



SRI LANKA NAVY JOURNAL

December 2019

Volume 05, Issue 2

SRI LANKA NAVY JOURNAL

Sri Lanka Navy Journal is a bi-annual publication which provides the opportunity to discuss matters relevant to national interest and current global affairs. It serves as a potent medium for all serving members of the Navy to present their ideas, express their opinions and share their insights on subjects of national and global importance whilst enabling them to improve their writing skills and broaden the knowledge horizon of their knowledge.

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Naval Research Wing
SLNS Gemunu
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T:P - HNRW	011-7196265
SSO (NRW)	011-7196266

E-mail: slnjournal@navy.lk

Printing

Naval Printing Unit

ISSN 2448 - 9409

FOREWORD



I consider it is a privilege and honour to pen down the forward to the 8th Edition of Sri Lanka Navy bi-annual Journal, December-2019. Indeed, it is a great pleasure for me to witness the booming progress of this literary initiative throughout its journey since 2015. Being the primary academic compilation, Navy Journal creates a platform for naval personnel to flourish their writing skills.

Motivating naval personnel towards writing and enhancing their writing skills, remain to be the main objectives of this collective effort. The increasing number of articles received for this edition by naval personnel bear evidence that the bi-annual Navy Journal has fulfilled its main aim within a short period of time. I believe this initiative will pave the way to transform Navy into a professional Navy having scholars with higher standards of academic background.

I take this opportunity to extend my appreciation to the Editorial Board for their immense effort and dedication to make this journal a success. Further, I would also like to praise the authors who contributed this bi-annual Navy Journal with their writing and I firmly believe that this journal would definitely be an inspiration for prospective writers within the naval family.

Finally, I encourage both present and prospective writers to make this journal an opportunity to unleash your creativity as well as the readers to read these articles and share their feedbacks, whilst enhancing their knowledge.

Please do remember reading makes you a perfect person and writing will enhance your clear and concise thought process.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'K. De Silva'.

KKVPH DE SILVA, WWV & Bar, RWP, RSP, VSV, USP, ndu
Vice Admiral
Commander of the Navy

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

The pioneering effort of the Sri Lanka Navy bi-annual Journal is being continued with the publication of its 08th edition. The Navy Journal is dedicated to enhance the intellectual capacity as well as the research capabilities of naval personnel. Today we are satisfied that our expectations have become a reality as more naval personnel have contributed to this journal and outside academic institutions have appreciated our hard work whilst expressing their willingness to interact more on academic domain.

The writing skill will open limitless avenues to enhance knowledge of an individual. It is an integral part of any profession and Sri Lanka Navy also has no exception. When an individual gains more knowledge through writing and reading the better he becomes in decision making. Hence, this journal is the best platform to produce professionals of the highest caliber. By making up your mind to put something into a paper you all have become winners of yourself. In the future, if you continue to do so, you will find that it will be more rewarding and satisfying experience. Hence, we appreciate all authors who have contributed to the success of the journal by submitting quality research papers, articles and book reviews. Also we look forward your continued support in the future as well.

The 8th edition of Sri Lanka Navy bi-annual journal comprise of both articles and research of naval personnel who are experts on various fields. Hence, we sincerely hope that their views will surely influence policy makers and broaden their horizons. We take this an opportunity to encourage prospective authors of the Sri Lanka Navy and inviting them to continue with their habit of writing which would surely lead the Navy to next higher level. Further, we are much grateful for thoughtful guidance and the inspiration given by the Commander of the Navy in continuing this worthy cause.

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HAS CHINA TRAPPED SRI LANKA IN A DEBT TRAP?



Commodore Pradeep Rathnayake, RWP, RSP & Bar, USP, psc, Mmaritimepol, ndu

NOIC (Welisara), Commanding Officer SLNS Gemunu, Senior Co-ordinator Band &

Head of Naval Research Wing

“China remains the main partner in Sri Lanka’s infrastructure development process despite the change of governments. But, China’s concessionary finance is still better than World Bank, JICA or ADB loans. However, the Chinese bank loans amount only for 10% and misconception about very large proportion of debt maturing in the future is the major concern. Actually debt problems are not really about excessive borrowing. It is about not investing wisely. Sri Lanka’s problem was borrowing money from outside and spending borrowed money on corruption and non-profit making infrastructure are important reasons why we have become a debtor”.

Introduction

The Communist Party of China formally adopted the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) during the 19th National Party Congress in 2017 under the party constitution to build a community of shared futures for mankind under the leadership of President Xi Jinping. As an outcome, the Chinese President declared his second term with an aim of developing a new approach towards international relations with a new vision characterized by the Chinese ideological value systems and traditions.

Moreover, the BRI accommodates at least 68 countries including Sri Lanka with a total investment of \$ 8 Trillion which is intended to develop a massive infrastructure such as transportation, energy, telecommunication projects bridging together Africa, Europe and Asia. These ambitious investment plans are expected to meet the global economy that will also serve main economy, foreign policy, and defence concerns for the government of China as well¹.

However, the Indian Pundit Brahma Chellaney has coined the term “Debt Trap” because China’s finance generally comes in the form of loans and not in aid. Hence, the propaganda alleged that China gains favourable access to the projects it finance by way of loan repayment, thereby extending its influence over the country in which they invest and relative advantage². So the critics say, Sri Lanka is a text book example of “Debt Trap Diplomacy” of China in which they own more than \$ 8 billion to state controlled Chinese firms. The proponent further claims as a result of struggling to pay back the country’s debt, Sri Lanka

1 Hurly J, (et al), Examining the Debt Implications, CGD Policy paper121, March 2018.

2 Magazine of International Economic Policy, Will China’s new Trade/Debt Diplomacy, and International Economy winter 2018.

formally handed over \$ 1.1 billion Strategic Hambantota port deal to China on a 99 year lease in Dec 2017³.

The essay will first discuss the long standing Sino-Sri Lanka relations and then analyze the strategic context on which Sri Lanka operates followed by a comparative analysis of Africa, Sri Lanka and the rest of the debt-ridden countries of BRI sighting examples. Finally, the discussion will focus on why Sri Lanka could not sustain debt and then the domestic woes before making concluding remarks.

Sri Lanka-China Historic and Economic Relations

According to the available historical records beginning from early times up to 15th century, China-Sri Lanka relations had been conducted in a peaceful and amicable manner. Emissaries from the kings of Sri Lanka visited China and payed tribute to the emperor in the 1st and 2nd centuries⁴. The great traveler monk from China, Fa Hsien, visited Sri Lanka in 411 BC and stayed on for two years in the Island. For the first time in China, female ordination had been carried out in 434 BC by the female monks who visited Nankin⁵. Similarly, another significant historical record is the expeditionary voyages of Admiral Zheng He who visited the island five times during the Ming Dynasty and the dispatching of six emissaries to court of Ming emperor by the King Parakramabahu of Sri Lanka. So, over the years, the relations were more of religious, cultural and economical in nature. However, in the fifteenth century it became political in nature. In 1952 Sri Lanka and China signed the historic Rubber-Rice pact which marked the beginning of the expansion of bilateral trade between Sri Lanka and China, leading its way to a stronger economic cooperation between the two countries. In 1957, both countries promptly established diplomatic relations with each other.

Thereafter, in more recent times China was one of the few countries that continued to supply arms and defence equipment for security forces and also supported Sri Lanka against the meddling of Western powers who claimed human rights violations against the security forces during the armed conflict which ended in 2009. The direct interference of the West in Sri Lanka's internal affairs in contrast to China's foreign policy of non-interference of internal affairs led Sri Lanka to look for alternative partners who could assist in rebuilding the much required infrastructure. Despite the criticism from the major power blocks, the Sri Lankan government took a strategic decision to join BRI of China keeping in line with win-win cooperation along with fellow developing countries while striking a balance between friendship and interest⁶.

3 Schultz, K, Sri Lanka Struggling with Debt, The New York Times, Dec 12, 2017.

4 Bastiampillai, J, China-Sri Lanka: Trade and Diplomatic Relations, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka.

5 Ibid.

6 Zeguang,Zheng, Major Country Diplomacy: China International Studies, May/June2018,p.11.

Sri Lanka's Geostrategic Dilemma and Implications

Sri Lanka's long conflict provides the clearest manifestation of a maritime nation's critical relationship with its surrounding seas. The Indian Ocean governs the safety and security of Sri Lanka; its bountiful waters bring economic prosperity, as well as geostrategic vulnerability. A terrorist group like the LTTE could not have waged war against the state, for three decades, without the flow of arms, which they received from abroad via the sea.

Therefore, I believe the debt trap theory is influenced by the declining of the deeply rooted US strategic dominance and the rise of China and concerns of India as major powers in the region. The balance of power equation is shifting in the Indian Ocean region (IOR). Many Indian analysts see a significant danger due to increasing strategic competition between China and India in the Indian Ocean as they are trying to establish strategic pre eminence in the region. China's strategic relationship with the United States in the Indian Ocean is relatively stable but the economic trade war between the US and China continues. In this back drop, the handing over of the strategic Hambantota port on a 99 year lease to China owing to Sri Lanka's debt crisis could be seen as a major threat by India and the other western countries.

On the other hand, India has shown their resentment concerned with China's increasing relations with Sri Lanka and has indicated its dismay on many occasions. On one occasion, Indian National Security Advisor MK Narayanan raised his displeasure when Sri Lanka was attempting to acquire a Chinese built JY-11 3D radar system on the assumption that it would 'overarch' into Indian airspace. There have also been disagreements pertaining to the mega Colombo South Harbour Development Plan and mining rights of the Mannar Basin⁷. Similar resentment was displayed when a Chinese submarine docked at the Colombo harbour in 2014, the incident reportedly angered India which considered it as undermining their security.

However, analysts say India's tension over Chinese investment in Hambantota is not purely based on military concerns because India was initially offered the deal but declined due to unknown reasons. One reason could be the unsustainability due to Indian bureaucracy, and India's plan to upgrade its own ports in Southern India, namely Vizhinjam, Tuticorin, and Cochin. Historically, there has been a fierce and deeply rooted contest between Indian and Sri Lankan ports, especially Colombo, which commands the region's profitable transshipment business.

