age, Iron Age and during new Stone Age it was there. Though researches were done, it was

1 countrystudies.us/sri-lanka/58.html

2 mahavamsa.org

not mentioned. Both Buddhism and Vijaya came from North India, Aryan invasion and migrations. Even before that we have reasons to believe that there were migrations from South India. However in most literature it was referred as Tamil invasions. This is totally false as South Indian rulers were Aryans by then.

4. As per South Indian historians Aryans came from Yurals or from East Africa to North India and later came to South India. Dravidians were living in India even before the arrival of Aryans.

5. In Mahawamsa no references were given to king Ravana, one of the greatest kings of Sri Lanka ever had. Reason behind that could well be the fact that story of Ravana was based on book Ramayanaya, by Walmikee, book of Indian origin. Mahanama thero may not have known about book by the time he wrote Mahawamsa.

6. Sri Lanka enjoys a unique geographical location which is a combination of three vital geopolitical dimensions: its contiguity to the Indian subcontinent from where successive waves of civilisations have emanated, its equidistant position between East Asia and East Africa which has enabled it to bestride that region, and its situation astride the sea lanes linking East and West which has made it the true meeting ground between East and West. That configuration of circumstances continues to this day and is the cornerstone of Sri Lanka's international reputation. The wide arc of the region thus became an area of influence for Sri Lanka.

7. In the maritime sphere, Sri Lanka had extensive foreign contacts which included imperial Rome, the Hellenistic Kingdoms, the Court of Axum in the Horn of Africa, the Sassanid Kingdom in Persia, the Byzantine Empire on the Western side and the Maritime Empire of Sri Vijaya, Egypt, and the Arab world, China, the Kingdoms of Siam, Cambodia and Myanmar on the eastern side.³

8. As per the existing literature Sri Lanka's introduction to international diplomacy occurred in epic circumstances when a momentous link was established in the 3rd Century BC between the mighty Indian Emperor Asoka of the Mauryan Dynasty and his Sri Lankan contemporary, King Devanampiyatissa of Anuradhapura through the medium of the Emperor's two personal emissaries, his son and daughter, Mahinda and Sanghamitta who brought Buddhism to Sri Lanka. Buddhism thus became the premier faith in Sri Lanka. In due course, Sri Lanka became the second home of Buddhism from where it was carried to other countries. In fact, Buddhism became an impetus and an inspiration in the foreign policy of Sri Lanka.

9 The first recorded encounter between Rome and Sri Lanka took place during the reign of Roman emperor Claudius (41-54. AD). Pliny says that a Roman collector of Red Sea dues under Emperor Claudius was stranded in Sri Lanka. On his return, he was accompanied by four envoys sent by the Sri Lankan king to the Roman emperor .⁴In Rome they had talked of travel and discussed the position of the star Canopus in the Mediterranean sky. Canopus is the star which guided the ships navigated in the Indian Ocean.

10. An embassy from Sri Lanka was said to have been received by Roman emperor Julian in 361 AD. Palladius writing in the 5th Century said that the Sri Lankan king was a very powerful monarch. Coins of Byzantine rulers up to Heraclitus (613-641 AD) have been found in Sri Lanka. There had been diplomatic relations with Persia. Several Arab records speak of an embassy sent to Iranian king Khusraw I (Anusharwan), 531-78 AD. Anusharwan's rule extended over six Sinhala kings. One record says the Sri Lankan king sent ten elephants, two hundred thousand pieces of teak wood and seven pearl divers to the king⁵.

11. Sri Lanka was known to many countries in ancient and medieval times. It pursued an active foreign policy and established links with many foreign countries. Sri Lanka is mentioned in Greek and Roman writings dating from the third century BC. Sri Lanka was included in the map of Asia, drawn in 150 AD by Ptolemy. The first recorded encounter between Rome and Sri Lanka took place during the reign of Claudius (41-54 AD) in Rome. Pliny has described the event. A Roman merchant had been shipwrecked in Sri Lanka. On his return to Rome, he took with him four ambassadors of the Sinhala king. However, there had been contact even before that. The Mahavamsa states that Bhatika Abhaya (BC 22 to 7 AD) had sent an embassy to Rome and got down coral for a net to be cast over the Maha Thupa.

12. Sri Lanka had trade links with Central Asian kingdoms such as Bactria and Gandhara. These are now a part of Afghanistan. Gandhara had trade connections with Sri Lanka in the 1st Century AD. Coins from Bactria have been found in Ruhuna. Three inscriptions from Koravakgala at Situlpahuwa in the Hambantota district contain the word 'Kaboja'. The Kambojas were a native population in the western part of the Mauryan Empire speaking a language of Iranian origin. Persia (now Iran) was India's neighbour at this time. Persia's other boundary ended at the Mediterranean Sea. The Western trade was controlled by Persia. Sri Lanka had trade links with it.

13. Sri Lanka paid attention to diplomatic relations that would enhance external trade. Buvanekabahu (1272-1284) sent away an embassy from Yemen saying that he wanted diplomatic contacts with Egypt. His embassy to Egypt sailed up the Persian Gulf to Baghdad and was received in Cairo in April 1283. He wanted direct trade with Egypt and indicated the products he could supply. However since he was trading with Yemen he had wanted to have an envoy in Aden, too.

14. India and China are emerging as the dominant economic and political powers of the 21st Century. It is therefore relevant to note that Sri Lanka had good relations with North India and China in the pre-modern period. Dr Vernon Mendis who studied Sri Lankan history in depth commented that India, China and Sri Lanka were the three foremost civilisations in Asia at this time. Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh were originally a part of North India. Eastern Afghanistan for example was considered politically and culturally as a part of North-Western India.

15. The relationship with China was unique. That may be the reason why some of Sigiriya's well-endowed women have Chinese and Mongolian features. It extended for five Centuries AC, from the 5th to the 10th and featured approximately sixteen delegations from Sri Lanka to the Imperial Court. However Dr Mahinda Werage who has studied Sri Lankan and Chinese relations in depth, states that even during 1st Century AD relations were established as per the records held in China. This is contrary to the belief mainly by historians like Dr Vernon Mendis as stated earlier. Sri Lanka utilised its strategic location as a half-way house to become an entrepot and an emporium in the maritime life of the region. Sri Lanka thereby became virtually the commercial hub of the region. This is borne out by the wealth of commercial artefacts of different origins found in the Island, and the places where they were discovered, which reveal the existence of several ports on the coast line of Sri Lanka. Further testimony to the ancient maritime connections of Sri Lanka come from the number of names by which the Island was known, the abundance of references to it in the travel literature of the time, the number of famous travellers it attracted, all of which justify Tenant's description of Sri Lanka as one of the best known islands in that time. With the rise of Islam, Sri Lanka became a base for Arab trading activities in the region.

16. The Sri Lankan kings communicated with the Chinese emperors. Mahanama Thero (406-428) wrote a letter to the Chinese emperor. The letter indicated that the Sri Lanka king was well aware of developments in China. Dhatusena had sent a letter to the Chinese king around 456 AD. Kumara Dhatusena (508-516) had sent a message to the Chinese king on his coronation, and said he would love to visit China.

17. There were numerous diplomatic missions to China dating from the time of King Gajabahu I (114-136). There were six recorded missions in between 618-905, of which four were during the time of Aggabodhi VI (733-772). Envoys were sent regularly to China in 13th and 14th Centuries. Chinese records indicate that China offered to help the Sri Lankan king get back the tooth relic when in 1284 Pandya king Maravarman Kulasekhara (1268-1310) got hold of it. Between 1273 and 1294, there were five missions. Parakrama bahu VI (1412- 1467) dispatched six missions. Kavyasekera says that there were Chinese soldiers in the army of Parakramabahu III (1287-1293). China has shown respect for Sri Lanka. When Cheng Ho, an envoy of the Chinese emperor was attacked in Sri Lanka, in the 15th Century, China took a lenient view. Instead of beheading the Sri Lankan offenders, who were taken to China, they sent them back with food and clothes. It was said that since they were Buddhists they were pardoned.

18. The greatest bond between China and Sri Lanka was that of Buddhism. Mahanama Thero in his message to the Chinese emperor said that a government based on Buddhist principles is the ideal government and said that the bond of friendship between the two countries was based on their adherence to the Triple Gem. Silakala (518-531) in his message to China said that despite the great distance between Sri Lanka and China, there was awareness in Sri Lanka regarding the developments in China . ⁶

19. Sri Lanka was one of the first states in Asia to initiate relations with China. Dr Vernon Mendis says that this reflects very creditably on the stature and outlook of Sri Lanka. The

first reference to an embassy from Sri Lanka to China can be dated to the time of Gajabahu I (114-136). The next recorded visit as found in Chinese sources is a mission during the time of Upatissa I arriving in China in 414 AD. From the 9th to the 12th centuries, there is one solitary recorded mission from Mahinda V in 989 AD.

20. The missions picked up again thereafter. Between 1273 and 1294, there were five missions. Parakramabahu VI (1412-1467) dispatched six missions between 1416 and 1459. No other king had sent so many missions. More than one ambassador had been dispatched during this period

21. There were close trade relations between Sri Lanka and China. There are records of Sri Lankan ships in China in the 8th Century. Chinese coins belonging to every emperor from 976 AD to 1265 AD have been found in Sri Lanka. Historian Dr Mahinda Werake suggests that some of the ambassadors may have been merchants who were involved in Sino-Sri Lanka trade. The goodwill of the Chinese emperor was necessary to conduct trade smoothly. Chinese sources referred to missions from foreign countries as 'tribute missions' since the Chinese looked down on all other countries.

22. Southeast Asia started to develop stable kingdoms only in the medieval period. Vijayabahu I (1055-1110) initiated diplomatic relations with King Anauratha (1044- 1077) of Myanmar (Burma). The two countries also exchanged envoys. Vijayabahu sought Anauratha's help in the war against the Cholas. Anauratha responded with economic aid. He sent a shipload of goods. Vijayabahu I sent relics to the Burmese king. He obtained Buddhist ordination from Myanmar in order to re-establish the sangha after the Chola occupation.

23. Parakramabahu (1153-1186) kept up the link. In 1167, Ven. Panthagu, the Sangharaja of Myanmar sought refuge in Sri Lanka and stayed for six years. He had left Burma in disgust because king Narathu had poisoned his elder brother who was the legitimate heir to the throne. Nissankamalla (1187-1196) sent relics to Myanmar.

24. Vijayabahu II (1186-1187) had friendly relations with the Burmese king. He had written him a letter in Pali. King Narapati of Ava (1433-1469) sent offerings of gold and precious stones to the Tooth relic and bought some land in Sri Lanka to provide accommodation for Burmese monks visiting Sri Lanka. His successor King Thihathura (1469-1481) and his queen made a broom using their hair, studded its handle with gems, and sent it to sweep the floor of the tooth relic temple in Kotte. There were diplomatic links with Thailand. Records indicate that King Indraditya of Sukhodaya (now a part of Thailand) communicated with Parakrama bahu II (1236- 1270). Sri Lanka also had diplomatic relations with Cambodia. A Sinhalese princess was sent to Cambodia during the time of Parakramabahu I. An inscription of Nissanka malla shows that he was friendly with Cambodia. The son of Cambodian king Jayavarman VII. (1181-1219.) studied Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Diplomacy was linked to trade. During the 11th and 12th Centuries, Cambodia played an important part in the regional trade of Southeast Asia. Burma and Cambodia were rivals in trade.

25. Sri Lanka's knowledge of foreign kingdoms seemed to have expanded as time went on. Dambadeni asna which deals with the life of Parakramabahu II (1302-1326) mentions sixty countries. Parakumba sirita, written on Parakramabahu VI (1470-1478) also refers to many countries, including 'Hingula'. This is considered to be Korea since in Korean language it was known as Hangul.

26. Religion has defined Sinhalese identity over the centuries far more than race. Buddhism was brought to Sri Lanka around the third century B.C. by missionaries sent by Indian emperor Asoka and was fervently adopted by the Sinhalese king, Devanampiya Tissa. The Theravada school of Buddhism was established after a great council of monks and scholars was held on Sri Lanka in 88-77 B.C. to codify the Pali scriptures. The faith was later transmitted by Sri Lankan monks to Southeast Asian countries such as Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia.

27. Sri Lanka's links with India continued to grow, initially with the North but with the emergence of South Indian kingdoms in the latter half of the first millennium, the centre of gravity in Sri Lanka's relations with India shifted to the South. Sri Lanka became embroiled in the power politics of Southern India. After standing up to successive threats through adroit bilateralism for two Centuries, the Anuradhapura kingdom finally succumbed to the Chola Empire. Although Anuradhapura liberated itself in due course, the South Indian kingdoms of Pandya and Vijayanagara continued to be threats, which led to the downfall of the Sri Lankan kingdoms.

28. The Sri Lankan kings have been very selective in his contact with Indian kingdoms. They seem to have selected only the most powerful or the most useful of the Indian kingdoms. North India had two powerful empires, Maurya (321- 185 BC) and Gupta (320-510 AD). The Sri Lankan kings were in touch with the best of the Maurya and Gupta kings. Devanampiyatissa sent an embassy to king Dharmasoka, the greatest of the Maurya kings. Sri Meghavanna (301-328) contacted king Samudragupta. Samudragupta was the greatest of the Gupta kings. The embassy to Samudragupta is mentioned in a Chinese account.