Furthermore, the Pentagon analysts have carefully nicknamed China's 'String of Pearls Strategy', a master plan to acquire several strategically located naval bases, ports and listening outposts in the neighbourly countries in order to safeguard the billions of dollars of commerce that pass through vitally important sea lines of communication like the Strait of Hormuz or the Strait of Malacca.

⁷ Ranasinghe,SR, Sri Lanka- the New Great Game, Strategic Analysis paper, 24 March 2010.

They argue in the event of major conflict with US, China needs to secure its maritime commerce against possible US blockade which could cut off China's energy supplies overnight. Therefore, Chinese Naval deployments in areas such as the Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal is crucial for their future survival. Hence, they believe over the years that China is trying hard to address its strategic vulnerability by courting countries such as Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Maldives which have the direct access to major shipping lanes⁸.

Hambantota Port; Test Case or Misleading Example

Since this topic has attracted credence from all corners of the world, plethora of articles could be found on the internet against China's debt book diplomacy by the Western journalists. However, the number of articles countering the claims from the Chinese perspective are found to be surprisingly low. One of the major articles written by Sam Parker and Gabrielle Chefitz of Harvard Kennedy School of Policy Studies points out China's strategic leveraging of its newfound economic influence and consequences for the US foreign policy. In his research paper, he analyzes 16 number of potential targets of China's debt book diplomacy under three strategic goals : Debt Book West/String of Pearls; Debt Book South/SCS Influence; and Debt Book East/Second Island Chain and Beyond. Under Debt Book West, Pakistan, Djibouti, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka are identified as major targets⁹. In the paper, he takes Hambantota as a case study and warn against "Future Hambantota."

Hence, as a Sri Lankan Navy officer who is familiar with the affairs of my own country than the academics who have never been to Hambantota, Sri Lanka or China can find many flaws in this argument. However, on searching an article to counter above example, I came across a paper written by scholars of Schiller Institute who seem to be more neutral. According to them, I also agree with the building of Port in Hambantota is purely a decision of Sri Lankan government and it was not a Chinese idea. The plan was initially discussed in late 1990 but drawn in 2002 long before BRI was launched. Another glaring omission is a failure to highlight the close proximity of the port to a very busy shipping lane where approximately 200-300 ships are passing daily and its future potential.

Another point is that Parker's and other international financial institutions and their partners' negative attitude towards the developing countries to eradicate the poverty and slow economic progress. At the end of decade long civil war, Sri Lanka requested financial support from India, Japan, IMF, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to assist construction of Hambantota port but, funding was denied due to various reasons. But China did not reject Sri Lanka's request considering the long term friendship, instead they funded the port and many other projects as decided by Sri Lanka to achieve future economic progress.

⁸ Rehman,I, Keeping the Dragon at Bay: Asian Security, 2009.P.122.

⁹ Parker S and Chefitz G, China's Strategic Leveraging, Harvard Kennedy School International Affairs Paper, March 2018.

On the other hand, according to Wang Se of the South and Southeast Asian and Oceanic Studies, point out China was not involved in the management of the port prior to the deal which was signed in 2007, but only involved in construction. The lack of revenue generation is due to political instability, that is common in Sri Lankan society and the gross inefficiency of the management. So, China compelled to internecine as it would only raise the risk of Sri Lanka breaking the contract. Also, from 1950 until 2017, the government debt to GDP in Sri Lanka was average of 69.69%. This was caused by low revenue and extensive welfare costs, which were deeply rooted in Sri Lanka's financial deficit. The government had to borrow money in year 2016 as Sri Lanka's financial deficit accounted for 5.4% of its GDP. According to the government figures, Sri Lanka's debt to Japan reached 12% of its total GDB, but debt to China stands at \$ 2.87 billion which is only 10% in 2007. Therefore, it is a question why the the West does not blame Japan for Sri Lanka debt issue. This Western view clearly shows how their double standard when China is helping the developing countries¹⁰.

According to government officials, a total of \$ 1.1 billion incurred for three phases of the development of this project, including building of a container terminal. It was not a Chinese plan, but an idea of Sri Lankan government to ease up the congestion in Colombo harbor, the only major port of the country, and putting up an industrial zone in its proximity. This plan introduced in 2002, well before the BRI was conceived. Under the "Regaining Sri Lanka" economic program, building power plants and industrial zones to foster economic activity has been introduced.

Debt Trap or Investment: African Example

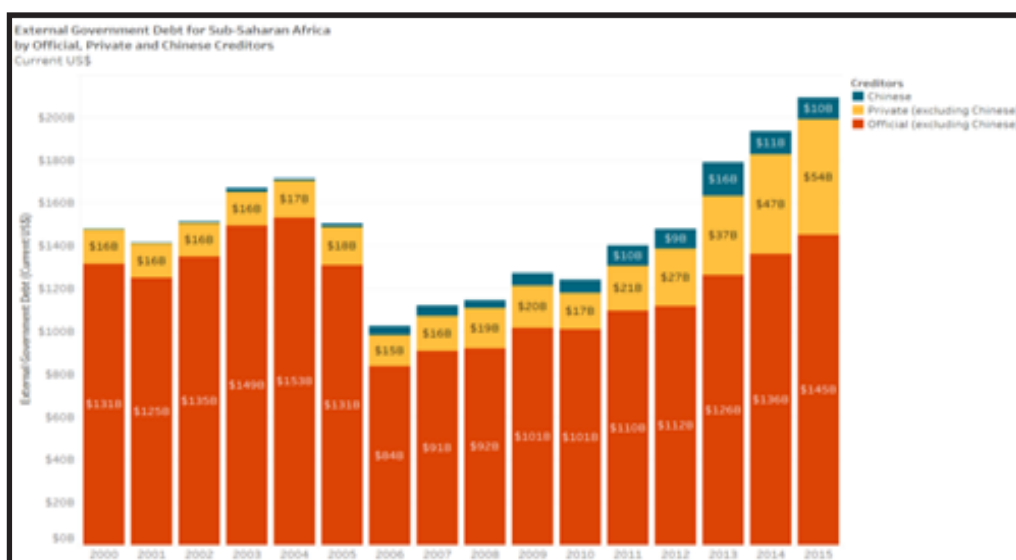


Figure 1: External Government Debt for Sub-Saharan Africa
Sources: World Bank, <https://data.worldbank.org/products/ids>

10. Se,W, Western media misread Sri Lanka's debt issue, Global Times Published: 2018/7/15.

Another example of the Western duplicity is the Chinese contribution to developing countries in Africa. According to W. Gyude Moore, visiting fellow, Centre for Global Development, the debt-trap diplomacy has never been adequately argued in its application to Africa. The truth of Africa's debt to China is not especially significant when taken across the sources of the continent's external debt stock as per the figure 1. A number of African countries' (Kenya, Angola and Djibouti) debt liability to China are frightening as they would be irrespective of creditor¹¹.

Recently, again W. Gyude Moore, Liberia's former Minister of Public Work has spoken about the African view of Chinese financing from his own experience as the official who negotiated many infrastructure projects with the Chinese side, giving his opinion to the way in which China is usually portrayed. He says because of the limited money that is coming out of international financial institutions, countries like Liberia have to look elsewhere due to their poor credit record history. The only country that can save countries like Liberia is China and China just waived billions of dollars of its debt because Liberia could not possibly depend only on the World Bank or the African Development Bank to finance their infrastructure that will not happen and it's a fact¹².

This is how Moore responded to the use of the example of the Sri Lankan port of Hambantota: *"Everybody brings up the port in Sri Lanka, but China has given out billions of dollars in debt. And in my view, that the port in Sri Lanka is the only example that people can give, shows that Sri Lanka as an example, this one instance, cannot be seen as the be-all and end-all of how China engages its partners"*¹³.

According to an Advanced International Studies (SAIS-CARI) at Johns Hopkins University, that the bulk of African debt is not controlled by China, but by Western countries and such Western-support institutions such as the IMF and World Bank. As documented by the authors of this article as quoted by Schiller Institute Special Report "Extending the New Silk Road to West Asia and Africa," China's loans and total foreign direct investments (FDI) in Africa are smaller than those of these western institutions, but they are more directed towards construction of infrastructure, manufacturing and agriculture, while Western investments are directed towards mining and financial services¹⁴.

Why Sri Lanka Could Not Sustain Debt?

There is another comprehensive study carried out by Centre for Global Development in Washington, found more credible findings on China's debt implications associated with BRI. In the policy paper, the researchers analyze the prospect of the debt problem in 68 countries who are potential BRI borrowers.

11 Moore,W,G, 2018 FOCAC: Africa in the New Reality, Aug 31(2018).

12 Askary H and Ross J, Why China's Debtbook Diplomacy is a Hoax, The International Schiller Institute, Aug 30, 2018.

13 Moore,W,G, 2018 FOCAC: Africa in the New Reality, Aug 31(2018).

14 Ibid.

They found that only eight countries are at high risk of debt problems based on an identified pipeline of project¹⁵. Interestingly, despite the claim of majority literature painting a suspicion on the Chinese intentions, these new findings conclude that Sri Lanka is not coming under risk of debt distress when compared with the other countries of the BRI. In fact according to a Sri Lankan government official, Beijing is “Willing to Give” an estimated additional \$ 24 billion as part of BRI if requested. This may be due to the fact that findings were concluded post debt for equity swap of Hambantota port. Post debt for Chinese investment of several countries are indicated in figure 2.

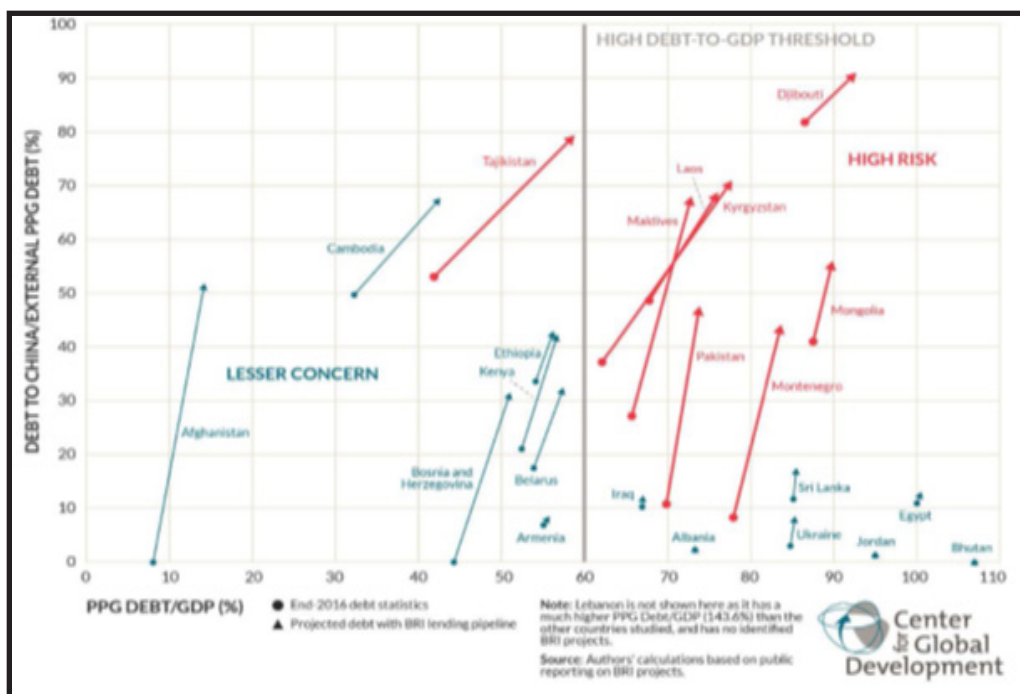


Figure 2: Post Debt for Chinese Investment
Source: Center for Global Development

However, another important area that the report highlighted is the sustainability of the debt. If infrastructure development is the decisive requirement of growth in developing countries, then debt financing is the driver of that process. However, unlike the public borrowing to support the productive investment of today's wealthy countries from their own savings, Sri Lanka's problem was borrowing money from outside. So, when the government borrowings from foreign creditors not accompanied with enough revenue generation to cater for debt, it can generate a downward spiral of which requires debt restructuring strategy.

On the other hand, Ethiopia is a classic example opposite to Sri Lanka. Ethiopia has

15 Hurley J, (et al), Examining the Debt Implications, Center for Global Development, CGD Policy Paper 121 March 2018, p.1.

recorded rapid economic progress due to a massive public investment program financed through loans and other credit facilities. Ethiopia's public infrastructure investment rose from about 5% of GDP in the early 1990's to 18.6% of GDP in 2011, and during 2010 and 2015, average of GDP growth recorded over 10%. It was acknowledged from this massive infrastructure investment program, China's economic performance has also benefited. Chinese authorities have also had to address the instability in financial markets, monetary expansion build-up and economic fragility of debt that resulted in from these investments¹⁶. Having comparatively analyse the different views on the Sri Lanka debt trap diplomacy, let's turn into domestic concerns of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka's Domestic Concerns

Due to the long term relations with China, Sri Lanka has no reservation on China's genuine intention of providing assistance to Sri Lankan people. However, there had been clashes with local people with police in few instances relating to Hambantota issue but it did not affect the Sri Lanka-China relations. The local media brought out reports concerning the transparency of the Hambantota project and questioned the long term impact. Some local journalists reported 99 year lease period is far too long and harsh on a small country. Somewhere it is said that Ports Authority can buy a further 20% share after 10 years and Sri Lanka has the right to re-purchase after 70 years. At what cost? Are they ever going to be realistic? Several future generations have been tied down by this government without their consent, they argue.

However, China remains as the main partner in Sri Lanka's infrastructure development process despite the change of governments. One local newspaper reported when Sri Lanka accepting loans from foreign markets they are generally over 5% and expensive but, China's concessionary finance is still better than World Bank, JICA or ADB loans.

For example, \$ 1 billion Hambantota port would incur an interest rate of \$ 25 million per year but, interest rate for the \$ 1.7 billion LRT (Light Railway Train) funded by JICA is expected to cost \$ 17 million per year and there will be a small annual payments on top of that. Up until now, for Mattala Airport, Sri Lanka has paid \$ 31 million as interest for the \$ 200 million. The China EXIM Bank so far has given loan amounting to \$ 3.1 billion, were all concessionary-fixed at 2%. Also in 2014, Sri Lanka borrowed \$ 400 million from China Development Bank at near commercial rates (roughly between 3-5%).

China takes great pride in the policy of non-interference in domestic affairs but local people are aware that this may not be the case in recent issues. For them, it was not clear whether payment by Chinese SOE's into foundations and campaign funds were for commercial or strategic influence. What is clear is that Chinese money was used to influence domestic politics and the integrity of elections. All great powers use money to gain influence or have done it in the past Sri Lanka is no exception.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Conclusion

Official statistics show that 39% of Sri Lanka's overseas debt is borrowed from international markets of US based institutional investors. The Chinese bank loans amount only to 10%. Those said, Chinese loans account for a very large proportion of debt maturing in the future explains the major concern. Actually debt problems are not really about excessive borrowing. They are about borrowing and not investing wisely. It doesn't make sense to borrow as when the return we get is lesser than the expenditure. Spending borrowed money on corruption and non-profit making infrastructure is one important reason why we have debtor woes reports one of the leading newspaper in the country¹⁷. The underlying problem with Chinese loans are not financing expenditure or debt traps. As extensively discussed and analyzed in this paper, it is the lack of transparency, absence of competitive bidding, corruption and politically motivated selection of projects which lack foresight. Now we are aware that, China is also plague by these same problems as we are, despite economic progress. It is difficult to expect Chinese companies to be governed by one set of rules in China and by another set of rules aboard, unless we enforce them to do so. So, Sri Lanka needs to understand that no point of accusing but it's our responsibility to enforce our law, above all, in our own hands.

17 Alphonsus D, China's Legendary Loans to Sri Lanka a Tale of 5 Myths, Sunday Observer, 11 Nov 2018.

DERIVING STRATEGIES FOR SRI LANKA TO BECOME A GLOBAL MARITIME HUB THROUGH SWOT ANALYSIS



Commodore Prasad Kariyapperuma, USP, psc, MHS, MMS, PG Dip in IR, BSc (DS), hdmc, AIMA

Naval Officer in Charge - Trinco South

“Sri Lanka is uniquely positioned in the middle of the Indian Ocean connecting East-West main Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC). According to the government policy document, the Sri Lankan government is working towards making the country a hub in five key sectors, namely: maritime, aviation, commerce, energy and knowledge. Out of these proposed five hub concepts, maritime hub concept is more likely for realisation. What are the strategies the Sri Lankan government should adopt to realise this government policy concept? If the unique potential of Sri Lanka is tapped wisely with a carefully thought-out strategies to overcome weaknesses and threats, Sri Lanka has an enormous potential to become a Global maritime hub”.

Introduction

“Sri Lanka is uniquely positioned to leverage its opportunities to become a hub for the Asian Century.”

Sri Lanka: Asia’s Next Wonder

To become a maritime hub like Singapore, a country should be capable of handling multiple tasks connecting with the maritime domain. Some of these tasks may be, leading in container transshipment, bunkering, ship building and ship repair, handling passenger liners, ship registration, ship financing, ship brokering and ship insurance. Sri Lanka is uniquely positioned in the middle of the Indian Ocean connecting East-West main Sea Lines of Communication. Proximity to Indian subcontinent is also a major contributing factor for Sri Lanka to become a maritime hub. Sri Lanka has already become a regional and International maritime transshipment hub. The aim of this research paper is to construct some strategies for Sri Lanka to become a global maritime hub like Singapore through SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths

According to the government policy document, the Sri Lankan government is working towards making the country a hub in five key sectors, namely: Maritime, Aviation, Commerce, Energy and Knowledge.

For Sri Lanka, the most influential factor is its geo-strategic location. The island

is only 10 nautical miles off the world's busiest shipping lane that connects the West to China and South East Asia. Therefore, Sri Lanka provides a strategic naval link between the West and the East. The country is also on the circumnavigating equatorial route. It is the shortest route to circumnavigate the world across the Panama Canal, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal and the Strait of Malacca. Sri Lanka and its ports also matter because the country is located approximately 32 km from the Southern tip of India. India being the fastest growing economy in the world, Sri Lanka is an ideal place to reach both the East and West coast of the Indian sub-continent. This proximity to India is a crucial factor supporting Sri Lanka's trade and economic potential. The country is also located on China's Indian Ocean trade route. It is reported that approximately 200 ships pass Sri Lankan waters daily.

The country's main port is located in Colombo and the Lloyds Register has ranked the Colombo Port as the No. 1 port of South Asia and the world's fastest growing port. A large number of markets across the Indian Ocean region can be accessed with ease from this port. The Colombo Port is being developed under the Colombo Port Expansion Project. One of the biggest competitive advantages of the Colombo port is its low port costs, which has resulted in attracting many shipping companies to the Colombo Port. Even at present, around 40% of Indian transshipment traffic is handled by the Colombo port. With the construction of Colombo South harbor breakwater, it paved the way to develop a port city adjacent to the harbor by refilling the sea. The project has already commenced, sponsored by the Chinese Government. This will provide much needed land area closer to the Colombo Port for its smooth operations.

In addition to the Colombo Port, the latest deep-water port facility in the country is the Hambantota Port located in the deep south of Sri Lanka. Since the Hambantota area has vast lands, there is also sufficient space to provide facilities to set up factories, stores and warehouses within the port premises as well as outside. The Southern Expressway connects the region to Colombo and the rest of the island while the newly built Mattala International Airport will connect the southern coast of Sri Lanka to the world. One of the most important advantages of this port is that it involves no deviation for the vessels lying the East-West shipping lane. As a measure to further boost economic activity at Hambantota Port, the Sri Lankan government declared it a "free port".

Apart from Colombo and Hambantota harbours, Sri Lanka boasts to have one of the finest natural harbour in the world in her East coast of Trincomalee and one of the world famous marinas, which connects world equatorial circumnavigation in her South coast of Galle. During the British colonial period, British rulers considered Trincomalee harbour in the East coast of Sri Lanka as its most valuable colonial assets. Both these harbours have an immense capacity for further development and effective utilisation.

Ro-Ro (Roll on-Roll off) operations where cargo is driven on or off the vessel (generally for vehicles) commenced at Hambantota port in June 2012 with a consignment of cars from Tamil Nadu's Hyundai plant destined for Algeria, followed by massive 1,000-car transshipment.