29. The Sri Lanka king was recognised by North India. North India, during this period, included Pakistan, Bangladesh and a good part of today's Afghanistan. Devanampiyatissa (BC 250-210) sent an embassy to King Dharmasoka. The mission left from Jambukola near Point Pedro and arrived at Pataliputra via Tamluk in Bengal. Dharmasoka in return sent the items needed for the consecration of a king. The Sinhala King Kithsirimevan (301-328 AD) had sent a mission to the North Indian king Samudragupta, stating that he wished to build a rest house and monastery for pilgrims visiting Buddha Gaya. Centuries later, the Rajput mercenaries brought in by the General Mitta to depose King Bhuvaneka Bahu I (1272-1284) sided with the king and the rebellion failed.

30. The Sri Lankan kings were very selective in South India as well. The Sinhala dynasty had friendly relations with the greatest of the Pallava kings, Narasimhavarman I, also known as Mahamalla. (630-668). The Pallava dynasty had North Indian connections. The Sinhala kings also had friendly relations with the kings of Kalinga (Orissa). Vijayabahu

I had links with Orissa and Karnataka. He sent offerings to Mahabodhi at Buddha Gaya. Nissankamalla entered into friendly relations with Mysore, Nellore, Bengal, Orissa, Andhra and Gujarat. Vijayabahu IV (1270-1272) had Rajput mercenaries. They refused to fight against Bhuvaneka bahu I saying he was the legitimate successor.⁷

31. Relations with South India were quite different. The two kingdoms meddled in each other's affairs. South India supplied mercenaries for several Sinhala kings who needed to fight for the throne. The Pallava king Narasinha Varman I, supplied King Manavamma, (684-718) with an army to challenge the ruling king, Dathopatisa II. Manavamma's son, Mahinda I (730-733 AD) was born in India. Lokesvara (1210-1211) also went to India and returned with a Tamil army.

32. However, there were also marriage links with South India. Queen Lilavati belonged to the Pandya line on her father's side. Vijayabahu I gave his sister in marriage to a Pandya prince, in preference to a Chola prince. Some historians believe this was done in order to evade an invasion. There were trade and diplomatic links too. Parakramabahu I actively encouraged trade with South India. In his Nainativu inscription written in Tamil, he said that foreign merchants were welcome, and were assured of protection. The Sinhala king did not stick only to the eastern side of India. Vijayabahu I exchanged envoys and gifts with the Kannata, (Western Chalukya) king. The Chalukya region was in western India.

33. The Pandyas, Pallavas and Cholas of South India, were equally matched in political and military strength. There were continuous conflicts between them as they battled for supremacy in South India. Their power struggles overflowed into Sri Lanka. The Sinhala king usually sided with the Pandya kings against the Chola king. Kassapa V (14-23 AD) sent troops to fight on behalf of the Pandya king against the Chola king. Mahinda IV (956-972) had a successful campaign in India against the Chola king. Rajasimha Pandya fled to Ceylon with crown jewels during the reign of Dappula IV.

34. Sri Lanka underwent several periods of South Indian rule. South Indian rulers, as incorrectly mentioned in certain literature as Tamil chiefs, ruled in Sri Lanka in the 1st and 2nd Century BC. The specific periods are BC 103-89 and BC 48-44. There was a period of Pandya rule in the 5th Century between 429-455. The Cholas occupied the Rajarata, from 1017 to 1070 AD. They captured Mahinda V and took him to India. Then came Magha of Kerala who ruled parts of the Rajarata from 1215 to 1232. Sri Lanka was also subjected to several short lived invasions from South India. The Cholas invaded during the time of King Kalyanavati (1202-1208), Anikanda (1209), Lokesvara (1210-1211) and Lilavati (1197-1212). Jatavarman Sundara Pandya invaded around 1258. There was another Pandya invasion under Ariyachakravarti, around 1286. The bowl and tooth relic were taken away. Parakramabahu III (1287-1293) had to negotiate with King Kulasekhara to get it back.

35. Sri Lanka had diplomatic relations with Southeast Asian countries. They started to develop into sovereign kingdoms well after the 5th Century. Sri Lanka established kinship relations with the Sri Vijaya kingdom. Mahinda IV (956-972) married a Kalinga princess.

7 www.island.lk/2008/05/03/satmag6.html

So did Vijayabahu I (1055-1110). A succession of kings of pure Kalinga descent followed, starting with Nissanka Malla, (1187-1196). The Sri Vijaya kingdom, consisted of Java, Sumatra and a section of the Malay peninsula. It dated from the 5th Century. It possessed immense sea power, having formidable naval strength. It dominated the Straits of Malacca and policed these waters against piracy. Sri Vijaya's only competitor in the Indian Ocean was the Cholas. Since South India was under Chola control, the Sinhala kings would have considered it advisable to establish links with Sri Vijaya.

36. Sri Lanka, Burma and Cambodia were engaged in trade in the Bay of Bengal area by the 7th Century. Burma and Cambodia were rivals in trade. Sri Lanka had trade and diplomatic relations with both countries. Vijayabahu I (1055-1110) initiated the link with Burma. This was continued by Parakramabahu I and Vijayabahu II. Sri Lanka and Burma maintained envoys in each other's countries. There is some evidence of diplomatic contact with Cambodia too. A Sinhalese princess was sent to Cambodia during the time of Parakramabahu I and an inscription of Nissankamalla shows that he was friendly with Cambodia.

37. The Sinhala king was aware of the rise of Islam. Aggabodhi III (628-639) had sent a goodwill mission to Prophet Mohammed at Medina. The Prophet had died by the time the mission got there. On the way back, the king's messenger also died. It was left to the servant to convey information to the king. This information is contained in the writings of the 10th Century Iranian navigator, Ibn Shahryer . ⁸The Muslim writer Al-Biladuri stated that in the 8th Century the Sinhala king had sent to the Caliph the orphaned daughters of Arab merchants who had died in the island . ⁹

38. Sri Lanka fought several wars. Sri Vallabha, the Pandya king, invaded Sri Lanka during the time of Sena I (833-853). He sacked parts of it, looted its valuables and went back. Sri Vallabha's son, rebelled against the father, and sought the assistance of Sena II (853-887) . ¹⁰The Sinhala army entered South India, captured Madhura, placed the son on the throne as Varaguna II and returned with the valuables taken by the father, as well as some of the Pandya valuables . ¹¹

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39. On an appeal from Parakrama Pandya, Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) sent an army under commander Lankapura to fight King Kulasekera. The army took Madhura, and got ready to crown Vira Pandya, the son of Parakrama Pandya. After a protracted battle Kulasekera defeated Lankapura and beheaded him. Undeterred, Parakramabahu got ready to invade again. An inscription says that Parakramabahu was building ships and assembling troops at various ports to make a fresh invasion of South India. The Chola king stopped this by sending an expedition which destroyed the preparations, set fire to the land, killed some Sinhalese chieftains and took others prisoner. The letters Parakramabahu sent to King Kulasekera were intercepted.

8 . www.island.lk/2008/05/31/satmag5.html

9 . www.srilankaguardian.org/2008_03_18_archive.html

10. www.island.lk/2006/03/18/satmag1.html

11 . University of Ceylon History of Ceylon p. 487-506

40. Historians think that Parakramabahu's wars against the Cholas may have helped the eventual collapse of the Cholas. Parakramabahu I supported any Pandya who was prepared to go to war against the Cholas. Nissankamalla (1187-1196) also invaded South India. The invasion was probably successful as it was mentioned that the king had listened to music and dancing .¹²The last recorded invasion is that of Parakramabahu VI (1412-1467) who invaded a port in Tanjore because Sinhala traders had been humiliated there.

41. According to the Culavamsa, the Burmese king, Alaungsithu, had over a period of time shown antagonism to Sri Lanka. He had captured a Sinhala princess who was on her way to Cambodia. He had also ill-treated the Sinhala envoys and created difficulties for the Sinhala merchants in Burma, particularly about the export of elephants. So Parakramabahu I invaded Burma at Pegu in 1164. The invasion was successful and the troops returned to Sri Lanka. There may have been trade rivalry between Cambodia, Burma and Sri Lanka. Parakramabahu's expedition to Burma shows that he was able to intervene and give protection to the Sinhala merchants .¹³

42. Sri Lanka also took on China. Cheng Ho (1371-1433) a Muslim of Arab-Mongol origin was the imperial envoy and Admiral of the Chinese fleet with 18 mighty ships. He made several voyages in the Indian Ocean and organised stopovers in Sri Lanka on several occasions. On his visit to Sri Lanka in 1411, he was challenged by Vira Alakesvara, who was ruling at Raigama at the time. Alakesvara had planned to lure Cheng Ho into the interior and ambush him .¹⁴It was a clever strategy. But his plans were leaked to the enemy by his own people and this helped Cheng Ho. The battle raged for six days. Finally Alakesvara, his wife, children, and officers of his court were captured and taken prisoner to the Imperial court in Beijing. The Chinese emperor treated them well. He told them to select someone else as king and sent the whole lot back. The description given of this event in the Rajavaliya is supported by Chinese sources.

43. A new chapter in the history of Sri Lanka began with the arrival of European powers in Asia, notably the Portuguese and the Dutch, beginning from the 15th Century. Their quest for political and commercial footholds in the Island resulted in intermittent conflicts with local kingdoms. The goal of Sri Lanka foreign policy at present is to maintain a strong, independent, powerful and united Sri Lanka. When studying early diplomatic relations still this statement is true to some extent. When South or North Indian invaders were strong, as a second measure when war is not the answer, Sri Lankan rulers tend to strike a balance either with being friendly with enemies rival or by accepting him within limits. This is how marriages from Indian sub-continent came to force. Even this was true to the core when studying colonial period.

44. As per new researches being carried out, extensive relationship between China and Sri Lanka dated back 1st Century unearthed. That is contrary to only available literature source Mahawamsa which gives accounts from 5th Century onward. However as discussed during paper, considering the fact that Mahawamsa has no references to Ramayanaya or

12.University of Ceylon History of Ceylon, p. 523

13.University of Ceylon History Of Ceylon p. 473

14.www.srilankaguardian.org/2008_03_18_archive.html

king Ravana one of the greatest kings we ever had, it can be assumed that unrecorded history prevails even before 5th Century BC.

45. Sri Lanka has the distinction of being one of the few modern States which has remained a distinct sovereign entity for over 2000 years. It can also justifiably claim to have distinguished itself in the realm of international affairs for much of that time.

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ANALYSES OF EMERGING GEOPOLITICS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION (IOR)

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INTRODUCTION

Indian Ocean is stand as the third largest ocean in the world that covered more than 27,000,000 sq. miles and 20 percent of the worlds' water. Pacific Ocean covered around 64,000,000 sq. miles and stand as the largest Ocean. Atlantic Ocean covered around 31,000,000 sq. miles and stand as the second largest ocean. The width of the Indian Ocean spread from Cape of Good Hope to Southern end of the Australia. The total area of Indian Ocean includes Andaman Sea, Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal, Flores Sea, Great Australian Bight, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, Java Sea, Mozambique Channel, Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Strait of Malacca, Timor Sea, and other tributary water bodies. This huge sea area being neighbored to Asia, Africa, Indochina, Australia, Antarctica and connectivity from West to East along Indian Ocean resulted to create emerging geopolitics in the IOR (Khan, 2013).

2. Prior to discuss emerging geopolitics in IOR, understanding the contribution to the conceptual basis of geopolitics by Alfred Thayer Mahan, Halford Mackinder, Nicholas Spykman is important. Both Mahan and Mackinder emphasized the important and different opinions about the sea power and land power. Sea power of Mahan emphasized the use of sea for military and civilian purpose. Halford Mackinder has indicated his views that taking over the control of land power is vital considering emerging technological development, motor transport and rail networks. According to the British historian Paul Kennedy, railway has proved effective means of transportations by land and economical than transport by water. Nicholas Spykman developed the theory of rimland in contrast to Mackinder's heartland theory. Both believed that at a given time certain geographical regions become pivotal in relation to global power. According to Spykman, those who able to take the power of rimland would dominate global hegemony.

3. Alfred Thayer Mahan emphasized the significance of sea power especially in the Indian Ocean as he stated that whoever controlled the Indian Ocean would dominate Asia. Anyhow, concept of Mahan's Sea power is complex in present day since the countries that possesses the world largest powerful navies do not possess the world largest merchant fleet. The world's most powerful naval power was outranked at the end of 1986 in merchant shipping by Liberia, Panama, Japan and Greece.

EFFECT OF COLONIAL ERA IN SHAPING THE GEOPOLITICS IN IOR

4 Colonization of the countries in the South East Asia has an impact on shaping of present emerging geopolitics in the Indian Ocean region (IOR). The Europeans entered the Indian Ocean region under the guise of merchants during the sixteenth century and established their colonies in the IOR. Portuguese, Dutch and English were the main colonial rulers in IOR. Anyhow, gradual emergence of the political awakening in the countries in IOR and weakening of the colonial powers such as UK, France, Italy and Germany aftermath the second world war was influenced for gradual decolonization of the colonies in IOR and Africa.

5. Decolonization had brought independence to the former colonies in IOR such as India, Egypt, Burma, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia and followed the non-aligned concept during the cold war era. This decolonization resulted British colonial rulers to withdraw from their occupation in IOR that impacted on creation power vacuum in IOR. In the wake of British withdrawal after one and half centuries of control in the IOR, Russia and United States increased their presence in the IOR. This power vacuum was two folds as military and political that created newly liberated countries in the IOR defenseless and vulnerable to foreign invasion. After the British announcement of the withdrawal from the east of the Suez, Soviet naval entry began to IOR.