Along with the Maldives, Sri Lanka is one of the two countries in South Asia those are currently rated among high human development on the Human Development Index (0.757). With a literacy rate of 92.5%, Sri Lanka has one of the most literate populations amongst developing nations. Its youth literacy rate stands at 98%, computer literacy rate at 35%, and primary school enrollment rate at over 99%. Women in Sri Lanka enjoys equal rights and freedom alike men. Women are equally occupied in most of the sectors including military, government and private sectors. Generally, men as well as women linear towards western culture mainly due to colonization. Sri Lanka's former Prime Minister Ms. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was the first woman head of the government in the world history. English as an international language is widely used in Sri Lanka for education, scientific and commercial purposes.

Sri Lanka expanded its naval strengths rapidly up to 56,000 naval persons including volunteer forces during the last three decades mainly to fight against LTTE Sea Tigers and to protect the island's coast line from unauthorized entry. Currently Sri Lanka has a large work force of trained naval personnel, who can be absorbed to the shipping industry.

Sri Lanka is abandon of rivers originated from central hills and water tanks constructed by ancient kings mainly for agriculture, all around the island. One of the main rivers named "Kelani Ganga" enters sea, closer to Colombo harbor. "Mahawali Ganga" being the Sri Lanka's main and longest river enters sea, at Trinomalee bay and the "Gin Ganga" enters sea closer to Galle harbour. Free availability of freshwater is very important factor for harbours and ships.

With the election of new government, relations with India, USA and European countries have improved tremendously due to change of previous foreign policy which led to removal of some restrictions for mainly export of apparel and fishery products. Allegations for credibility of war crimes by USA and European Union also eased.

Weaknesses

Those in the shipping industry believe that port projects in Sri Lanka should be able to provide diverse facilities. They should include ship repairing, ship handling, training for seafarers and also layup facilities, which allow ships to remain at a port when the vessel does not have any cargo to transport. It is also crucial to offer competitive pricing and an efficient service to attract international shipping lines to local ports.

Many investment decisions are made based on diverse global indexes such as "Ease of doing business index". Therefore, it is also important that these indicators for Sri Lanka are on par with accepted international norms.

Sri Lankan foreign policy was too much linear towards China. In order to promote local ports, it is crucial to build and maintain political affiliations with the nations that are to make use of Sri Lankan port facilities. Almost all the harbor development projects including related infrastructure developments

in Sri Lanka have been undertaken by the Chinese Government. Therefore, Sri Lanka's development in the maritime domain is heavily dependent on Chinese investments. This is an unbalanced situation making Sri Lanka vulnerable in Chinese domination.

Compare to ports like Singapore, Sri Lankan ports are lagging much-needed awareness and port promotion campaigns. Since the local market is limited, Sri Lanka should be promoted as a transshipment hub and also a place where ships are provided a variety of ancillary facilities.

Though Sri Lanka boasts about 93% literacy rate, Sri Lankan ports and shipping industry is facing lack of skilled labour. It is not sufficient, only to have infrastructure, they have to provide efficient services. Though Sri Lankan ports are experiencing lack of skilled labour, most of the unskilled labour requirements like port security are overloaded with excessive labour mainly in Colombo port due to involvement of politicians. This unwanted labour makes Sri Lankan ports inefficient and overburdened.

Present Sri Lankan ruling government consists of members from two main parties. President and the Prime Minister are also from different parties. This combination makes the Sri Lankan government highly unstable. Therefore, the present government in Sri Lanka is volatile and sometimes it can't take much-needed decisions for the prosperity of the country. Government policies of Sri Lanka are subjected to change frequently specially with the change of the ruling party. Frequent change of government policies makes the country unstable and less attractive for foreign direct investment. Lack of transparency in government functions and processes is a major drawback since most of the administrative functions in Sri Lanka are carried out by the government systems. This mainly leads to corruption, weaker governance, weak law enforcement and inefficient administration.

Sri Lanka's economy mainly driven by the service sector being 60%. The industrial sector is only 28% and the agriculture sector is 12%. Lack of export-oriented industries in Sri Lanka makes it less attractive to call more ships to its harbours. Regular strikes in main ports of Sri Lanka make the ports more unreliable and inefficient.

Extremist Muslim, Sinhala, Tamil and religious fractions are a major barrier for the development of projects in Sri Lanka. These extremist fractions always try to create conflicts among different communities to take the advantage out of crisis situations. This makes Sri Lankan government and the country unstable.

Since the Sri Lankan culture is centered and evolved with agriculture for centuries, still Sri Lanka tries to rely mainly on agriculture. Therefore people's attitude change towards the maritime domain is an important factor to become a maritime nation.

Island's power supply is heavily dependent on diesel and hydro power plants. Generation of electricity by diesel plants is more expensive and by

hydro-power plants it is more unreliable. At present, island has only one coal power plant constructed by China. Therefore, government is struggling to supply uninterrupted electricity during drought periods.

Table 1: Summary of Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths	Weaknesses
The vision of the government	Lack of diverse facilities
Geo-strategic location	Weak infrastructure facilities
World class shipping ports	Ease of doing business
Geographical location	Policy of weak International relations
The Colombo port	Weak promotion campaigns
Expansion of Colombo Port	Lack of skilled work force
Low port costs	Unstable government
The Hambantota Port	Frequent change of government policies
Commencement of Ro-Ro operations	Lack of export oriented industries
Development of infrastructure for connectivity	Lack of transparency
Free port concept	Large scale corruption and bribery
Potential of other ports	Civilian strikes
Least deviation time	Extremist fractions
Ability for future expansion	People’s attitude
Colombo Port city project	Over employment
High HDI and literacy rates	Policy of heavily dependent on China
Well trained naval strength	Weaker power supply
Abandon of fresh water resources	Non availability of own merchant ships fleet
Gender equality	
English language	
Policy of friendly foreign relations	

Source: Developed by Researcher

Opportunities and Threats (Challenges)

Opportunities

The trade routes that cross the Indian Ocean region connects the West to the East. They transport oil and raw materials from the Middle East and Africa to Asia and function as a supply route of manufactured goods to the Western countries. Cargo, Crude oil and LP gas transportation by sea is much cheaper

than transportation by means of road, rail, pipeline and air. Therefore, the future trend of using main sea routes around the world by ships is increasing. Further, expanding economies of China, Japan other South East Asian countries will accelerate this trend in the Indian Ocean Region. China is heavily dependent on Indian Ocean sea routes for its export and import trade. Therefore, the security of Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) is a main concern of China. To achieve this, China is working towards redeeming its lost ancient Maritime Silk Route (MSR) concept for trade. Therefore, China is heavily investing in improving infrastructure facilities along these sea lanes.

Robert D. Kaplan, in his world-famous book “Monsoon”, clearly describes the future of the Indian Ocean and its rise fuelled by large expanding economies like China, India, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia and South Korea. He has explained that the importance of Pacific Ocean is shifting towards the Indian Ocean gradually in the 21st century. Therefore, the Indian Ocean is becoming, the most important Ocean amongst other Oceans around the world in the 21st century. Rise of India and China and thier economies are the main contributing factor for rise of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Giant economies and populations of China and India are creating great opportunities for many South and South-East Asian Nations surrounding the Indian Ocean. In “Part I” of “Monsoon”, Robert D. Kaplan explaines, expansion of China and India to dominate Oceans. It stated that China expands vertically, India horizontally. With the expansion of China and India towards oceans, eventually competition for dominance in the IOR is clearly evident. This competition opens opportunities for strategically located countries in the IOR like Sri Lanka.

Till recently, India was aligned towards Russia which had created huge problems for Sri Lanka when Sri Lanka developed good relations with the USA in 1970's and 1980's. Sri Lanka always has had strong relations with USA except for last regime. With the election of a new government in Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka renewed its friendly relations with USA again. At present, India is building up its relations with the USA. Therefore, this period is a great opportunity for Sri Lanka to look for US investments and businesses. The USA mainly focuses on building up strong relations particularly with India being the largest economy and the military in IOR. Further, the USA is very much interested in strong relations with Sri Lanka due to its geo-strategic and geographic location.

Sri Lanka considers India not only a friend but also a relative. Indo-Lanka relations spanning back to thousands of years. Though tensions had developed time to time between the two countries, relations between India and Sri Lanka always be cordial. Presently, two governments cooperating each other and in the process of developing strong relations. India is the fastest-growing economy in the world, at present. Strong friendly relations with India is very much important for Sri Lanka to develop towards a global maritime hub. China is always a close friend to Sri Lanka. China depicts that the China-Sri Lanka relation is a great example for a relation between a big and a small country. China is the largest

investor and the donor for Sri Lanka, at present. China is the second largest economy in the world and expected to become “No. 1” in the future superseding the USA. Further, China is having a strong industrial base too.

Japan and Sri Lanka enjoy a very special kind of relations. Till recently, Japan was the “No. 1” donor for Sri Lanka. Japanese and Sri Lankan people have a strong bond. Strong relations started between the two Nations with the famous speech delivered by the former Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardena in 1951 at San Francisco conference held against WW II atrocities by Japan. Sri Lanka is having a good bi-lateral relations with South Korea for a long time. Lots of Sri Lankans are given the opportunity of working in South Korea. Buddhism in Japan and South Korea is also a main factor for this cordial relations. South Korea is a strong technical industrial base like Japan and its economy continuous to grow. Sri Lanka has a huge opportunity to expand its export industrial sector with the collaboration of Japan and South Korea.

Developed countries like Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Malaysia are located in the South-East Asia Region. All these countries have well established technical an industrial base. Singapore is considered as the world transshipment hub. Apart from that, countries like Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Philippine, Indonesia, Brunei and Myanmar are also steadily emerging in the South East Asian Region. Therefore, the emergence of South East Asian Nations located in the IOR is a major opportunity.

Creation of a canal was proposed at a narrow stretch of Thailand similar to Panama Canal in South America to shorten the circumnavigation distance. This will immensely reduce the navigable distance, time and cost to reach the South China Sea via the Indian Ocean. If this happens, it will cut off Singapore port being the “No. 1” transshipment port in the world at present and connects directly Sri Lankan and Indian ports.

At present, Indian ports face issues such as lack of feeder vessels, port delays and India’s Cabotage law. Even though India has as many as 21 ports, this law prevents maritime cargo movements from one port to another port within the country by foreign-flagged vessels. The largely unscheduled nature of the Indian shipping services and the limited capacity that is insufficiently spread across various ports in India also makes it more profitable for ships to call at Sri Lankan ports.

An estimated 3.5 billion people live in the Asia Pacific region. Almost one third of the global population lives in India and China where a large middle-class market is rapidly emerging. Thus, it is evident that the demand for global commodities will be on a steady rise in Asian markets. Sri Lanka is an ideal location from which to access all these large emerging markets.

It has been estimated that more than 40% of the world oil and gas reserves are located in the IOR. With the ever-increasing significance attached to energy security not only by the countries within the region but also nations, which are

outside the region are interested in having a stake in these resources. Oil and natural gas being the lifeblood of the present day industrialised economies, access to these resources play a significant role in the Indian Ocean.

Threats (Challenges)

There is a growing concern that Sri Lanka might lose out to the competition in developing port infrastructure in the region. Some argue that the upcoming ports in the IOR in countries such as Bangladesh, India and Myanmar will result in Sri Lanka losing its competitiveness in ports.

The IOR has been called "The Broad Incubator of Terrorism". With ongoing conflicts in countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as unrest and instability in a number of regions such as India's Jammu and Kashmir, Tibet, South and North Korea, the regional strategic environment is extremely volatile. Arms and drug trafficking are most alarming in this region. The Afghanistan-Pakistan region is considered to contain the world's largest concentration of the illicit weapons. The notorious drug producing and illicit arms trading areas of the 'Golden Crescent' and the 'Golden Triangle' lie within the region too.

The recent financial crisis is the worst that the world has seen since the Great Depression of the 1930s. At present, in all major regions of the world, the economic recession is deep-seated, resulting in mass unemployment, the collapse of state social programs and the impoverishment of millions of people.

Global warming and rising of sea levels is a steady phenomenon taking place around the world. Because of this phenomenon, low lying countries like Maldives and harbours around the world are in a continuous threat.

The Indian Ocean is also a key venue for international piracy. It is of great concern to many nations in the region as well as outside the region as the threat posed by piracy and armed robbery against ships in the Indian Ocean has had a major impact on global trade and economy. According to the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) reports, Somali pirates have hijacked 49 vessels in 2010.

During the three decades long civil conflict in Sri Lanka, huge number of Tamils migrated and settled in developed countries like USA, Canada, Australia and Europe on refugee status. Some migrated to Tami Nadu by crossing the narrow sea stretch using boats. All these migrated Tamils had created the Tamil Diaspora. This Tamil Diaspora actively sponsored and supported the LTTE during the conflict. Still this Tamil diaspora is active in these countries and voice against Sri Lankan Government.

The voice of the state of Tamil Nadu is a great barrier for cordial relations between Sri Lanka and India. The attacks on Sri Lankan pilgrims in Tamil Nadu and cancellation of military training in the state of Tamil Nadu for Sri Lankan military personnel, non-participation of Indian Prime Minister for the Commonwealth summit held in Colombo, may be by-products of Tamil Nadu

factor. Not only that, India went against Sri Lanka twice in Geneva to pass resolutions against Sri Lanka in human rights.

It is considered that 70% of the world’s natural disasters occur in IOR. Most of the Indian Ocean countries are situated in the world’s hazard belts and are subjected to floods, earthquakes, droughts, cyclones, tidal waves, landslides and numerous natural calamities.

The acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by number of countries in the region is another cause for concern. Both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons. Iran is also engaged in an active programme to empower itself with nuclear weapons and even threatens of using them to maintain its power balance in the world.

The shifting balance of power in the world from the West to the East has led the world to look East. The United States is making a considerable effort to retain its power in the IOR. The region also faces growing strategic competition between various nations in the region as well as external powers. This may create stressful and conflict situations in the IOR.

The IOR is home to a number of chokepoints. The Strait of Hormuz is undeniably the world’s most important chokepoint. Over 17 million barrels of oil (roughly one fourth of the world’s total oil consumption) travel out of the Persian Gulf through this waterway daily. Strait of Malacca is the shortest sea route between the Middle-East and South-East Asian markets. Bab al-Mandeb is another important passage from the Indian Ocean to the Suez Canal complex and the Mediterranean Sea.

The objective of the Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP) is to create a navigation channel through the shallow waters of the Palk Strait and the chain of islands collectively known as Adam’s Bridge to link the Gulf of Mannar and the Bay of Bengal. Digging a deep water channel 44.9 Nautical Miles (83.2km) long, it would provide a continuously navigable sea route around the Indian Peninsula. This would allow ships sailing between the Eastern and Western coasts of India straight passage through India’s Territorial Waters, thus avoiding Sri Lanka.

Table 2: Summary of Opportunities and Threats (Challenges)

Opportunities	Threats (Challenges)
Trade routes	Emerging ports in the region
Cargo transport trend by sea	Relaxation of Cabotage Law
Maritime Silk Route (MSR)	Internal conflicts and terrorism
Rise of Indian Ocean Region	The world economic recession
Rise of India and China	Arms and drug trafficking
Sino-Indo competition	Maritime terrorism
Indo-USA relations	Human smuggling

Indo-Lanka relations	Smuggling of goods
Sino-Lanka relations	Poaching
US-Lanka relations	Rise of sea level
Japan-Lanka relations	Piracy
South Korea-Lanka relations	Tamil diaspora
Emergence of South East Asian Nations	Tamil Nadu factor
US interest in the Indian Ocean Region	Natural disasters
Isthmas of Kra Canal	Nuclear weaponry
Issues in Indian ports	The shifting balance of power
Emerging middle class	Security of choke points
Abandon of natural resources	Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project
Energy security	
Fisheries and fish security	
Regional cooperation	

Source: Developed by Researcher

Conclusion

Sri Lanka is located at the center of the Indian Ocean where the global economy will be focused on, in the 21st century. It also lies on the East-West shipping lane that carries raw materials, energy and manufactured goods from emerging economies such as India and China. Therefore, Sri Lanka has immense strengths to reap benefits from its location. Among the other key hubs, such as aviation, energy, commerce and knowledge, it can become a possible maritime hub that serves the vast expanse of the IOR. If the unique potential of Sri Lanka is tapped wisely with carefully thought-out strategies to overcome weaknesses and threats, Sri Lanka has an enormous potential to become a Global maritime hub.

Recommendations (Strategies)

Leverage, strong friendly relations with Japan and South Korea to establish high tech export oriented industries in automobile and electronic sectors at Hambantota and Trincomalee to attract more ships and also to reduce dependency on transshipment cargo.

Utilize, Chinese strong felt need of redeeming its past glory of MSR, to develop world class infrastructure facilities at Trincomalee and Galle ports including establishment of connectivity between ports by a good road and rail network to increase the efficiency of Sri Lankan ports and to accommodate and facilitate more ships.

Leverage strong friendly relations with China and India to establish world class business zone at upcoming Colombo port city which is at the heart of Colombo city being the main commercial and administrative hub of Sri Lanka to attract more passenger liners to Colombo port.

Use, state of art and professional shipbuilding capability of China, South Korea, India and Japan to establish facilities like shipbuilding, routine maintenance and repair at Hambantota and Trincomalee ports to enhance facilities that acquire by ships. While doing this Sri Lankan ports will be able to attract more ships and also become capable to keep those ships longer durations which eventually generate more revenue.

Utilize, the strong industrial orientation of China to establish industrial zones closer to Hambantota and Trincomalee ports to generate more export oriented goods to reduce risk of more dependent on transshipment cargo and also to attract more ships.

Effectively utilize, excessive well trained naval manpower to run country's main ports particularly during civilian strikes to avoid unusual delays. By doing this, confidence and trust of shipping liners which is a mandatory requisite for a world-class port will be established. Further, the security of ports can be enhanced and ensured by utilizing naval personnel.

Utilize island's high literacy rate to generate more skilled manpower required by the maritime sector to increase the efficiency of ports as well as to decrease dependency on limited skilled labour.

Develop a world class marina at Galle harbor, which is a well-established entry port for world circumnavigators with the expertise assistance from the USA to accommodate and facilitate yachts engaged in world circumnavigation to earn more revenue.

Leverage, strong friendly relations with India, Japan and the USA to transform world famous Trincomalee natural harbor to a strategic port to accommodate naval ships around the world to redeem the past glory it had enjoyed during the British colonial rule. Further, infrastructure facilities developed by British rulers including oil storage facility which are lying abandoned, need to be effectively utilized to earn more revenue for the country.

Leverage, friendly relations with India and China to develop more reliable and cheaper energy sources like coal power and LNG plants to be less dependent on existing Diesel and Hydropower plants to supply uninterrupted electricity on cheaper rates for the smooth operation of existing and upcoming industries.

Make use of prevailing good relations with India to formulate joint strategies to attract more ships to Indian and Sri Lankan ports from deviating other entry ports like Singapore by joint ventures and promotion campaigns.

Initiate, annual naval fleet exercises with the participation of International

navies at Trincomalee harbour to promote the Trincomalee port being one of the world's best natural harbours and to build up the confidence among stakeholders by ensuring regional security.

Establish, more business friendly environment as existing in Singapore by developing world class infrastructure facilities like transport network, power supply, water supply, land acquisition, tax reduction and skilled labour to attract more Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) targeting more exports.

Rally, world International organisations dedicated for environmental protection like Greenpeace and Tamil Nadu Green Movement by Government mediation using Diplomatic missions and effective awareness campaigns utilizing social media to make Indian Government to abandon Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP).

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THE ORIGINS OF CURRENT NON TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION



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"In the present context of globalization, South Asia has still a long way to go to becoming a trans-oceanic community through naval bonding. The economic necessities and the nature of maritime security challenges and their agents of threats have brought to the fore the need to get rid of conventional security perception of preparing for war in order to ensure peace. It is highlight that, the importance of maintenance of the maritime order and effective law enforcement which require a multilateral approach and naval bondage instead of competition".