POWER RIVALRY BETWEEN US AND SOVIET IN COLD WAR ERA

6. Aftermath of the second world war, super power rivalry between western and communist blocs continued as 'Cold War' until soviet collapsed in 1991. Soviet and US had been close allies during the second world war that turned antagonists to each other aftermath of the second world war. Both US and Soviet Union began competing each other to getting attraction of newly independent countries in the Asia, Africa and Latin America by offering economic and military assistance as incentives. US already created North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 with western European countries to defend Europe from the Soviet threat. Soviet responded by establishing Warsaw treaty Organization. Most countries situated in the IOR had attained their independence from European colonial powers in the post world war II period and they were vulnerable to superpower rivalry in IOR. Figure 1 shows the map of IOR

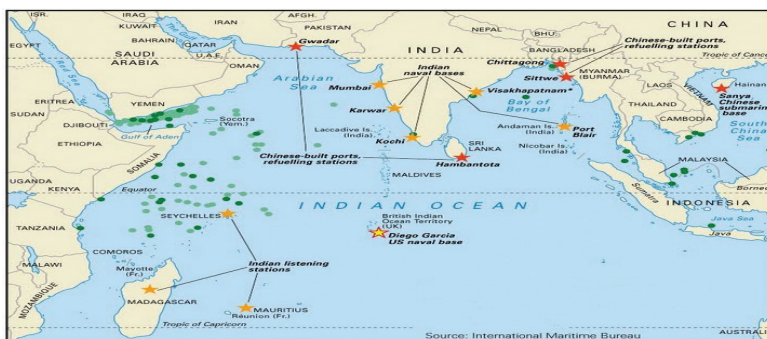


Figure 1: Indian Ocean Region power competition

Source: International Maritime Bureau

7. Super power rivalry in IOR since 1950's created and shaped the geopolitics in the IOR. US interest over IOR has clear military objectives that included to protect US economic interests in the Persian Gulf, secure Indian Ocean air and sea routes against harassment and interdiction and balance soviet forces in the region and attain superiority. US while defending their own vital economic and strategic interests, taken the responsibility of safeguarding the interest of its west allies including Japan by ensuring uninterrupted oil supply from the Persian Gulf. In order to strengthen the military power in IOR, US established naval base at Diego Garcia and established base facilities in Bahrain. Further, they enjoyed the landing rights in Mambosa and Singapore and acquired naval base facilities in Subic Bay in Philippines. US Enjoyed the supportive facilities provided by Israel, South Africa, Egypt and Pakistan as well.

8. Soviet interest over IOR was mainly based with the soviet search of warm water port facilities. Soviet interest over the oil fields in Persian Gulf also another reason of soviet to come to IOR. Soviet presence in the IOR explained in terms of strategic significance of the Indian ocean as an important cargo sea route that linking the Eastern and Western part of the Soviet Union. Gradually this competition leads to a military buildup by both US and Russian blocs in IOR. On collapsing the Soviet Union in 1991, soviet interest over IOR had drastically reduced and US became the only superpower and changed the world order from bipolar to unipolar (Singh, 2003).

EMERGING REGIONAL POWERS IN IOR

9. India and Pakistan have become nuclear powers in IOR at present. China and India are considered as emerging powers in the region as well as in the world. Therefore, US as super power expecting to balance this emerging geopolitics in the IOR by making their presence in the region with Japan and India. Therefore, the existing global leader, the United States of America, rising China and emerging India will be the key global players in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in future.

10. China's strategic presence in the IOR is clearly for the protection of its sea-lines of communication (SLOCs) that is the most essential component. Considering the huge population in China, it needs recourses within and outside the country to prosper and emerge as powerful nation economically and militarily. Hence, Chinese policy has been shaped accordingly and launched industries specially in the African continent. They have been investing millions of dollars every part of the world and essential to keep the connectivity by sea and land to transfer its' wealth from Africa, Asia and western and Eastern Europe to China. China, as the global manufacturing hub, requires tons of hydrocarbon that is transported across the two choke points, Strait of Hormuz and Malacca. Further, the main SLOCs has been laid between the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea and between the South China Sea and Indian Ocean. (Ward, 2017). Figure 2 shows the map of SLOC's in the IOR



Figure 2: Sea lines of communication in Indian Ocean (SLOC's)

Source: http://www.rsis.edu.sg/research/PDF/emerge_maritime_security

11. On the regional level, India is building its massive naval fleet with 48 warships under construction including one aircraft carrier, one nuclear and six conventional submarines and a variety of destroyers, frigates and corvettes to manage the emerging geopolitics in the IOR. The Indian Ocean is the basin that the trade from Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa being connected. It is also the energy lifeline on which several of the world's major economies are depend.

CHINESE INVOLVEMENT IN SHAPING THE GEOPOLITICS IN IOR

12. There are major three aspects that determine the emerging geopolitics in IOR by China. First, the Chinese economy depends on access to this region. Energy imports from the Middle East, resources from Africa, and trade with Europe must transit the Indian Ocean in order to reach China. Second, the region has become a home to a rising India which possesses much more advantageous geography than China does when it comes to maritime trade and security. As China builds up its expeditionary naval forces to embark on a 'two-ocean strategy' that focuses on the Pacific and Indian Ocean, India's maritime strategy has been changed accordingly. In this situation, Chinese naval visits to IOR nations such as Sri Lanka and Pakistan have led to discomfort the India. Third, while the Indian Ocean is increasingly the realm in which the geopolitics of China-India relations will take shape in the coming decades, many other nations are also depend on its waterways for commerce.

13. Littoral states in the IOR possess more than two third of world oil reserve, 35 percent of world Gas, 40 percent of gold and 80 percent of world diamond deposits. Indian ocean comprises with industrial raw materials such as lithium, beryllium, zirconium, thorium, coal, iron, copper, manganese, tin, bauxite, chromites, nickel, cobalt, vanadium and phosphates. When oil transportation through IOR is concerned, Japan imports around 90 percent of its oil through IOR. Similarly; Italy 85 percent, France 50 percent, Britain and Germany 60 percent imports its oil requirement through SLOC's in IOR (Fatima, 2015). Figure 3 shows the oil routes along IOR:

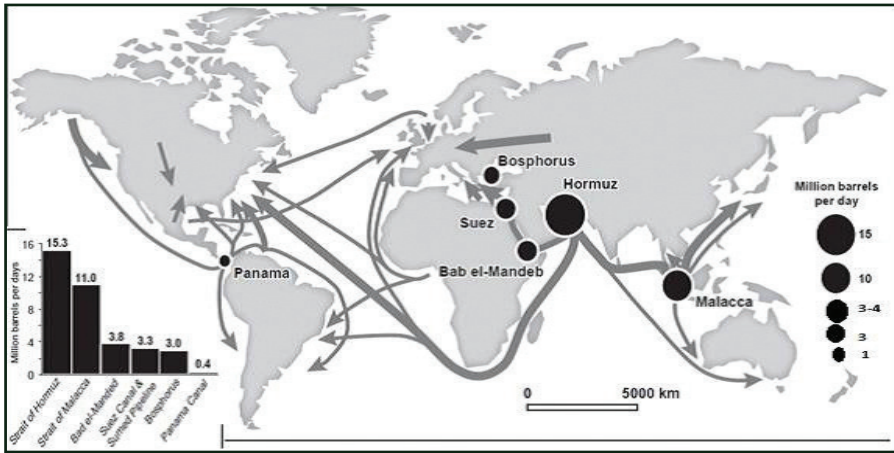


Figure 3: Oil transportation routes along IOR

Source: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies, 2015

14. China's 'One Belt, One Road' (OBOR) initiative, half of which is focused on Indian Ocean trade routes from China to Africa to Europe, aims to build infrastructure that will link these other continents more tightly with China. While 'OBOR' is marketed as an economic project, key places on the Maritime Silk Route have also been used for military purposes. China's most recent defense strategy emphasizes that PLA Navy to shift its focus from offshore waters defense to the combination of offshore waters defense with open seas protection. In addition to building military infrastructure in the South China Sea, China has begun construction of its first overseas military base in Djibouti, on the Horn of Africa, at the opposite end of Indian Ocean sea lines of communication that are vital to China.

15. In addition to visits by Chinese naval platforms to the East African coast during anti-piracy operations since 2008, Chinese submarines docked in Pakistan in 2015 and in Sri Lanka in 2014. Pakistan's Gwadar port project is a hub of one belt one road (OBOR) concept even though it has changed present day as 'Belt Road' concept. Chinese investment in Indian Ocean countries has been rising, leading to concerns over indebtedness to China by smaller Indian Ocean states including Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and Djibouti. The possibility of an Indian Ocean Rim constructed of heavily indebted poor countries. Chinese rapid building up its naval presence in Indian Ocean that is being viewed as emerging threats for the interests of India and US as well. The strengthening of China's maritime power is tasked to achieve two main objectives. These are to conserve China's maritime security and to enhance and secure its maritime economic interests, specifically in the IOR and West Africa.

16. The military dynamics of the Indian Ocean Region are evolving rapidly, particularly as China and India build up expeditionary naval forces, and each one supplies partner nations with military material. China has agreed to provide Pakistan with eight diesel-electric submarines and joint exercises. India has upgraded its relationship with Vietnam to a 'comprehensive strategic partnership,' and has found substantial partners in the United States and Japan. Meanwhile, India has extended its naval relationships across the Indo-Pacific,

inaugurating bilateral naval exercises with Japan, Australia, and Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

17. Colonial era was the period that created and changed the geopolitics in the IOR. Leaving of colonial rulers from IOR aftermath the end of Second World War created military and political power vacuum. A competition has been emerged between US and Soviet Union to fulfill this power vacuum. During Cold war era, US have to compete with Soviet Union in the IOR to maintain their military presence in the region. After 1991, US as Unipolar super power enjoyed its domination around the world including IOR for safeguard its energy lines and resources.

18. At present US have to response by show their presence in IOR, amidst the growing competition between China and India in IOR. China is involved in enhancing a political and economic influence over Africa, by investing billions of dollars in industries such as oil, mining, transport, electricity generation, telecommunications and infrastructure. This would ensure a successful access to energy resources and raw materials, which are crucial to its development and growth. This is simply a new geopolitical orientation of Chinese policy towards energy resources that would have far-reaching impact on development, competition and conflict of interests between China USA and India.

19. When considering the emerging geopolitics interest over IOR, it can be said that geo-political significance of IOR would rise and strengthen further since, its littoral states possess significant amount of natural resources that essential for economical development and industries in the Europe. Most developed European states such as Italy, France, and Germany are depending with the Indian Ocean in fulfilling their oil transportation. Japan as an East Asian developed country also depends with the SLOC's in the IOR for her oil transportation other than China. Therefore, economical requirement of these countries would shape the geopolitics in the IOR for safeguard their energy lines in the future as well.

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MODERNIZING SRI LANKA NAVY: POLICY FORMULATION AND WAY FORWARD

Lieutenant Commander (N) CRP Walakuluge

INTRODUCTION

The most urgent challenge present to the Sri Lanka Navy is developing a comprehensive and viable naval policy paper that complements in structuring a credible force level focusing on our national aspirations while accounting to the existing and emerging security threats in the region.

2. The Navy as an organization is vital for sustained security, stability and prosperity of Sri Lanka. Given the circumstances that Sri Lanka is an island nation, the need for a credible navy is inevitable with respect to the modern day challenges in our maritime domain especially given the rise of transnational security threats and global crimes in the region. The situation is deeply aggravated in an environment of a necessity in policing a water frontier that is over 24 times the land mass.

3. The enormity of our maritime domain and the complexities that has risen driven through geopolitical and global integration of states acutely ascribes for a transformation of the Navy that has potential in assuring freedom of navigation, freedom of over flight and security to maritime commerce plying through our waters.

NEED FOR POLICY THOUGHT

4. Hence, it is realized that the void of a defence white paper which absorbs and projects the concerns and dimensions of all public, private and international stakeholders is severely draining the resources while infringing the future development of a navy that would complement and be an enabler for development in the country. There exists a clear deficiency in policy studies and development which captures the national aspirations while bonding ministerial and military understanding.

5. This deficiency trickles down to the Naval thinking and policy making, distancing credible force structuring in an environment of budgetary constraints and ever rising challenges in the maritime domain. Hence, despite realising what has to be done the Navy is acutely impeded by the lack of a visible naval policy that would also involve other relevant stakeholders in a common architecture.

6. This deficiency is profoundly visible with the on-going naval ship acquisition initiatives that would barely add credibility in the execution of maritime security operations, disaster relief and combat operations. Overtime, Sri Lanka Navy would be left with a fleet of platforms, sensors and equipment that neither complements each other nor deny and deter the security challenges present.

PURPOSE

7. The global geo-political and economic landscape is in a rapid flux and thus the only constant variable in articulating a viable thinking for the navy is its geography. Sri Lanka is an island and her security and development and future challenges should be looked through the premise of her as a maritime nation. A credible and adaptable navy is mandatory for ensuring security and stability in our littoral enabling prosperity to take phase.

8. Being an island Sri Lanka lacks the strategic depth for credible defence against possible external aggression. The status is further worsened given the existing acute limitations of the Navy in the effective execution of maritime security operations (MSO). Poaching in the island's territorial waters in the Palk Strait continue undeterred in the absence of effective and credible measures by the Navy. The reiterated assurances given time and again that our waters are safe is to be taken into account objectively, the Navy is yet to look beyond the surface.

9. The Sri Lanka Navy despite its relative large size in personnel is severely impaired in the execution of three dimensional missions as aspired by any modern day navy. Surrounded by the sea, Sri Lanka is heavily depended on the secure access of SLOCs. The island's proximity to the Indian mainland presents concerns of multifaceted maritime security implications. Also, should comprehend that Sri Lanka's exercise of its maritime sovereignty is severely impaired on the historical and complex relationship with the Indian subcontinent.