Introduction

Since the inception of maritime civilizations in the 'Ancient Orient', the Indian Ocean had played a crucial role in shaping the historical development in the broader Indian Ocean region. The unique geo-strategic form of the Indian Ocean, being a huge bay surrounded on three sides by a landmass and islands and its regular cross-oceanic monsoon winds, made it a mode of connectivity, a huge moat of security, an infinite supplier of food and occasionally a battleground in the struggle for political and economic hegemony of the maritime centers of civilization spotted around its land frontier and in littoral islands from the dawn of history.



Figure1: Indian Ocean Region
Source: <http://www.wikipedia.com>

The political, strategical and security conditions in the Indian Ocean had undergone a crucial change with the arrival of the Portuguese Caravels at the turn of the 15th Century. The Portuguese naval entry into the Indian Ocean heralded the colonial phase in the region and the control of the Indian Ocean remained the basis of European colonial domination. The British emerged as the foremost naval and colonial power in the struggle for the mastery of the Eastern seas in the mid 18th century and the Indian Ocean practically became a British lake thereafter. Hegemonic stability based on British naval supremacy and the 'Pax-Britannica' in its East-of-Suez strategy prevailed in the Indian Ocean until the outbreak of World War II.

However, Gavin Menzies, a retired Royal Navy submarine captain, claims in his book "1421: The Year China Discovered America" that four separate Chinese fleets under the overall aegis of the great eunuch Admiral Zheng He, sailed on great voyages of discovery about the year 1421. During these voyages, they discovered the Americas, Antarctica, Oceania, various Pacific islands, and longitude-basically, every continent except Europe. The Zhu Di emperor's death, however, put an end to the great voyages of discovery. China turned her energies inward, and records of the Zheng He voyages were destroyed within a century, though, Europeans picked up the mantle of discovery. These great explorers thus bravely set forth into the unknown, ultimately handing Europe the mantle of world dominance on the back of Chinese maps. One who interested in reading more into this can get more information from the National Museum, Colombo.

In the context of changed configuration of power in world politics after the World War II, specially the British withdrawal from the Indian Ocean in the period 1945-68 paved the way for superpower naval rivalry in the Indian Ocean in the Cold War context. In the background of past colonial experiences, the changed politico-strategic situation in the Indian Ocean after 1945 linked with the Cold War competition of the superpowers was viewed by the regional states that emerged with the process of de-colonization as a serious security concern. The multiple linkages between superpower naval rivalry and the conflict patterns in the region remained the conspicuous feature in the Indian Ocean during the Cold War, but the regional multi-balance of forces generated by the Cold War brought relative stability to the regional sub-systems in the Indian Ocean region despite military facts, puppet governments and proxy wars.

The importance of the Indian Ocean frontier, particularly in South Asian security has been brought into focus by certain developments in post-Cold War politico-strategic developments. These developments are vital to identify internal and external dynamics relating to the 'South Asian Security Complex', the term used by Barry Buzan to analyse *"Relative intensity of security relations that lead to distinctive regional pattern shape by both the distribution of power and historical relations of amity and enmity"*.

The strategic conditions of the Indian Ocean are once again experiencing a

process of change with the end of the Cold War. The dismantling of strategic regional linkages of the superpowers that were conceived in the Cold War context and the reshaping of the strategic relationships of regional powers with extra-regional powers in the post-Cold War environment marked the shift. 9/11 attack and war on terror, Islamic extremism with its devastating climax on Easter attack in Sri Lanka, the emergence of Asian growth centres, the advances in blue water naval and other power projection capabilities of the regional powers, the rapid changes in military technology linked with revolution in military affairs and the strengthening of the process associated with globalization have ushered a new strategic environment and new security concerns and threats in the Indian Ocean. Some argue that Chinese entry into this region would be the turning point. It is in this backdrop that the significance of the Indian Ocean frontier of the evolving security architecture in the region needs to be understood.

The end of the Cold War did not bring sudden drastic changes in the security dynamics of this region. In the changing global environment, however, subtle but decisive transformation in the security complex is clearly underway. South Asian security complex is moving from the earlier asymmetrical bi-polar conflict formation to a new configuration based on the uni-polar hegemony of India. Some of these changes are not directly related to the end of the Cold War. The continued economic growth in the last two decades has made India the new growth centre of Asia, following China. India's continuous economic growth and rapid advances in her power projection capability have expanded its defence and security parameters to cover the wider Indian Ocean and global space. The new and intimate strategic relationship between India and the United States is reflective of India's enhanced position in the new constellation of global powers. All these factors, including India's lead in the IT industry, the sophistication in military-related IT technology, the acquisition of state of the art weapons systems (Air and Naval), its deeper naval reach and punch resulted in gradually transforming the South Asian security complex. In this context, India no longer remains confined to South Asia. That is clearly reflected in its recent foreign policy postures and behaviour and India's 'Look East' policy. It is obvious that the United States and China are compelled to take India seriously as a factor to be reckoned with and as Barry Buzan observed. "India could be an ally or opponent of both".

In many instances, the territorial integrity is challenged by internal secessionist movements. In addition, the territory is only one element of the security reference of the state and other elements include the people and its institutional web. Hence, the comprehensive security of the state must incorporate the political, economic, societal and environmental dimensions of security.

Non-traditional security concerns that confront the region range from issues of chronic poverty and hunger, population growth, the energy crisis, environmental degradation, (including deforestation and melting of the glaciers in the Himalayas, rise in the sea level owing to climate change and global warming,

floods, cyclones, and droughts), mis-governance and deterioration in law and order, trafficking of persons, weapons and illegal drugs, the problem of gender discrimination, border demarcations and delimitation of maritime boundaries, trade disputes, the repatriation of stranded refugees and massive violations of human rights, among others.

In my perception in broader terms, current non-security threats in the Indian Ocean can mainly be viewed into seven “E’s”: Economy, Environment, Energy, Epidemics, Extremist, Emigration and Electronic extent.

Economy

The global effect of economic downfall has no exemption in the Indian Ocean Region too. Its effects were seen in Malaysia in the late 90’s. In the author’s perception having two emerging global powers in the form of China and India in the region (considering China as a role player with her taking over of Hong Kong) is a blessing in disguise. Malaysia overcomes economic downfall sooner than expected. Had it continued, it would have a domino effect on other countries as well. China and India blessed with a large population, which in today’s context considered as a greater human resource. This is why everybody is eying those two giants. Consider one out of ten buying a product in those countries; still producer can accumulate profit through greater volumes of sales. Anyone having business interests in these countries doesn’t want to see them affected by economic downfall.

So far Indian Ocean Region countries have not been affected by economic downfall that experienced by the Western world during the past. However, the US sanctions on Iran had some effects on India, Sri Lanka and some other countries. Further drone attacks on Saudi Arabian refineries in last September had an impact on the oil industry and as of now, last week of October 2019, there is an acute shortage in LPG supply both in India and Sri Lanka. On the other hand many countries depend on European and US markets for their apparel industry. Here GSP plus plays a carrot and sticks role as far as some small economies are concerned. That was evident in withdrawing and granting the GSP plus facility to Sri Lanka few years back with regime change. Whatever said and done on the global effect of drop on the economy has repercussions on the region, if not countries would have to look for alternative avenues.

The Indian Ocean itself is an economic resource. Fishery issues vary across the region: in some cases, overfishing in the sea has been replaced with inland fishing, or, in the dramatic case of Somalia, a displacement of fishermen to illicit activities, including piracy. In other cases, fishery provides a small portion of national income, but a significant portion of the economy for coastal communities and their interests sometimes conflict with the national development plans and the larger-scale fishing activity of outside powers. The fishing ban imposed on Sri Lanka by West was a classic example in this regard.

In a West (Persian Gulf) to East (India, China, Japan) direction, super

ships carry manufactured goods from Asia to Middle Eastern and European destinations. China with a healthy GDP and becoming an industrial giant recently beat Japan to be the second largest industrial nation. You can find out item around the world with “Made in China” tag on it.

Environment

Undoubtedly global warming is the most serious environmental issue affecting the region. Ice melting due to this phenomenon and low lying countries and countrysides are in danger of its effect. Maldivian Atolls are in danger of extinction and attempts are being made to settle Maldivian in Western Australia. The Maldives is looking for more alternatives. Flood havoc due to monsoonal rain is another decisive factor. Pollution of environment including the sea is another grave concern. Non-disposable plastic plays a vital role in this. Developing countries are fast becoming graveyards or junkyards for developed countries. Recent unearthing of hospital waste in Katunayake free trade zone area is an eye-opener for many, except for deaf and blind politicians. Environmental hazardous chemical waste, toxic materials are pumped to these countries in disguise. Its effects would last for decades to come. Pesticides and fertilizer increase the yield, but very much harmful to the mother nature. Another concern is the problem of finding clean drinking water.

Other environmental concerns include the degradation of coastal mangroves, erosion of coral reefs, and starting disappearance of 70% of biomass, across the entire Indian Ocean region. There are changes in the pattern of seasonal rains due to the effect on environment. At times it reaches early and at times get late, resulting farmers who depend on them to be in dilemma.

Energy

There is no doubt that the Indian Ocean is becoming a more critical area of the world, when measured by the share of the world's energy and commerce that crosses it. Roughly one-third of the world's population resides in states that have a coast on the Indian Ocean. One-fifth of the world's energy supplies travels across it, largely in west (Persian Gulf) to east (India, China, Korea and Japan) direction.

Security of Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and trade comes under the ‘realist’ security concern. The dependence to an uninterrupted flow of oil and gas from the Persian Gulf to the Asian growth centres to maintain their economic growth, in fact underscores the importance of the security of sea lines of communication. The import dependence of India reached over 80% and China over 60% in the last decade. All this oil cargo through the ocean passes the South Asian landmass. Nearly 89% of Indian oil imports are sea-bound.

The recent finding of oil and natural gas in the Kaveri basin would play a pivotal role in Sri Lanka's economy. Seismic studies were carried out and designated blocks are on for auctioning.

Epidemics

Epidemics like SARS had a greater influence on the region. Bird flu or H1N1 too had its share in the region time to time. Malaria, cholera and dengue are some common epidemics affect the region. Dengue was an unresolved health problem in the most parts of the region where monsoon plays a vital role.

Extremist

In recent years, the compelling economic and ecological story has been complicated by other trends from the dark side of globalization: human trafficking, smuggling of illicit goods and materials, movement of proliferated weapon and weapons components, and piracy.

It is in this framework that the 'Non-traditional' security concerns and in-border and trans-border non-state sources of threat acquired primacy in security analysis. After 9/11, trans-broader terrorism became a foremost concern of the global security agenda. However, long before 9/11, South Asia had been grappling with the challenge of terrorism. In the year 2000, Asia accounted for 75% of all terrorism-related casualties worldwide. Asia's Terrorist violence is concentrated mainly in its southern belt encompassing Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. The diverse usages of the Ocean by cross-broader terrorism has become a new element of Indian Ocean security in the post-Cold War environment.

The maritime terrorism is another important maritime challenge in the present international environment. The use of ocean space as an area for diverse operation by Al Qaeda and the LTTE brought home to many capitals the gravity of the challenge. Terrorist organizations in the region own their own merchant fleets, of various types, registered under the 'Flag of Convenience'. For example, according to Lloyds of London, Kumaran Pathmanathan (known as KP) managed at least 11 LTTE ships. With the rapid increase of the container transport by sea, these merchant fleets maintained by terrorist groups transport human terrorist cargo. They disembark them on high seas near the destination points and then transport them by small fiberglass boats or by multi day fishing trawlers.

Gunrunning is a closely related factor of maritime terrorism and moving them through the sea is the safest and most convenient method of mass-scale transferring of arms from arms bazaar to the destination point. The LTTE network for gunrunning was a case in point. Their arms mostly originated in Myanmar and were later loaded into small fishing trawlers from the port of Ranong in Southern Thailand. This arms cargo was then transferred to the LTTE ships in high seas. There is a close nexus between gunrunning, human trafficking and narco-terrorism as terrorist groups often work hand in hand with drug cartels.

Piracy remains an age-old concern in the Indian Ocean waters. Presently the rapid increase in activities of the Somali pirates attracts the attention to this menace. But the entire Indian Ocean is more or less infested with piracy.

According to the International Maritime Organization (IMO) annual reports, the Straits of Malacca, the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean are the areas that have been most affected by piracy. The traditional 'Asian Piracy' involved mere stealing of valuables from ships with minimal associated violence. It has changed and there is a dramatic increase in brazen violence and hijacking ships for ransoms.

ISIS has its presence in this region. They carried out many attacks in different forms. Even they take the responsibility for Easter attack in Sri Lanka. Even with the recent demise of the leader of ISIS during American raid in Syria, their threat will be prevailed. Criminal mafia, underworld gangs, cybercrimes and credit card frauds are some other activities that can be categorized into this segment.

Emigration

Emigration trends and Diaspora are two other concerns. Expatriate workers of Sri Lanka have been a mode of valuable foreign exchange for the country. The number of expatriate workers has been ever growing as well as the remittances they send back. In mid-2010 there were more than 1.8 million Sri Lankan expatriate workers. The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora estimated as 887,000 refers to the Global Diaspora of the people of Sri Lankan Tamil origin. It can be considered to be a subset of the larger Sri Lankan as well as Tamil Diaspora. Like other diasporas, Sri Lankan Tamils are scattered and dispersed across the globe, with more concentrations in South Africa, United Kingdom, Canada, India, Europe, Australia, USA, Malaysia, Singapore, Seychelles and Mauritius.

Another concern is the Chinese and Indian labour force in Sri Lanka. Most of them arrive with tourist visas and overstay. This affects society in two folds as per my perception: one is that they are tapping the local job market and second is the social problems arising with such personnel.

Electronic Extent

Development in technology too plays a vital part in the electronic extent. Internet, e-mails, social web sites like twitter, instagram, whatsapp and face book in particular has greater influences on the "Arab Spring" where existing governments were overthrown by so called people's power, well backed by western agenda. Mobile phones made people closer than never before. It is no more a luxury item, rather a day-today use ordinary item. "Arab Springs" are around the corner with more freely available social media.

If coalition compulsions played a major role, almost as big as the US pressure, in India's vote against Sri Lanka at the UNHRC few years back, these compulsions appeared to cause growing concerns about the stability of then government.

The post-Cold War developments in the Indian Ocean must also be taken into account in tracing the importance of the Indian Ocean frontier for the emerging South Asian security architecture. Since the disintegration of the

Soviet Union, the United States with its up-graded Diego Garcia base remains the main extra-regional naval power in the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, the Indian Ocean is not moving towards single-power hegemonic stability based on the US naval power. In addition to India, some other regional and extra-regional powers including Thailand, Indonesia, Australia, Iran, South Africa and more importantly China and Japan have emerged as advanced naval powers in the Indian Ocean. The most important development, with serious implications, would be the increasing entry of the Chinese Navy into the Indian Ocean with its phenomenal economic growth.

Today, China claims the world's second-largest GDP surpassing Japan and comes forward to influence the reshaping of global commerce. China is the world's third largest oil market, following the United States and Japan. It is also the world's largest consumer of iron ore, surpassing even Japan. WTO rates China as the fourth largest merchandise trader. China's increasing naval presence is manifested in its 'String of Pearls Strategy'. It includes Chinese port projects in Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Chittagong in Bangladesh, Laem Chabang in Myanmar and Sihanoukville in Cambodia. In this context, some parties are serious about Chinese firm taking over Hambantota port on a lease that extending up to 99 years. China always remains a factor in South Asian regional security dynamics. The advances in economic and military spears of both powers have changed the parameters of their operation. The emerging Indian naval power punch China's 'String of Pearls Strategy' bring the Indian Ocean dynamics more prominently into the South Asian security architecture. The changes in Japan's foreign policy after 1991 which emphasized enhanced regional role should also be taken into account.

It is also important to view these developments against the backdrop of changes brought about by the process of globalization and the changed perception of security with new threats and vulnerabilities. In the face of an intense global flow of goods, services and finance and other forces set in motion by globalization, 'Hard Politics' is increasingly losing its earlier vigour as states are now more interested in wealth acquisition through economic liberalization and trade. At the same time, with the thaw of Cold War mindset, the narrow definition of security which focuses mainly on territorial integrity from external threats is found to be inadequate in the face of new threat scenarios.

All these challenges highlight the importance of maintenance of the maritime order and effective law enforcement which require a multilateral approach and naval bondage instead of competition. The constabulary role beyond territorial waters needs an institutional mechanism and international/regional cooperation. As P.K. Ghosh of the Indian Navy pointed out *"The challenges are essentially part constabulary, part economic and part human welfare. Maritime crime has increased, which has opened avenues for maritime security cooperation. Opportunities have yet to be realized; hence the problems continue, as do the challenges in maintaining maritime order"*.

It is a fact that there have been close linkages between the security of the South Asian Region and developments in the Indian Ocean throughout the history. In the post-Cold War context, the security of the South Asian Region is integrally linked with the maritime security of the Indian Ocean in a structurally different framework in which geo-economic is pre-eminent rather than geo-politics. In the present historical context of globalization, South Asia has still a long way to go to become a trans-oceanic community through naval bonding. The economic necessities and the nature of maritime security challenges and their agents of threats have brought to the fore the need to get rid of conventional security perception of preparing for war in order to ensure peace.

"What is missing" should be taken as initiatives at both the national and regional levels that take an inclusive and comprehensive approach to maritime cooperation, to grapple with the difficult tradeoffs between short-term economic interest and the long-term stability and viability of the Indian Ocean as a natural resource for littoral states and communities, or the security of local actors vice the strategic interests of great powers. Economics, environment and security interact in the Indian Ocean in dynamic and potentially destructive ways. Today the region has generated many well-intended but incomplete forms of governance - national, regional and global regimes and mechanisms are not as robust as need be for the tasks of maintaining the Indian Ocean as a sustainable zone of commerce, energy security and peace.

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MARITIME CHALLENGES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION (IOR) AND MITIGATION STRATEGIES - THE SRI LANKAN PERSPECTIVE

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Terrorism, separatist and extremist forces are increasingly rampant; piracy, armed robbery, smuggling and other transnational crime become more and more serious for the establishment of the freedom of the seas. Non-state actors and state sponsored terrorism is a growing concern. The world is divided on lines of racial, political, religious and linguistic aspects. Thus a peaceful sea cannot be achieved only by way of actual War or Deterrence but also civilized means like Religious, Intellectual and Humanitarian means must be employed to the optimum.

Introduction

"For whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

Raleigh, Sir Walter (1861 – 1922)

The Significance of the Indian Ocean and Strategic Importance of Sri Lanka

The Indian Ocean is the third largest ocean in the world and the only ocean named after a country; India, which has been famously, referred to as Ratnakara "the mine of gems" in ancient Sanskrit literature. The Indian Ocean also remains a key geographical region of strategic, economic and socio political action. Many of the world's most important sea lines of Communication are through the waters of Indian Ocean which is abundant of an ocean-full of natural resources both living and non-living, and extractable and non-extractable as well.

The IOR as a region is home to one third of the world's human population. It also has enormous reserves. It contains two thirds of the world's proven oil reserves, one third of the world's natural gas, 90 per cent of the world's diamonds, 60 per cent of the world's uranium and 40 per cent of the world's gold, 40 per cent of the world's offshore oil production, making it unarguably the single largest area of exploitable wealth in the world. Large reserves of hydrocarbons are being tapped in the offshore areas of Saudi Arabia, Iran, India and Western Australia. Its fish are of great and growing importance to the bordering countries for domestic consumption and export. Thus it is evident that the economies and national sustainability of the littoral states in IOR depend on the ocean itself to a greater extent and depth.

Furthermore, fishing fleets from non-IOR countries like China, Russia, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan also exploit the Indian Ocean. Beach sands rich in heavy minerals and offshore deposits are actively exploited by bordering countries, particularly India, South Africa, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand. It is also characterised with cooperation and competition by regional and extra regional powers. Beyond such traditional competition we see the emergence of other threats such as terrorism, narcotic and gunrunning, smuggling, human trafficking and most notably piracy which is changing the maritime security dynamics in the region.

Surrounded by the landmass of Asia to its north, Africa to its west and South East Asia and Australia to its East, the Indian Ocean is virtually a land locked ocean. Access to this ocean is controlled by several choke points. These vital choke points are Cape of Good Hope, Strait of Hormuz, Suez Canal, Bab el-Mandeb, Malacca Strait, Sunda Strait and Lombok Strait. The other choke points include the Nine Degree Channel and the Six Degree Channel. The blockage of a chokepoint, even temporarily, can lead to substantial increase in total energy costs. In addition, choke points leave oil tankers vulnerable to theft from pirates, terrorist attacks and even political disorder in the form of wars or hostilities as well as shipping accidents which can lead to disastrous oil spills. Thus it is imperative to keep them open and secure at all times to keep the global economy running smoothly.