10. Meanwhile, the evolving geopolitical situation also elevates the country as a regional flashpoint. History also needs to be taken into consideration as over millennia the island has been paralyzed by maritime blindness.

11. Thus, in this context the timely necessity of a more robust Naval fleet with credible defence and deterrence capabilities is inalienable while aspiring for prosperity as a maritime hub. Hence, the paper attempts to provide an alternative thinking in modernization of the Navy into a 3rd generation force.

SRILANKA NAVAL THINKING AND POLICIES

12. Since its inception in 1950 until the 1972 youth uprising the Navy was predominantly a ceremonial force. There existed a clear vacuum of strategic thought for the navy and this nature remained persistent into the mid 80s.

13. The navy fleet was stripped off of whatever remained of its Royal heritage following the failed military coup in 1962. The situation was further worsened following the cyclone in Trincomalee which left the sole large ship of the Navy run-around and later stripped for metal. The military coup gave substantive reasons for the government to confine the navy into barracks and let her suffer a lone death.

14. The Navy was again called for duty in assisting the military land operations that ensued against the LTTE terrorists which by then had grown into from a handful of criminals into a formidable force. Thus, the four decades since independence can be identified as an unconscious period of existence for the Navy, where the acute lack of coherence in its force structure was evident. The Navy's obvious role and task was in support of the ongoing military operations predominantly in the North and East.

15. With the MSR being threatened from increased LTTE attacks the necessity in ensuring maintaining SLOC with military in the North was realized. Thus, Navy thought traversed into the acquisition of plat forms that had both relative advantage of mobility and fire power. This existence of this single though could be traced with the apparent naval acquisitions during the period.

16. The core of navy remained her Fast Attack Flotilla (FAF-4) with over 53 craft. Since, the post conflict period there existed to be a clear mismatch between her force structure and force design. Eight years have gone by and there exists a prominent vacuum of a conscious restructuring effort to meet the future challenges in her maritime domain.

17. Sri Lanka during the conflict period had been continuously reactive merely concentrating on responding to the asymmetric threat posed by LTTE. Down the line the naval assets acquired were mounted without real mission implications in the post war period.

18. Despite its incoherence of force structure and force design through the realm of repetitive trial and error Sri Lanka Navy today has successfully evolved into a formidable battle proven force or the best in littoral warfare. Hence, any naval thinking should centre sustaining our key competency while not falling into the trap of over extending our sustainability in the vast ocean domain under the pretext of policing our waters. This could be complemented through increased ISR capabilities that would be force multipliers and the right use of the right technology.

19. Today the Navy floats on an average total annual budget allocation of approximately Rs. 55bn and a force level of 56,000 odd personnel. Considering a trend analysis of recent budget allocations over 80% comprises Recurrent Expenditure while the remaining 20% are allotted as Current Expenditures.

20. In the post war period Sri Lanka Navy has evidently understood in keeping herself relevant as a key stakeholder in the IOR. The continuity and evolution of the Galle Dialogue maritime symposium as an annual maritime session needs to be praised. The inclusion of non-military organizations, NGOs and industry to the conference has elevated the event beyond a mere talk show.

21. Yet, the question needs to be raised is that is there sufficient impetus in the operationalization of the awareness stirred on its maritime domain and existence of non-traditional security threats. The author is of the view that a right balance of naval thinking

needs to be stricken beyond acquisition of platforms that falls short of a conscious effort in building a credible forces structure.

22. In the acute absence of a security/defence policy for the nation the way forward for naval policy development is through a refined and realistic thinking understanding the major forces governing the very existence of the navy and the abiding laws. The Navy's existing maritime strategy vision for a 20 ship Navy by 2025 is centre to understanding and refining our thinking with a new vigour which would sustain the economic downturns, political upheavals and security challenges in the near decades.

WAY FORWARD

23. A Naval White Paper (NWP) is essential in charting Sri Lanka Navy's futuristic approach that reflects National aspirations and security objectives. The policy paper should reflect flexibility and adaptability as core to its structure providing guidance to weather times of uncertainty. In this context it is equally important to frequently challenge the policy paper with a red draft that captures the existing security and maritime challenges in the broader spectrum of polity.

24. Sri Lanka Navy should define its major operational activities: peacetime operations; crisis response and combat operations. This should be followed by operational concepts that reinforce effective and efficient force posture to achieve credible deterrence and defensive capabilities. Sri Lanka Navy should be given due prominence as the sovereign capability of our nation.

25. Any policy development and articulation initiative should capture the essence of naval thinking boldly venture in building credible core capabilities: Amphibious manoeuvre with heavy sea lift support with a focus on HA/DR operations; improved force protection; flexibility of forces; enhanced ISR capabilities through jointness; enhanced subsurface detection and threat denial capabilities facilitating ports and channel security.

26. Thus, an understanding of the development of our core capabilities facilitates in identifying the right type, quality and quantity of platforms; weapons and sensors needed in the execution of our critical capabilities.

27. Key enablers in improving operational service support(OPSS) activities for sustainment are improved logistics, improved docking; repair and maintenances and infrastructure building including accommodation facilities.

28. Further, Sri Lanka Navy should focus on making herself relevant in the Arabian Gulf region and maintaining her alliance with regional states and maintaining extra-regional relationships with Far-East nations as friends and trade partners.

29. There should be a clear share of responsibilities between the Navy and the Coast Guard complementing each other's core capabilities while avoiding duplicity of role and

task. Meanwhile, the navy could enhance her ISR capabilities through jointness with the SLAF for maritime surveillance and reconnaissance.

30. As self-reliance is a distant scenario given the swathe of the Sri Lanka's maritime domain and the apparent economic constraints focus should be in building strategic naval partnership to patrol and policing the waters. Conducting combined maritime patrols on the western and eastern frontiers to detect, deter and deny any form of transnational crimes in the respective maritime zones. Western frontier could be conducted combined with the Indian Navy and Coastguard while Eastern frontier could be conducted along with the Indian, Bangladesh and Myanmar Navies. Similarly maritime policing patrols could also be conducted combined with Indian and Sri Lanka Coastal Guard along the IMBL.

31. Further, combined maritime air patrols with the Indian Coast Guard and Navy would also enhance the maritime ISR picture facilitating security of the SLOCS from conventional aggression and transnational security threats. These should be viewed as enablers in force multiplication.

CONCLUSION

32. The global geo-political and economic dynamics is in a flux. Yet, tied down by geography an island, Sri Lanka will remain a maritime nation in need of a strong navy. This is a constant variable in synthesizing our maritime development.

33. Though, there is a remote possibility of any external aggression towards Sri Lanka the risk involved would be catastrophic if neglected. Hence, any modernization and force structuring should be envisioned to avoid the strategic shock. Navy's exist to deny the enemy's strategic goals. Any policy thinking and force structuring should be assertive to this reality.

34. Considering this as a premise we can substantiate how vulnerable we are as a nation. Hence, there is a need that the Navy focus on developing core capabilities that complements its strategic defence and deterrence capabilities in addition to execution of credible maritime operational activities.

35. Sri Lankan Navy is a mutation in comparison to its regional partners and a better understanding could be gained in a ratios analysis of personnel: coastline: assets of the respective navies. The existing force structure and thinking could be primarily attributed being shaped by the circumstances and challenges that prevailed in the counter-insurgency/terrorist campaign of the nation, lack of conscious political will and maritime blindness.

36. Hence, a step towards articulation of a Naval White Paper is essential as delaying would further advance the waste of national coffers and resources.

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THE ROLE OF SUBMARINE FORCES IN BALANCING GEO - STRATEGIC EQUATIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

Lieutenant Commander (ASW) APA Prasanga

ABSTRACT

The foreign policies of the USA and those of China appear to be based on an implied aspiration to an uni polar world. The resulting tensions call for careful management to avoid conflict that may dislocate the global developmental process. Strategic access to the potential inherent to Sri Lanka - which straddles important maritime routes, has the world's largest natural harbor and functions as the centre inking the IORA, SAARC, BIMSTEC and ANTARCTICA - will play an important role in the management of such tensions. Balancing global geo-strategic relations through the adoption of sound foreign policies, strong international relations and clear strategic defences while facilitating economic and technological competition, collaboration and cooperation is essential for peace and development and is of particular interest to the islands human inhabitants. During the Second World War, German "U" boats operations played a significant offensive role that required dedicated resistance in order to be contained and overcome. Submarine forces continue to generate strategic uncertainties that have the potential to generate tensions and increase resource consumption unless effectively engaged, creatively managed and structurally and procedurally contained. Submarine forces of several nation states operate and interact with each other within the Indian Ocean. These same nation states compete with each other for resource extraction and for access to manufacturing capacity and service delivery in the region. The balancing of geo-strategic equations within the Indian Ocean is therefore essential to ensure access to such resources, manufacturing capacities and services. This paper addresses the specific questions: How will submarine forces impact the distribution of power in the Indian Ocean Region? What impact will submarine forces have on peace and stability in the Indian Ocean Region? And what is the specific role that Sri Lanka should play in balancing regional geo-strategic equations? The paper quantitatively analyses distribution pattern of submarine forces referring Jane's Fighting Ships 2008-2009 and qualitatively discusses observed movements of submarine forces in Indian Ocean Region in order to identify and articulate elements that may be considered in the generation of an Indian Ocean Treaty Organization (IOTO) that balances geo-strategic relations within the Indian Ocean.

Keywords: Submarine Forces, Indian Ocean Region, Sri Lanka

INTRODUCTION

Global Perspective

1. Historically a tendency towards the integration of larger and larger areas of territory and their populations under a single perceptual paradigm, generating a single set of operational principles with a concomitant system of technologies and belief; through alliances, subterfuge, and subversion and through forceful subjugation can be observed. The centre of this centrifugal dynamic has been occupied by different structures and states at different times. The movement itself however has been constant with varying strength and success at varying times with an overall tendency towards increasing success despite strong resistances and coordinated disruptions. The centre of this movement is currently occupied by the United States of America and its allies and sympathizers with their scientific method and the technologies it has generated and their systems of process rather than personality driven governance and management bound by a set of principles codified in a document known as the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” that they claim to enforce and defend in order to ensure that all Homo sapiens may exercise and enjoy them while preserving, expressing and developing their diverse cultural heritage. Their scientific method has exposed the unsustainable nature of the current civilization of the species Homo sapiens and its inherent threat to its own continued survival and has consequently secured the commitment of the species to the transformation of this civilization into a sustainable and resilient one, driven towards clear objectives by planetary guidance systems based on inclusiveness, equity and forward vision.

Study Area

2. The Indian Ocean (IO), the third largest ocean in the world, occupies approximately 20 percent of the Earth’s sea surface, covering a total area of 73.56 million square miles. It is bounded to the north by the Indian subcontinent; to the west and northwest by the east African coast and Arabian Peninsula, respectively; to the east by Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, and Australia; and to the south by the oceanic margin with the Southern Ocean at latitude 60°S, the northern limit of the area covered by the original Antarctic Treaty 1959 (Michel & Sticklor, 2012).

3. According to the results of the world population 2015 revision, the world population reached 7.3 billion as of mid-2015 and 60 percent of the global population lives in Asia, 16 percent in Africa. In the time frame of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the world population is projected to increase by more than one billion people, reaching 8.5 billion in 2030. In 2015, the two largest countries, China and India, are home to 19 and 18 percent of the world’s population, respectively. By the early 2020’s India is projected to overtake China as the world’s most populous country, and the major part of future population growth will occur in Africa and Asia. More than half of global population growth between now and 2050 is expected to occur in Africa according to the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015. The total human population of Indian Ocean Region (IOR) states is 2.7 billion and amounts to 36 percent of the estimated planetary population of the species Homo sapiens.

4. Travel across the IO and passage from its waters into neighbouring seas is both facilitated and potentially constrained by chokepoints. The seven key chokepoints in the IOR are the Mozambique Channel, the Bab el Mandeb, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Hormuz, the Malacca Straits, the Sunda Strait, and the Lombok Strait. On land the IOR is bounded and variously influenced by 38 states: Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Comoros, Djibouti, East Timor, Egypt, Eritrea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Myanmar, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. France and the United Kingdom also be counted among the IO littoral states because of their island territories. Combined, these countries make up almost 40 percent of the world's total coastline, dominated in order by Indonesia, Australia, India, Madagascar, Malaysia, Thailand, Somalia, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia (Michel & Sticklor, 2012).

Justification

5. The IOR represents an increasingly significant platform for agriculture, resource extraction, manufacturing, services and global trade. Significant volumes of investment are likely to flow into this region to finance these activities that are essential for the day-to-day maintenance of the wellbeing of the global population of 7.3 billion Homo sapiens. Rising prosperity in Asia, growing dependence on natural resource flows linking producers and consumers across the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, and globalized supply chains and distribution networks are knitting the region ever more closely together by sea. At the same time, emerging problems ranging from non-traditional security issues and territorial disputes in the regional seas to global environmental pressures on coastal and marine resources pose significant governance challenges for maritime policymakers around the IOR (Michel & Sticklor, 2012).

6. The smooth flow of investment capital into this region and the smooth flow of raw materials, goods and services out of this region to global markets demands the balancing of geo-strategic equations as they impact the IO and the nation states along its shores. This analysis and the recommendations based thereon will contribute towards the conceptualization and implementation of processes and structural mechanisms that will help balance these equations.

Strategic Factors of Indian Ocean Region

7. The strategic factors generated within the IO by the current global context generated by the developmental activities of the species are those of: security and freedom of movement of resources, India consolidating its position as the regional power of South Asia, China's consolidation of its position as the regional power in South East Asia, Chinas increasing competition with the USA and its allies for greater global power and access to resources, rivalry between India and China for resource extraction in the IO, nuclear power imbalance of India and Pakistan, the impact of possible changes in the strategic relationship between India and the US, The impact of disasters on strategic capacity,

limitations of perceptual capacity required to balance regional geo-strategic equations, political constraints and the consequent need for mass perceptual modification in order to balance these equations, relative strength of surface and submarine Naval Fleets, Air force and Ballistic Missile Capacities, Civil and military interfaces for the joint exercise of power in operational deployments and the possibility of a strengthening of ongoing attempts to change the principles underlying the centre of the integrative centrifugal dynamic leading to an abandonment of process governed governance in favour of governance by personality and arbitrary diktat.

8. The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies 2010 paper argued that the IOR strategic issues that can rapidly escalate is the instability of the petroleum exporting states. The forms of military clash that would affect the flow of petroleum to the east though the straits of Malacca, India- Pakistan conflict that could include a serious Air-Sea conflict or even escalate to nuclear warfare, Conflict and tension between India and China as regional rivals to the north of the IOR and low level clashes that occur periodically in the Sichuan Glacier area, the struggle for influence between the US and China, the limited naval-air build up in various parts of the rest of the region, the risk of terrorism, the struggle between religious and secular rule, endemic transnational and maritime disputes and potential conflicts and disputes relating to offshore resources.

The Problem: The Impact of Geo-strategic Equations

9. During WW II, the US Navy developed a strategy and doctrine to combat the German U-Boats threat in the Atlantic Ocean. However, this occurred reactively after an enormous quantity of US and British merchant vessels were sunk by the U-Boats (Keeter, 2004).

10. In the 1950s, the US Navy codified a three prong strategy to contain and reduce the Soviet challenge to the global supremacy of the USA: develop the capacity to strike submarine bases and shipyards in the USSR, intercept and destroy Soviet submarines as they sorted from their bases, and develop a strategic nuclear weapon delivery platform. The last two depended upon the development of nuclear powered submarines that could operate submerged "indefinitely" (Keeter, 2004).

11. The collapse of the Soviet Union had the unintended consequence of allowing the proliferation of advanced submarine technologies to occur. Russia and other former Warsaw Pact countries sold their most advanced technologies around the globe with little thought or care to the shifting balance of power these sales precipitate. Even traditional US allies have contributed to proliferation by selling weapons and sensor systems to the highest bidder (Keeter, 2004).

12. The US Navy believes that the submarine will remain the premier Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) asset for the future (Keeter, 2004). This is because submarines have been and are likely to remain the weapon system with the highest leverage in a battle for control of the ocean surface. No other individual platform can compare with a modern submarine,

whether nuclear or non-nuclear, in its ability to combine a potent offensive push with the ability to evade counterattack by opposing forces (Cote & Sapolsky, 2009). This 21st Century US Navy ASW Concept of operations is intended in the near to maximize their undersea advantage anywhere in the world to secure the battle space from undersea threats by swiftly destroying enemy submarines (US Task Force ASW, 2015).

13. Today, the resource rich IOR is in the midst of a major geo-political struggle that may be viewed as a continuation of the 'Great Game' played out by the west in south and central Asia (DeSilva-Ranasinghe, 2011) which has seen increasing resistance to the centrifugal core arising in response to its compensatory centrifugal force that affects its peripheral areas. In most cases this resistance is expressed through attempts of regional powers to dominate smaller states and form alliances. Such alliances may not reject the dynamics of the centrifugal dynamic of global civilization or may take the form of an aggressive rejection of the global trend of civilizational development couched in nationalism and based on claims to the resurrection and reestablishment of past civilizations imagined as being preferable to the currently global civilization. In such situations claims are often made to a sovereign right to reject global norms and principles, territorial seizure by non-state structures and attacks on supply chains and the engaging in of illegal activities by forces marginalized by their rejection of global norms and principles such as traffickers of people, arms, drugs and other elements, pirates, terrorist movements and armed campaigns for national liberation session or self-determination (DeSilva-Ranasinghe, 2011). The 2011 Failed States Index indicates that 11 out of the world's 20 most unstable states are located in the IOR.

OBJECTIVES

14. To understand how submarine forces may impact the distribution of power in the Indian Ocean Region, what impact submarine forces may have on peace and stability in the Indian Ocean Region and what specific role Sri Lanka should play in balancing regional geo-strategic equations?

METHODOLOGY

15. When analysing the capabilities of submarine forces, details of submarine displacement and structure, main machinery and speeds, torpedoes and missiles, weapon control systems and countermeasures, sensors and modernization are important parameters to be analysed. However, research focused on collecting data of number of submarines sustained by individual nation states and analysing them as regional powers of IOR and global powers and carried out trend analysis of submarine forces deployed at global level, IOR and China. Further, study analysed trend formation of global SSBNs which seems to be the most lethal and inconspicuous killing machine which has originated though modern maritime warfare frontiers. Jane's Fighting Ships 2008/2009 was used to collect the data on submarine forces. Finally first hand research publications were utilized to analyse submarine deployments and observed movements which can create strategic deterrence within the IOR and globally. Finally the role of submarine forces in peace and stability and how Sri Lanka can assist in the balancing of geo-strategic equations in the IOR was examined.

ANALYSIS

16. The four main types of submarines are the Diesel-Electric Attack Submarines (SSs and SSKs), Nuclear Powered Attack Submarines (SSNs), Guided-Missile Submarines (SSGNs), and Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBNs). They are differentiated by their primary armaments and propulsion systems (Eaglen and Rodeback, 2010). Apart from these the Diesel-Electric Cruise Missile Submarine (SSG) and Diesel-Electric Powered Small Coastal Submarine (SSC) are also taken into conventional submarine categories. When analysed it is seen that submarine capabilities are present in 38 countries. 28 countries possessed only SSKs. North Korea scored top rank in conventional powered submarines with 23 SSKs and 32 SSCs. Japan had 22 SSKs, Turkey had 14 SSKs, Germany had 13 SSKs, Greece and South Korea had 12 SSKs. Apart from that the US, UK and France had only SSNs.

17. Six countries can be highlight as per their capabilities in descending order Russia with 22 SSKs, 22 SSNs, 9 SSGNs and 18 SSBNs. U.S. with 59 SSNs, 4 SSGNs and 14 SSBNs. China with 26 SSKs, 6 SSNs, 29 SSGs and 5 SSBNs. UK comprised with 13 SSNs and 4 SSBNs. Finally India the only country with nuclear powered submarine in the IOR with 22 SSKs and 2 SSBNs.

18. When the submarine capabilities if Indian Ocean States are analysed ten countries have SSKs and only India has SSBNs, when summarizing the descending order of submarine power in IOR, India 22 SSKs and 2 SSBNs, Iran has 10 SSKs, Australia and Singapore have 6 SSKs, Pakistan and Israel have 5 SSKs, Egypt has 4 SSKs, South Africa has 3 SSKs and Malaysia and Indonesia have 2 SSKs. Further Bangladesh, Myanmar and Thailand are in highly possible state of adding submarine forces for their fleets.

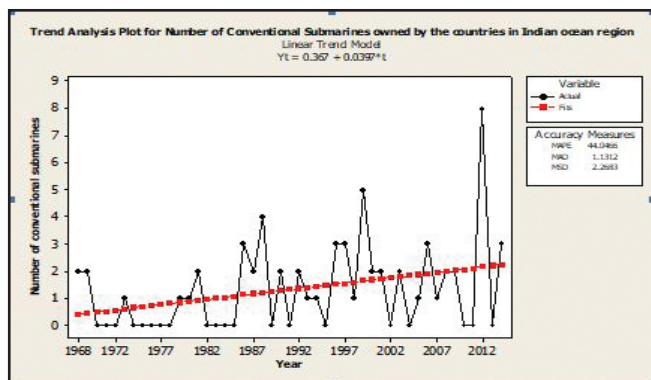


Figure 1. Trend Analysis of Conventional Submarines (SSK) in Indian Ocean Region

19. There is a positive trend of purchasing conventional submarines (SSK) in the IOR countries within the period of 1968-2012. Linear trend model was fitted to the data set and observed an increasing trend of the dependent variable with a coefficient of 0.039. Mean absolute error of the fitted trend line is 44% and Mean absolute deviation is 1.13. Mean squared deviation of the filled line is 2.2.

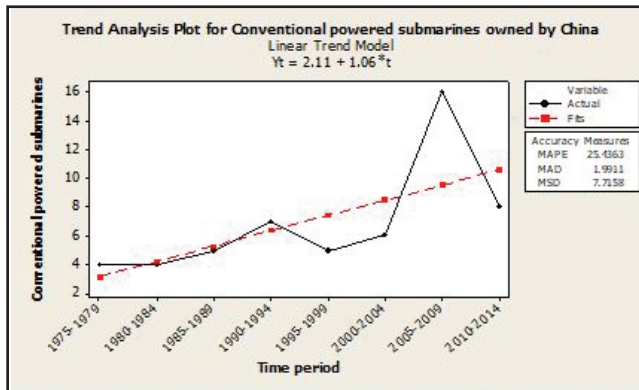


Figure 2. Trend Analysis of ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs) in the world

20. According to the trend analysis there is a decreasing trend in number of SSBN possessed by different countries in the world. Data for last four decades (from 1981 to 2013) was used for the analysis. The coefficient of the trend line is 0.026 and the intercept is 1.76. Mean absolute percentage error of the fitted linear model is 31.56 and Mean absolute deviation is 0.756.

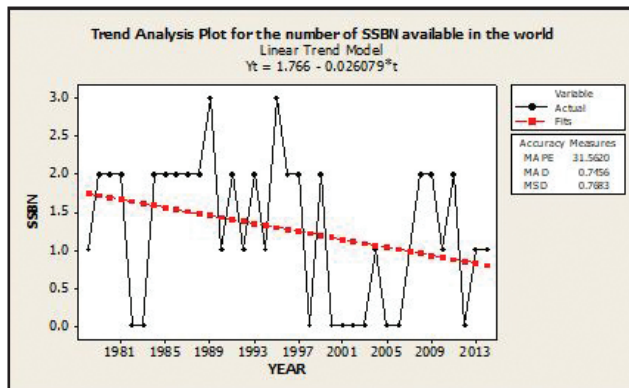


Figure 3. Trend Analysis of Conventional Submarines (SSK) in China

21. Number of conventional powered submarines owned by china with in the period of 1975-2014 indicates an increasing trend with the time. The coefficient of the fitted line is 1.06 and the Mean absolute percentage error of the fitted linear model is 25.44 and Mean absolute difference is 25.43.

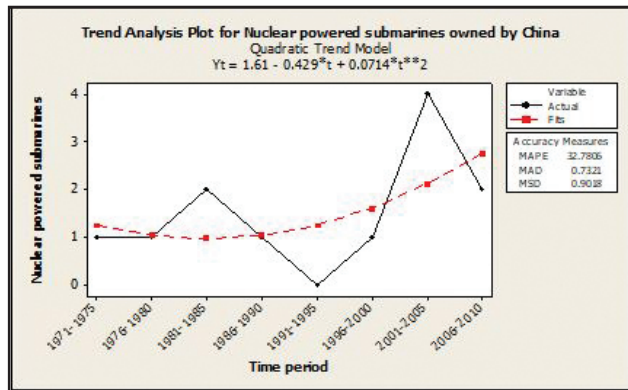


Figure 4. Trend Analysis of Nuclear Powered Submarines (SSN) in China

22. There is an increasing trend in number of nuclear powered submarines owned by China with in the period of 1971-2010. Quadratic trend model was fitted to the data and Mean absolute percentage error of the model is 32.7 and the Mean absolute deviation is 0.7321.

DISCUSSION

23. The distribution of power will be determined by the ability to control choke points and to attack maritime vehicles of all sorts on the open waters of the IO. In the absence of a collectively generated institutional framework an escalating process of cultivating the capacity to do so is likely to continue. This capacity will be determined by the type of submarines and available strategic skill of commanders at the disposal of any given nation state at any given point in time. The access to satellite data will also contribute significantly to this capacity.

24. Possessing an SSBN gives India a hidden, mobile platform armed with Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). Unlike land based ICBMs it is difficult to locate and destroy submarine ones, since submarines are mobile, can remain submerged while travelling and can take cover in submarine trenches and other bathymetric features. Any hostilities with India will unleash a hunt for submarines that will affect all other countries in the neighbourhood as well and draw on scarce resources causing economic distortions and affecting the physical quality of life in the region. A tendency to balance forces by balancing land troop size with ICBMs cannot be avoided and her SSBNs give India a clear supremacy in this respect. Other nations with submarines can either aid the activities of India or seek to disturb them. Both actions will generate tensions and demand increased expenditures. Competitors may also seek to acquire SSBNs to build their own ICBM platforms. This may be accompanied by an increase in the acquisition of attack submarines and submarine surveillance equipment as well as missile defence systems in response to the threat of submarine based ICBMs.

25. Nations using resource that have to transit the IO as well as the global distribution of goods and services manufactured in the region therefore require guarantees that the shipping lanes that they use for this purpose are not disrupted for any reason.

RECOMMENDATIONS

26. There is a clearly evident need for an international treaty subscribed to by all nations using the maritime routes that cross the IO, an Indian Ocean Treaty under which all of them will contribute towards and collaborate with each other in order to maintain a collective presence in the Indian Ocean in order to:

- a. Ensure free movement of their vessels and cargo.
- b. Prevent criminal activities and operations.
- c. Ensure that the provisions of international maritime law prevail.
- d. Ensure that submarines and other naval vessels observe clearly defined protocols when approaching or transiting the Indian Ocean.

CONCLUSION

27. Submarines are expensive weapons that can cause suffering, death and destruction. Their deployment is usually justified on the grounds of their alleged capacity to deter adventurous initiatives and as a defensive force in the event of a conflict. However in the future they may be used to deny access to resources. Therefore access to resources may soon become the primary problem underlying the need for submarines and the need to balance their forces.

28. What is therefore required for the future is a Strategic Resource Allocation Initiative (SRAI) led by Sri Lanka by virtue of its geostrategic location. This initiative will have to effectively engage the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and the Antarctic under which resource allocation is planned and regulated and defended by a Joint Task Force.

29. The emergence of Sri Lanka as an entrepot through which capital flows into these regions via a regional ISBAC (IORA, SAARC, BIMSTEC and ANTARCTIC COLOMBO) stock exchange and finished goods, services and resources are transhipped to global markets via its sea and air ports, as a platform housing the strategic function of the global developmental process, as a centre linking the IORA, SAARC, BIMSTEC and ANTARCTICA, as a location for regional corporate headquarters and centre for the housing and development of the advanced human resource required to manage the developmental process in these regions will burden the island with the responsibility of ensuring that such a SRAI is initiated and sustained. This will necessitate its engagement of global powers at regional level and the generation of several mechanisms including the ISBAC Regional

Stock Exchange and a Humanitarian City at Hambantota (Hambantota Humanitarian City) that brings supply chains together with advanced human resources and logistical support to form a confluence that supports disaster management and risk reduction processes throughout the regions linked by the island and several megapolises in the islands metro regions designed to house the advanced human resources required for the management of the developmental process.

30. The security of this complex that is emerging on this island demands the establishment of an Indian Ocean Treaty Organization (IOTO) as a mechanism to balance the geo-strategic equations in the region and ensure the security of these massive investments and the advance human resources required to manage them.

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BLUE ECONOMY AND THE NEED FOR MARITIME COOPERATION IN IOR

Lieutenant WMPMB Eriyawa

BLUE PLANET

The life begins in the oceans and it continuously supporting all human beings and other lives in the world by generating O₂, absorbing CO₂, recycling nutrients and regulating global climate and temperature. As per the statistics, 72% of the surface of the planet and 95% of the biosphere covered by the all oceans in the world. It provides food and livelihood for the global population and transporting 80% of global trade. Oceans provide significant infrastructure for the global tourism industry by marine and coastal environment in the field of nature based tourism. New technologies mining advanced seabed mineral resources, being 32% of the global supply of hydrocarbons by expanding the field of marine resource development and also oceans can produce means of energies like wind, wave, tidal and biomass resources (UNCTAD, 2012) But human activities have seriously destroyed the marine and coastal resources in modern world. As per the statistics 87% of the global fish stocks are heavily exploited due to human activities. Biodiversity and ecological functions are heavily damaged with escalation of unsustainable coastal development and marine pollution. Rising atmospheric CO₂ level causes the destroying marine ecosystem through ocean acidification and threat has become the trending reason for the world climate change last decades (FAO, 2012).

INDIAN OCEAN REGION (IOR)

2. IOR consisted with different areas of rich ocean resources expanding over three continents and provides key background for trade, investment and technology cooperation between the IOR states. The IOR countries have very strong and historical linkages in maritime trade, cultural exchanges, tourism and pilgrimage, diplomatic relations and Indian Ocean is a major sea route to connecting IOR countries to the outside world. The Principles of blue economy will guide IOR counties for their social and economic development with the help of enormous ocean resources in the region. The IOR has huge probability for deep sea mining to explore hydrocarbons, rare earth metals, and petroleum with advance technology in IOR. And also there is a trending demand for ports and shipping services in the area and it will continuously growing with the development of seaborne trade through IOR. The IOR has the rich tourist attractions from different areas of the world and coastal tourism would gain plenty of prospects to develop respective sectors.

3. Blue economy is an economic process which is showing the best use of ocean resources and it aims at fruitful employment of valuable marine resources to the development process in respective nations. Blue economy can be responds heavy changes and alternatives in development strategies, but it does not appear in the development mainstream.

With the proper initiatives of the blue economy in the coastal nations can be achieve high economic growth by using their own marine resources.

4. Indian Ocean has rich gifts of fish species and key marine natural resources which are contributing to the food security, employment and foreign exchange earnings among the IOR. Developing sophisticated technologies in the field of deep sea mining is possible in IOR, but policy makers need to take proper initiatives to implementing blue economy principles for regional growth and development of economies. Presently, there is a continuation debate in importance of the regional blue economy development and it need to stimulate interests in subject matter among the academics and policy makers to implement these theories in future (Mohanty et al, 2015).

DEFINITION OF THE BLUE ECONOMY

5. A sustainable ocean economy emerges when economic activity is in balance with the long-term capacity of ocean ecosystems to support this activity and remain resilient and healthy”(The Blue Economy, 2015).

6. The concept of Blue Economy is still at a budding stage and it has many synonyms like, Marine economy, coastal economy, and green economy. Blue economy can be seen as ocean economy and it means, “Improvement of human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. At its core the ocean economy refers to the decoupling of socio-economic development from environmental degradation. In this regard, efficiency and optimization of natural marine resources within ecological limits becomes paramount” (UNCTAD, 2014).With the above description, the Blue Economy/Ocean Economy can be defined as, “The economic activity which directly or indirectly uses the sea as an input whereas the coastal economy represents all economic activity which takes place in a specific coastal region” (Morrissey et al, 2010).

7. The marine economy is a sub-set of the coastal economy and can be seen as cluster industries using technology or labour force skills, or require similar natural resources for a common market for the end products in related sector. This sector includes commercial seafood, marine transportation, coastal tourism and recreation, marine science and technology, marine-related construction and infrastructure (University of Massachusetts, 2006).

8. Regional nations need to build up mutual cooperation to use resources and energy with sustainable manner in the context of growing regional competition. There is a huge requirement to understand the real definition of blue economy by the regional states to harness the prospective of the blue economy in the IOR and its concepts can be briefly defined as follows:

- a. Ocean economy is depending on ocean to run certain industry and geographical location based production processes in the coastal and non-coastal regions.
- b. Coastal economy includes all related economic activities with productivity, employment and earnings, taking place on the coast.
- c. Blue economy covers all ocean related activities which are needs to smooth functioning of these economic sectors, while dealing with the environmental damage and ecological imbalance due to heavy ocean resources exploitation.

9. The concept of blue economy has broad and wider capacity. It has multiple interpretations due to area of activities, geographical locations and sectors. Initiating concept of the blue economy can be very significant in the context of creation job market and it emerged as a vibrant factor of some rich economies. That generates to make national policies, develop national level strategies and create global level debates to highlight the importance of the initiating elated blue economy concepts.

IMPORTANCE OF BLUE ECONOMY: KEY ECONOMIC ISSUES

10. It can be achieved several factors by initiating concepts of blue economy in the IOR to gain lots of benefits. All the regional nations need to understand the relationship with their main economies and the ocean resources they have and it totally depends on the sustainable ocean resource management in regional critical issues. The main opportunities given by the blue economy can be categorized is as follows (Mohanty et al, 2015):

11. **Food Security.** Ensuring food security requires improved access to nutritious food of both animal and non-animal origin, reduction of food wastage, low barriers to trade in food and food products, and provision of efficient distribution of food items in food-deficient regions.

12. **Demands for Protein.** Demand for protein can be effectively addressed by the blue economy. Increasing fish production has been the underlying policy priority in most countries of the IOR region and the blue economy paradigm would enhance the contribution of fish to animal protein supply in the regional economies.

13. **Coastal Tourism.** Coastal tourism presents huge potential for job creation and economic growth. The IOR provides biggest opportunities for investment in the tourism sector which in turn would contribute to more robust blue economy in the region.

14. **Seaborne Trades.** More than two thirds of global seaborne trade is routed through the Indian Ocean & IORA states are major suppliers of port and shipping services in the region and also are major producers, users and exporters of iron ore, coal, steel and grain in the world.

15. **Alternative Sources of Energy.** Ocean renewable energy in the form of wave energy, solar energy, tidal energy, hydroelectric energy would reduce the burden on finite conventional sources of energy production.

16. **Coastal Urbanization.** In several littoral countries, fast growth of urbanization along the coast line is the contribution of the blue economy paradigm.

17. **Ocean Health.** The blue economy approach would contribute to the process of restoring the ocean health and its precious resources. But it faces the risk of extinction and secular depletion due to various factors.

18. **Marine Governance.** The potential of marine resources for socio-economic development depends on the effectiveness of marine governance both at the national and the global level. The coastal countries may require formalization of certain regional and global governance and regulatory practices for the success of blue economy in the future.

19. **Ocean Technologies.** Blue economy in the IOR would need ocean technologies and it correspond to technologies used for renewable energy production, deep-sea mining, freshwater production from sea, offshore structural components, ocean acoustics, seabed classification, modeling of oceanic processes, ocean electronics, marine biotechnology, aquaculture, coastal and environmental engineering, among others.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF BLUE ECONOMY

20. Presently, blue economy has not sufficient initiatives for implementing its concepts regionally, even not that much in globally also. It is important to identify the vital factors of the blue economy to develop the concept of blue economy at the regional and national level. It would be set up as an example to take initiatives in the field of blue economy for other regions in the world by imitating and following (Mohanty et al, 2015).

21. **Efficient Utilization of Marine Resources.** Efficient and sustainable use would facilitate greater use of hidden marine resources in an effective way to develop the overall economy with the contribution of ocean.

22. **Exploiting Opportunities in Emerging Marine Industries.** The framework of marine economy has new opportunities/investments in the fields of research and development, technology development, Marine biotechnology, Marine Information Technology, Tourism and Leisure that can explore new resources and expect huge benefits while utilizing available marine resources and technologies to accelerate national economy growth.

23. **Inclusive and Harmonious Growth with Sustainability Concerns.** The blue economy promotes maximum and optimum use of valuable marine resources and it not just protecting and rebuilding of marine resources which remain underutilized. The principles of blue economy must fulfill the mixed objectives of optimum use and prevent misuse (EIU, 2015b).

CREATING LEGAL AND REGULATORY INSTITUTIONS

24. All the coastal countries have their jurisdiction on fisheries, minerals, hydrocarbons and other valuable ocean resources in the respective Exclusive Economic Zone's as per the global maritime administration system. Deep sea resources are managed as per the provisions of following international conventions and organizations.

- a. United Nations Convention in the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)
- b. International Seabed Authority (ISA)
- c. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
- d. Indian Ocean Tuna Commission (IOTC)
- e. International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT)
- f. Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC)

25. Most of these conventions are given highly concerns about marine environment and also it has big liability to break those assigned laws and regulations in aforesaid conventions by the member states. In the process of strengthening blue economy activities in an around the oceans, it is essential to establish institutional regulating bodies with legal power to access the occasions of maritime disputes in related to use and protection of maritime resources (Mohanty et al, 2015).

ELEMENTS OF BLUE ECONOMY

26. The importance of the blue economy shows by the term of "Blue", which refers "Water" and the area of blue economy can be expand in every water bodies and water related activities within the maritime nations. Basically, these activities would include with the fresh water also. But the core of the blue economy depends on all the related activities in the oceans including Maritime trade, fisheries and aquaculture. Almost all the development sectors in the national economy are connected with the blue economy activities in the maritime nations. Following key sub sectors of national economy can be identified as main elements which are exhibiting dynamism of Blue economy (Mohanty et al, 2015).

27. **Agriculture.** Agriculture is the vital economical sub sector in the field of blue economy and it refers to fisheries and aquaculture in global context. This sector includes food, nutrition, livelihood security, job creation and foreign exchange earnings.

28. **Mining.** Oceans are having rich gifts of oil, natural gas, minerals including hydrocarbons, rare earth metals and other marine resources under the seabed. Oceanic minerals and offshore mining considered as a trending major sectors of the blue economy.

29. **Industry.** Industrial sectors of blue economy can be taken as Marine related manufactures, Electricity generation, Gas and Hydrocarbon industries. These industries will seek technician, engineers, and many more work force for their needing and shipping and marine industrial engineering sectors will grow with that.

30. **Services.** With the rising general service requirements of the global market, the marine services sector shows significant growth in future and the importance of the Blue economy. Ports and shipping, Tourism, Banking and financial services, Transport and logistics, Marine commerce and ICT can be seen as major services sectors.

MARITIME SECURITY AND THE BLUE ECONOMY

31. The concepts of maritime security and the blue economy can be found through in better ocean governance by the political and academic discourses. These concepts are the objectives of ocean governance and the success of blue economy depends on the protection of maritime security in the region. Basically, maritime security can be defined as the protecting maritime space from various threats and risks to ensure good order at sea. But the blue economy is not just about national economic growth of respective nations. That needs continuous blue economy growth, marine health and marine sustainability. The concepts of blue economy and maritime security are innovations of past century and following maritime security threats can be identified as serious threats to the global blue economy initiatives.

- a. Inter-state disputes
- b. Ocean born crime
- c. Piracy
- d. Illegal Unregulated and Unreported fishing
- e. Illicit immigration
- f. Smuggling of arms, people and narcotics
- g. Terrorism
- h. The proliferation of WMDs
- j. Threats to freedom of navigation
- k. Environmental risks
- l. Marine/seaborne disasters

32. These threats have interred linkages among them and also maritime security threats have other types of security agendas like National security, Human security, Marine safety and especially blue economy. The marine environmental degradation increases security stability of blue economy context and past decades, IUU fishing and Somali piracy is highlighted the value of maritime security in to the world. The maritime security also link with the coastal population, because their poverty and marginalization leads to ocean borne crime and their radicalization (Bueger 2015a).

33. Blue economy needs acceptable degree of maritime security to seek possible growth of national economy. Maritime states needs to know the significance of facilitating good connection between maritime security and blue economy which could be leads to good co-operative ocean governance out at sea. There are four types of activities which can be badly affected to the blue economy and maritime security. That means ocean governance out at sea.

a. Coordination - The maritime nations required national, regional and global level strategies, laws and action plans which can coordinate among them to successful ocean governance out at sea.

b. Mutual Understanding - The mutual understanding can be buildup through mutual trust and confidence among the coastal states and that is the big challenge in the context of blue economy.

c. Law - Laws will be remained meaningless until it is enforce. Understanding the nature and difficulty of maritime challenges will leads to work towards joint, inter-connected, inter-state law enforcement and prosecution.

d. Capacity Building - Capacity building is a dialogue and collective learning process on how challenges can be handled better to buildup ocean governance. The capacity on delivering ocean governance of nations is different] one country to another.

34. The concepts of maritime security and blue economy are two sides of the same coin and neutralizing security threats out at sea can gain economic prospects which leads to better ocean governance. It's highly important to identify the link between responsible people for maritime security and blue economy to develop the marine interests (Bueger 2015b).

CONCLUSION

35. The environment of the oceans need to be maintain in healthy and productive way to meet recognized sustainable development goals. But the ongoing degradation and exploitation of marine eco system shows the immediate implementation of sustainable development goals by the world policy makers. Coastal and island nations can play a major role in sustainable development and that well suited with their conditions, restrictions and challenges at the forefront of blue economy approach. The high seas need critical consideration to manage ocean resources with rising technologies and global market prices to deal with sustainable development goals.

36. A number of potential investment opportunities are emerging from a blue economy paradigm, at different levels and scales in IOR. Some remain in their infancy, while others are coming to fruition. Experiences from other sectors illustrate how various instruments and models could be applied to address the inherent challenges and risks associated with investments in the ocean. While the difficulties associated with managing and valuing ocean resources will differ greatly, the importance of secure and legitimate allocation of property rights are not withstanding. Ultimately, the flourishing of blue economy opportunities in IOR is contingent on attracting the necessary investment capital. Regional investors can innovate to structure appropriate financial models, but industry also must develop the projects that are investable, while policy makers have influence on the enabling environment. The countries with blue economies are gifted with highly valued marine resources which were backed them in different ways by facilitating food, energy, biodiversity and many more to fulfill human requirements for centuries. All the coastal states are highly depend on ma-

rine resources like fishing, minerals, hydrocarbons, renewable energy for their livelihood by empowering coastal communities and developing social and economic background. In that context, developing ocean resources in best and sustainable use is vital factor for the coastal states which are depending with blue economies. Most of marine resources are believed to be untouched in different places in marine environment and future of those rich resources is dependent on efficient utilization.

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NEW CHALLENGING DYNAMICS OF INDIAN OCEAN REGION - IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Lieutenant MM Widanapathirana

SECURE MARINE ENVIRONMENT AGAINST MARITIME POLLUTION

Environmental challenges facing the Indian Ocean, and the rim countries, often receive less attention. Environmental issues can significantly affect the region's economic activities and environmental stability. While the natural environment in the Indian Ocean is faced with a excess of threats, this piece of writing takes a quick look at some of the critical challenges which need to be addressed.

- a. Ocean resources
- b. Climate change and natural disaster
- c. Bio-security
- d. Marine pollution

OCEAN RESOURCES

2. The Indian Ocean possesses a range of valuable natural resources including sea minerals, coral reefs and fish stock. Coral reefs are under the threat of depletion due to global climate change, direct human pressures, and inadequate governance.

3. In the rim countries coastal ecosystems and recreational services provided by them play an important role in tourism, fisheries and livelihood of coastal communities. Therefore, degradation of coastal ecosystems can have negative impacts on national economies.

4. The region also possesses enormous amounts of economically valuable mineral resources and energy resources (both oil resources and renewable energy resources) which remain less exploited. Utilization of these resources needs to be done collaboratively by the IOR countries as such activities can have harmful impacts on the marine environment. Additionally, territorial claims by the countries and related political aspects also have become important concerns in the recent past with regard to natural resources usage as well as conservation in the Indian Ocean region.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND NATURAL DISASTER

5. The Indian Ocean Region is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. The region hosts a significant proportion of poor, living in areas highly vulnerable to various impacts of climate change. The countries have varying but limited capacity to cope with the impacts of climate change, which can come in the forms of extreme weather events, sea level rise, to name but a few.

6. In addition, climate change is linked with other regional environmental issues -

loss of biodiversity, for instance - which can have serious negative economic impacts on development in the region. Taking adaptive measures to face the impacts of climate change remains one of the top development priorities for Indian Ocean rim countries.

BIO-SECURITY

7. Marine bio-security refers to the protection of marine environments from non-indigenous species, and this has direct implications on biodiversity in the marine ecological systems in the Indian Ocean. It has been found that Invasive Alien Species (IAS) are becoming a significant threat to marine biodiversity, where ballast water is viewed as a major cause of their proliferation.

8. However, comprehensive studies on bio-security are rarely found in the case of the Indian Ocean, and it is becoming gradually more important to assess the marine bio-security risks for Indian Ocean rim countries. Structured and transparent evaluation techniques are needed in dealing with the issues related to bio-security, both in ecological and socio-political perspectives, supported with knowledge and resources to properly inform appropriate actions. Bio-security requires the cooperation of a range of actors including scientists, policy makers and law enforcement officials, and therefore collaboration mechanisms as well as joint research and knowledge sharing on this subject at regional level are key.

MARINE POLLUTION

9. The Indian Ocean region is also vulnerable to high levels of pollution caused by ocean dumping, waste disposal and oil spills as a significant amount of international trade takes place in the region's waters. The wastes pose threats to the survival of marine organisms and consequently, on the marine ecosystem, on which millions of livelihoods depend. In addition, being bordered by fast growing economies such as India and China, as well as other East Asian economies, there is a high possibility of more industrial waste disposed to the ocean.

10. Eutrophication of near-shore environments due to pollution from land-based sources and their run-off has impacted economic activities such as fisheries, tourism and also affected fragile ecosystems.

WAY FORWARD: GREATER REGIONAL COOPERATION

11. Indian Ocean Region must bear in mind that they are affected not only by the economic significance of this ocean, but also the environmental challenges faced by it. When the environmental challenges are regional in nature, national level policies and strategies of individual countries alone are insufficient. Future actions have to considering the fact that environmental challenges are naturally interrelated and complex. There needs to be a regional level cooperation to deal with the environmental challenges which are common to all Indian Ocean rim countries.

12. As at now, such challenges are not adequately managed through regional policies, laws, multilateral agreements, or in the least regional collaboration by scientists and experts. The various issues related to the ocean environment are interlinked and caused by a complex of man-made and natural factors. Therefore, the formulation of regional policies and strategies has to be supported with comprehensive research which brings in actors from all relevant disciplines, from the entire region.

13. The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea is relevant to the issues regarding Ocean Sciences and Environment. The important features of the Convention includes navigational rights, territorial sea limits, economic jurisdiction, legal status of resources on the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, passage of ships through narrow straits, conservation and management of living marine resources, protection of the marine environment, a marine research regime and most importantly, a binding procedure for settlement of disputes between States. Collaboration among the states in our region is key to make the Convention operate effectively.

SECURE BLUE ECONOMY THROUGH STRATEGIC MARITIME PARTNERSHIPS

14. **Blue Economy, Sectors and Activities.** 'Blue Economy' is marine-based economic development that leads to improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. The role of blue economy which aims at optimum and sustainable use of oceanic resources for growth and development is critical for the coastal nations specially for the small island developing states.

THE WAY TO SECURE BLUE ECONOMY IN THE REGION.

15. IOR should develop appropriate policies for developing blue economy in the region. The overall economy of IOR countries needs to be devised a suitable accounting framework to measure the contribution of blue economy. An appropriate institutional mechanism may be developed at the regional level to formulate and examine the size of blue economy in different member countries.

16. For sustained eco-friendly aquaculture in the region, fish farming techniques concerning species diversification should be encouraged. Suitable preservation technologies, disease prevention and necessary promotional measures are necessary to enhance the protein contribution of fish and fish products in the IOR.

17. Proper urban planning and efficient packaging of tourism-related activities could be useful for promoting coastal tourism in the region. Stand-alone country-specific tourism packages may not be sustainable. Therefore, regional tourism development package covering both eco-tourism and monumental tourism should be encouraged.

18. Coastal urbanization by using sustainable, low-carbon and eco friendly processes and technologies may enhance the contribution of blue economy especially in marine services. Regional guidelines may be evolved with a focus on low-carbon and eco-friendly

technologies for coastal urbanization.

19. Technology development and regional cooperation among the member states in sharing of expertise in building energy infrastructure is important for raising production of renewable energy in the region. Regional initiatives may be made to connect regional energy potential to enhance production and absorption of clean energy in the region.

20. Sustainable use of living organisms can lead to discovery of new drugs in the IOR. Efforts towards regional collaboration may be evolved to develop “Regional Products” in the pharmaceutical sector. IOR countries should explore the possibility of establishing national and regional funds for research and innovation in marine biotechnology. IOR countries may undertake targeted policy measures in ship building, port modernization, design of cruise vessels and related areas to promote shipping and cruise industry in the region.

21. Regional mechanism should be evolved to foster technology transfer for deep-sea exploration and management of resources. IUU fishing is a concern for the regional economies in the Indian Ocean. Necessary measures to control IUU fishing in the deep sea through institutional mechanism may be evolved. IORA countries may consider formulating medium-term strategy for blue economy and integrating such policies with their overall economic policy programmes.

ENABLING OF EFFECTIVE SAR MECHANISM

22. The Indian Ocean provides major sea routes connecting the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia with Europe and the America. Hence it is a vivid requirement to having effective SAR mechanism and regional SAR cooperation. It will firm the safety of Indian Ocean rim citizens, safety of international air traffic & merchant shipping Tracking, safety assurance & intervention, search & rescue responses, managing risks to tourism, managing risks from blue economy initiatives and economic efficiency in provision of SAR services.

BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

23. Indian Ocean rim counties consist of different capabilities. Hence the following potential issues should be considered as barriers to the achievement of the expected SAR capability.

- a. Absence of established appropriate legal framework designating, recognizing, supporting and giving authority to national SAR authorities, Rescue Coordination Center (RCC)
- b. Inadequate funding and equipping of SAR authorities and in particular, resourcing of RCCs;
- c. Absence of an appropriate SAR organizational framework;

- d. Absence of a national SAR committee;
- e. Lack of clarity of responsibilities for each component of the SAR system;
- f. Absence of bilateral/multi-lateral/international SAR agreements;
- g. Inadequate civil/military cooperation; and
- h. Complacency about lack of recognition of the importance or priority given to SAR.

24. To overcome above challenges and barriers Indian Ocean rim countries have engage with following elementary regional SAR cooperation. Such as

- a. International Maritime Organization (IMO)
- b. Nav, Comms & SAR Sub-Committee (NCSR)
- c. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
- d. Air Nav Planning & Implementation Regional Groups
- e. IMO Joint Working Group (JWG) on SAR
- f. Cospas-Sarsat distress beacon alerting system
- g. Capacity building & technical cooperation programmes
- h. Indonesian Transport Safety Assistance 2007-15
- j. Maldives, Mauritius & Sri Lanka 2015-2018
- k. Bilateral agreements with neighbouring SRR

25. It is essential to have operational regional SAR cooperation and mechanism to;

- a. Assist each other across SRR boundaries for the technical & operational advice
- b. Drift modelling, prediction & tracking
- c. Maritime communications with shipping
- d. GMDSS and Cospas-Sarsat alerting,
- e. Project capabilities for others to access ship tracking picture for SAR purposes Satellite maritime communications
- f. Assistance with search aircraft across SRR boundaries
- g. Multi-national mass rescue operations (e.g. MH 370)

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IMPACT OF TRADITIONAL AND NON - TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS ON NATIONAL SECURITY OBJECTIVES

Lieutenant IS Waduge

National security is a most required segment of a country whether it is a developed country or not because it can affect on every individuals. There are no boundaries for the security. Geological position of a country can create a hotspot in the world. For example; Sri Lanka became a hotspot in the Indian Ocean region due to its geological position. Today people not fight with guns but with the ideologies. Because of that, we have to concentrate on geopolitical solutions for the world problems rather than think about the conflicts or wars. In ancient time our ancestors use to fight against countries to achieve new territories by war nevertheless today we are experiencing the same but in different faces of conflicts between ideologist within the country or around the world. Threats are getting worst and modernized with this sophisticated and highly equipped society. Governors have to focus on enormous atmosphere to lay security borders against these threats. There are two types of threats that influence to the national security of a country. They are traditional and non- traditional threats. These threats influence to countries differently due to the governing system. Countries follow Realism, liberalism, communism, socialism, Idealism etc. due to that, the impact of the threats are differed from one to another. For an example, North Korea follows realism. They focus on their military power to dominate the world powers. They do not worry about the sanctions and restrictions from the world institutions. Therefore their traditional and non- traditional threats are vary compare to other governing systems.

2. Traditional security threats are tangible for the military power. The consequence of the war between states, ethnicity, religious conflicts, and ideological struggles are some of them. Security is a contested concept therefore Security should be equal to individuals and the nation. Traditional threats are vary from region to region. No country can stay alone in this existing diplomacy. Sometimes people justify military as an extravagance. The government allocates a huge amount of budget for the military aspects. If the government does not focus on the military with their white paper all the clandestine operation will come into the forum. Then smugglers do their illegal activities without hesitantly. For example, if there is no NAVY, drug dealers can easily import their drugs to the country. Then substance abusers rapidly spread out. Then labor force will rapidly reduce. Education will stuck on stumps. Knowledgeable citizens will migrate abroad. Then culture, traditions getting collapse. Then the nation will fail. This is the reason that citizens should pay the taxes for the government to obtain security for themselves. Otherwise, how can the government maintain the military? This is a very controversial subject to compromise.

3. There are three types of security which can deploy against threats from inside and outside. They are Individual security, national security, and international security. The government must focus on crimes, highway safety, health care, work place safety and personal economic stability of individuals in the society and governor must focus on disaster management, encountering Organized crimes and identity theft, domestic extremisms, espio-

nage and critical infrastructure management etc. other than that unbiased law and order, excellent constitution, good education system, well educated political leaders, conceptualized people etc are the turning points of a country.

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

4. Religious extremism is the most violent and vulnerable threat to national security in the modern scenario. Now we can experience ample of the incident all around the world. This is directly affected to the harmony among the nations. Governments have to deploy police and highly skilled intelligent units to catch the extremities groups. It is required to train good public relation officers to communicate with minor religions about the injustice and inequalities happen to them from majorities. Extremism is provoked by the ideologies around the world; therefore, need to prepare proper diplomatic relationship channel to encounter these arousing units in the country. This is very emotional and sensitive matter to control in patiently. We cannot use hard power to take decisions against extremism. We should have to control them with smart power; for an example, US military funded to the terror organizations in Syria and Iraq to destroy so call ISIS extremities. As a result of that Kurdish militants and other organizations successfully accomplished this task.



MARITIME SECURITY

5. Maritime threats and border security are another highlighted traditional threat in modern world. Exclusive Economic Zone violation cannot acceptable from any country without informing. By the way, maritime security is not merges with the land lock countries. The government required increasing harbor security to minimize these threats. Sometimes hostiles try to deploy sabotage and destructions inside harbors. This can unswervingly effect to the reputation of a country. For example; Temporary employees problem at Hambantota harbor incident. Navy has a massive role regarding national security. We have to expand blue water capabilities of the Navy. US Navy has ten fleets and squadrons around the world. They control the enemy powers where ever they can. There is no sophisticated sonar system to detect under water threats around the harbor area and coastal belt in countries like Sri Lanka though hostiles can come to nearby and collect information about the country. Government should allocate funds to enhance the harbor security equipments capabilities.

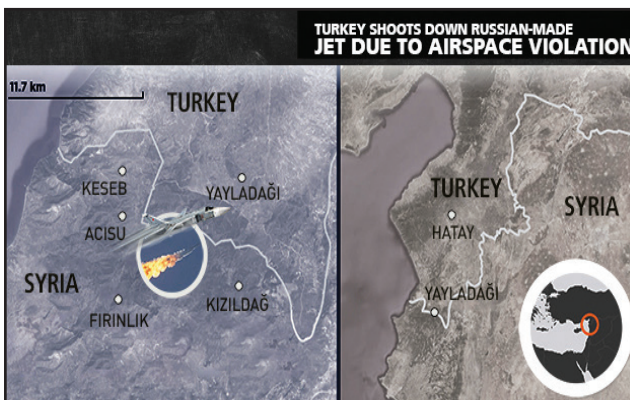
6. Sea piracy is another major story in maritime security. Governments have to provide security to ships and crafts maneuvering in there waters. Otherwise merchant ship not going to select the sea routes nearby at all. East African coastal sea route is the most vulnerable SLOC in the world. Island nations have huge responsibilities against sea piracy. Deploy joint international patrols in blue waters and SLOCs are the fruitful decisions taken by the nations along the coastal region.



AIR-SPACE VIOLATION

7. Collecting information is threat for the national security although Air space violation and collecting information have a close relationship. Some hegemonies in the region violated air space of small countries. Highly sophisticated radars use to detect these flights and fighter aircrafts. Therefore Air Force has the responsibility to control them or destroy them. Government must take diplomatic negotiations with states regarding air space violation.

8. We have to enhance our three forces and police department capabilities to count-down terrorism. Ideologies and extremities initiated the terrorism. Intelligence units have a massive role inside the country and outside the country to excavate these terrors from the world. Terrors are funded by NGOs, Diasporas etc. because terrors are deal with the weapons and explosives. These initiatives can earn more income for the weapon manufacturing countries. Especially by Israel, US, etc.



NON-TRADITIONAL THREATS

9. In the traditional threats, the greatest danger to the country is from military threat. The source of this danger is another country which takes military action and endangers the core values of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and lives of ordinary citizens. Furthermore, the non-traditional security consists of dangers such as Food security, economic stability, energy security, spy, CBRN attack, cyber attack etc. Qatar crisis is the most suitable case study to realize the impact non-traditional security threats around the world. They occupied the highest rank in GDP before the issue. Qatar is a very small country mostly depends on Saudi Arabia. But what happens to them after Arabian countries discontinued the connection with them.

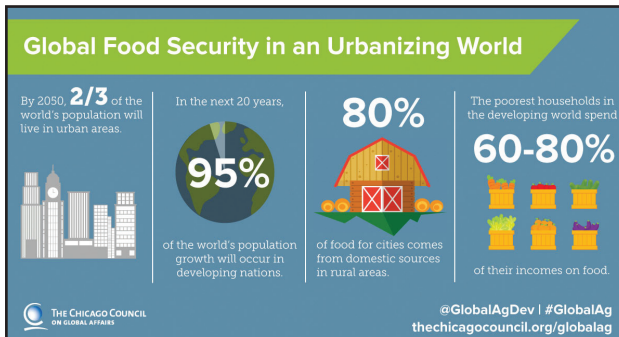
10. Today they are suffering from various matters. They were not self-occupied. They were not considered about the diplomatic relationship between other countries in past. Economy divides into three parts. They are Internal, external and environmental. It is required to balance these three constraints to develop a country. Waste management is related to environmental economy. There was an article on Aljazeera English magazine “Why garbage men should earn more than Bankers” by Rutger Bregman, 2016. This elaborates the importunity of the garbage management. Governors have to make some attitudinal changes regarding this problem. Need to find out new technological solutions for the garbage dumping otherwise it will create various diseases such as Dengue, cholera, diarrhea, skin diseases etc. waste management connected with plenty of social issues.



FOOD SECURITY

11. Food security is a multi dimensional concept. This means having sufficient supplies of affordable food throughout the year to ensure a healthy and productive life. There are four components regarding food security. Physical availability of nutritious foods, economic access, pure drinking water, utilization or absorption in the body is the factors of a stable and healthy country. Potential of agricultural system to feed the population with adequate nutrition and ground situation affected by unequal and physical distribution is the precision of a developed country. The government should enhance their perceptions and conceptual decisions regarding production economy and cultivation with technology. Some countries facing exceptional situations like droughts, cyclones, floods, tsunamis etc. these

things effect on national food production. Today we are stand on sustainability revolution time. Sustainability is on three pillars. They are Economic stability, natural environment, and healthy commodity. Under these constraints, United Nations developed 17 sustainability development goals. No Poverty, Zero Hunger, Good Health and Well-being, Quality Education, Gender Equality, Clean Water and Sanitation, Affordable and Clean Energy, Decent Work and Economic Growth, Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure, Reduced Inequalities, Sustainable Cities and Communities, Responsible Consumption and Production, Climate Action, Life below Water, Life on Land, Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions. If we can develop these goals we can achieve our country into developing level. These sustainability goals were recognized by the United Nations in recently.



ENERGY SECURITY

12. We are running out of fossil fuel in very nearly future. Therefore we have to think about the new energy sources. Government must allocate more and more funds on Research and development sector furthermore motivate public regarding innovative ideas and new products. Developing countries have to control the fuel consumption for the transportation and the electricity. Countries near to the equator have direct sun rays throughout the year though countries near to equator can fulfill their energy requirement by using solar energy. Initial cost for this kind of project will be too high nevertheless it can cover the cost within 10 -15 years. . For example; morocco established a large scale solar project. This is the world biggest desert solar panel project. Countries like Sri Lanka always depend on fossil fuel. Therefore government must implement highways and improve public transportation to save fossil fuel wastage. Other than that they can obtain specialist knowledge from highly conceptualize people around the world to minimize fossil fuel usage



FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN DOMESTIC MATTERS

13. Every nation has a dignity and proud. But some organizations violate this right for the necessity of them. They create internal and external struggles among the citizens to expedite their objectives. Geneva resolution is the most suitable example of this foreign influence. Governors need to prepare strong foreign policies in the constitutions and the same time develops a smart white paper to cover national security against foreign influences. A single nation cannot challenge to whole institutions in the world. But we have to use smart power to deal with international organizations. We have to go for a production-Economy. Then we can stand alone and not depend on international institutes. We have to enhance our goodwill with international organizations by supporting the peace keeping operations, humanitarian ops, etc. it has been observed some countries not follow international institutes rules and regulations. For example, North Koreans do not consider the UN sanctions against their nuclear sanctions. Iran continues their nuclear experiments with the warnings. China is acting a ruthless character in South China Sea conflict by violating UNCLOS. China is one of a VITO power country but their perceptions and preferences are very controversial to the world peace.



CYBER CRIMES

14. Cyber crimes are the most vulnerable and greatest threat to world national security. To keep cyber security affordable for companies and they have to protect those assets is the strategy that will affect companies. As per the reports, 95 % of hacks are possible because of human error and 78 % percent of hacks happen through tricking the user with social engineering tactics. Despite the complexity and sophistication of the cyber attack, an organization can and must take measures to prevent systems from being compromised. We have to implement tough security fences against cyber crimes and focus on strategically approach to spending the people and system processes. Evaluate the security capabilities of third parties is not merged factor for the cyber security. Companies have to work with partners and other organizations on security and threat awareness programs. Mobile phone applications and activities highlighted cyber attacks. Therefore we have to implement robust security protocols for mobile devices and BYOD (Bring your own device) policies. Recently we experienced Ransomware cyber attack which affected by encrypted files, folders,

and hard drives over 200,000 computers in over 150 countries worldwide. Just think about this statistics and we can realize the ability of the cyber attack against the world. This is a non-traditional threat and pop-up with the newest sophisticated technology. Furthermore, Ransomware attack reminds us of how vulnerable business and economies are to cyber warfare. It is not just our national security that's at risk; it's our economy as well.



ILLEGAL POACHING

15. Illegal fishing can violate adjacent country international maritime boundary line. Fishing is one of the major income for a country and it is a lucrative occupation for the fishermen. Because of this income people violate the rules and regulations implemented by the United Nations (UNCLOS). We have to take strong diplomatic decisions between neighboring countries regarding illegal porching and develop Coast guard and Naval force to arrest illegal activities in own waters. SL is also facing Illegal poaching struggle with Indian hegemony and not suppressed.



ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

16. Illegal immigration becomes a huge stress for the world. Governments have to allocate a vast amount of money to control this matter. Most of the African countries and Middle East countries haven't proper management and ruling systems in their countries. These countries haven't good economic background and stable dollar flow. Sometimes they

have ample of natural resources but they cannot occupy them to achieve maximum output. Most of the Middle East countries consolidated with ideological conflicts. Some countries faith on Sunni Muslims while others, Shia. Because of these separations, states deteriorate their ruling system. People from sub-Saharan countries cross the Sahara desert and the Mediterranean Sea to enter Europe. Therefore Mediterranean countries have to deploy more and more border patrols along the coastal belt. As we all know Greece had a very stable economy in past. But after providing shelter for asylum seekers they had to face big trouble and still them making way to settle down the economic crisis. This illegal migration and asylum seekers create an intolerant influence for an economic stability. Governors have to take firm decisions to limit and restrict these illegal migrants and asylum seekers. For example; Donald Trump took a controversial decision regarding banning people from six countries to enter into states. This can make a very positive impact on US Economy. If there is no illegal migrants mean there are lots of job vacancies for the native people. Then governors can enhance the national pride and status of the people. If governors behave in a fragile way they have to accept the defeat.

17. National security objectives differ from country to country due to the geological locations and economic states. Some countries have , national security objective while some countries having a unsystematic national security objectives. To prepare a white paper need to consider about the basic parameters of the threat, evaluation of the considers, the instrument employed by nations, personal security, state security, international political system, soft power, hard power, smart power and hegemonic status. Analyze geostrategic dimensions in traditional and non- traditional security and Governors have to understand the developmental process of National Security objectives to prepare a white paper. Vulnerabilities also consider for the national security objectives such as Physical, legal, organizational, technical, political, social economic, psychological and cultural vulnerabilities. As per professor, Barry Buzan signifies different components of the state are vulnerable to different types of threats were strong states are primarily threatened by outside forces while weak states may be challenged both from within and outside. I would like to conclude this discussion with my perception about Sri Lankan national security objectives. Sri Lanka has very fragile political preferences regarding decision-making process. There are no any firm national policies regarding national development and national security. Sri Lankan national policies are being changed instead of political parties. National policies and National security objectives should be untouchable by politicians. It should be under one authority that cannot be biased by any one. If we can implement this proposal we can make hoist Sri Lankan flag at the helm of the Asian region.