Sri Lanka is an insular state, located in the centre of the east west nautical corridor across the Indian Ocean, dangling down from the southern tip of India. Despite the size and power disparity of the two states Sri Lanka has been the cynosure of all eyes since the sea faring age due to its strategic location; lying in the east-west SLOC, the gifted beauty and being blessed abundantly with natural resources thus earning the world renowned nickname of “the Pearl of the Indian Ocean”. But being the fairly legitimate heir to most portions of this vast, resourceful and ostensibly virgin ocean whose potential is by far at the nascent stages of exploitation by any nation in the world and some unknown reasons have ushered in more unfavourable attention and exploitation by undesirable elements.

Sri Lanka has a proud maritime history which shows that we had maintained maritime links not only with the geographically closest neighbour but with the East, Middle East and the West under varying capacities and interests. The island claims to have the world’s fifth largest natural harbour; Trincomalee, where King Parakramabahu-I used as his eastern port to launch a successful invasion of Burma in the 12th century AD. The Trincomalee Harbour itself has made Sri Lanka a geostrategic hot spot for its high military significance and for the important reason of lying at a focal point of maritime activity through sea borne trade and commerce throughout its history.

The Indian Ocean washes the shores of 38 littoral states and 17 landlocked countries. As the resources deplete at an alarming rate in other parts of the world, all eyes of the global community have started turning towards this virtually untapped and unexploited virgin ocean of resources setting a new

global completion in the IOR. Simultaneously, the Island nation which had been plagued by internal unrest, terrorism and political instability for over 3 decades until 2009, is eagerly anticipating a huge change of life style more dependent of the outcome of managing affairs within its territorial and maritime boundaries and using the same blessed gifts of nature in connecting with the rest of the world and reaping better prospects from such.

Thus, the island, boasting about more than a 2500 year long written history, shows ever increasing desires to be a fully capable maritime nation giving considerations to its economic ambitions subject to the dynamic world order today. As Sri Lankans, being islanders, we are all children of the sea, travellers since ancient times, unafraid of outward migration and the search for new horizons.

The Challenges

As we talk about challenges our mental faculties always run through the most obvious and frequent of all. However, the challenges, as seen from the threat lenses, can be basically categorised as traditional and non-traditional. The traditional threats fall under the control of the state such as territorial claims which are governed by the international laws relevant to such (UNCLOS III). The latter category encompasses mainly the threats or challenges posed especially by non-state actors, and are contemporary in nature. Here we will focus mainly on the non-traditional or the unconventional challenges.

The most useful and conspicuous routine in the Indian Ocean being trading through the seas, it is noteworthy to state that about 100,000 ships transit the IOR annually. Thus managing the affairs in the region per se is a huge challenge even if no deliberate disruptions or subversions are caused by undesirable elements or actors in the region. The Strait of Hormuz, leading out of the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Malacca, linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans are two of the world's most strategic choke points. Hormuz represents the most important strategic passage in the world, solely because of its access to the oil fields of the Middle East, while Malacca is an active commercial point of transit between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. From the Persian Gulf, two major axes of oil circulation serve Western Europe and the United States (westbound) and Pacific Asia (eastbound).

Sri Lanka's geo-strategic location on the centre of the East-West nautical corridor confers her responsibility of safeguarding the integrity of the same with an unsolicited duty of ensuring unimpeded traffic free of manmade complications. As over 70% of the world's oil demand comes from the Persian Gulf any disruption in oil traffic could destabilise the price levels, crippling the world economy.

Therefore, it is prudent and more realistically futuristic to look into the matter with a great deal of hindsight. Thus detailed yet non-exhaustive lists of challenges ensue as follows.

Traditional Challenges

The threat of major intra-state conflict in which Sri Lanka might be involved leading to possible raids or air attacks against the island as was the case during the WWII where the Japanese Naval Bombers pounded Trincomalee and Colombo and sank few RN ships, or be in the form of terrorist attack against vulnerable points in the region, particularly offshore oil and gas installations and other mining infrastructure along with the traffic at very important and vulnerable choke points.

Non-Traditional Challenges

Besides the traditional aspect of the topic in discussion, it is very crucially important to have a better understanding about the relatively new yet more probable non-traditional threats in the region. Following are some of the main threats identified:

Piracy/High Jacking

Though this is not very new to the domain of seafaring Piracy and High Jacking at sea once again came into limelight with renewed form and manner with the High Jacking of the Italian MS Achille Lauro liner off the coast of Egypt on October 7, 1985 by four men representing the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF). This set a new precedence and growing concerns for the authorities as to the safety of shipping. Even though such cases are not very frequent and widely spread across the length and breadth of the region there are High Risk Areas (HRA) identified in the waters adjacent to Somalia, Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, Indonesia, Malacca Strait, Philippines, Singapore Straits, Thailand, Vietnam, Bangladesh, and India. The most recent attack on the tanker Aris 13 off the Somali coast in March 2017, after a lull of five years, sent shockwaves through the shipping industry. Although the eight SL crew were released four days later, it underlined the caution that pirates could pop up with their skiffs anywhere at any time.

Gunrunning

Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) have been one of the most lucrative usages of the oceans by the undesirable elements across the globe and IOR is no exception to that. Instability on land and interoperability of organised criminal groups along with meddling with the internal affairs of a particular state by another has escalated the situation to a virtually uncontrollable situation. More importantly, transfer of weapons of dangerous nature by sea which affect the very survivability of mankind; WMD which might fall into the undesirable elements, is a growing concern for the authorities of IOR.

Drug Trafficking and Narco-terrorism

Like other transnational crime it has a much organised form and is considered

as one of the best revenue earning practices for the violators of maritime and domestic laws; especially the terrorist organisations. The LTTE during their existence before 2009, and Al-Qaida and other global Organised Criminal Groups use these methods extensively.

Maritime Terrorism

On the terrorism front, LTTE or their maritime wing; “Sea Tigers” during its existence showed the entire world the ferocity of maritime terrorism which actually was the cutting edge of their sustainability at that time with a fleet of Attack Craft, Suicide Craft, Submersibles, Logistic Ships and craft and which could engage in all types of maritime activities across a vast spectrum. The destruction of the same by the SL Navy led to the death of LTTE. On a global forum the rise of other terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda operatives, taking precedence from LTTE, masterminded the attack back in 2000 on the USS Cole and an Israeli cruise ship in Istanbul. To date the worst terrorist attack on a passenger ship remains the 2004 sinking of Superferry 14 in the Philippines by Abu Sayyaf which led to 116 fatalities.

Illegal and Irregular Migration and Human Trafficking

These issues have many pull and push factors which distinct them from other threats discussed here where the perpetrators and subjects along with the states concerned have their own reasons to be a part of this or perhaps the main reason. These pull and push factors, though non-exhaustive, can be summed up as Demographic Imbalances, Disasters and Crises, Demand for Labour, Socio-Economic Disparities, Degradation of the Environment and Climate Change, Digital Revolution, Dreams of Better Life inter alia. Human Trafficking or smuggling of people be it forced or solicited is a crime against the state and against the victims as well under international law.

Illegal Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing

IUU fishing poses risks for the sustainability of fish stocks and the well-being of artisanal fishers. When large amounts of catch go uncounted and unreported, it opens the door for fishing to exceed sustainable levels, leading to overfishing. Additionally, the fishing methods used by IUU vessels like bottom trawls and gillnets damage ocean habitats. They are also associated with large amounts of by catch, including sensitive species like sea turtles and marine mammals. Further, industrial IUU vessels compete with artisanal fishers for access to fishing grounds and fisheries resources, undermining the livelihoods of small-scale fishers and, in the most extreme cases, leading to violent interactions. Local revenue can be lost when IUU fishers land their catch outside the country where they are fishing.

Poaching

This needs no elaborative explanation as it is commonplace in this region where systematic and extensive poaching activities take place especially in the

waters of weaker states by the relatively stronger. Sri Lanka is a common victim of such perpetrated by fishing vessels from regional and extra-regional states. This has adverse effects on our national security and sustainability.

Sea Pollution

Indian Ocean, though smaller than Pacific and Atlantic Oceans in area, volume of water and depth; its waters have a great significance as compared to all other oceans due to notable spreading of the bottom water and intermediate water towards the equator. Amounts of oil and Petroleum discharged into the Indian Ocean have been estimated to be around 40% of the total petroleum spill of the world oceans resulting in a general tendency to ascribe “Tar lumps” or “Oil Slicks” afloat everywhere thus making it a more global concern vis-à-vis a regional one. Amount of other harmful substances especially chemicals being transited in the IOR poses added threat on top of oil spills. Sea Pollution directly affects the survivability of marine species, the corals and shorelines of littoral states in the region having direct and indirect far reaching undesirable consequences. Limited ability and staggering costs of mitigation to poorer nations who fall victims to this is a major concern.

Climatic Changes and Natural Disasters

Due to the effects of global warming and subsequent rising of the sea levels and change in weather patterns mainly caused by the change in sea conditions fetch uncontrollable and ever unpredictable devastating consequences to the globe on the whole. Given the oceanicity of the IOR states, mostly the littoral ones, bear the biggest brunt of the climatic change. Natural disasters are occurring at unprecedented and alarming rate which come as divine punishment to the reckless activity with gross disregard to the nature by the mankind. They can be further categorized into sudden- and slow-onset “creeping” threats. Sudden-onset hazards are, for example, geological hazards (e.g., earthquakes, mudslides) and hydro meteorological hazards (e.g., floods, except droughts). Slow-onset hazards are droughts, coastal erosion, and poor air quality, among others. Slow- and sudden-onset hazards can cause temporary as well as long-lasting disruption to the environment as well as the societies. The lack of noticeability of such can lead to irrecoverable situations if not identified and addressed the issues early.

Cyber Threat

Cyber domain is being exploited in almost every sphere of human activities. There is a concern that if a ship’s ECDIS electronic navigation system or other internet-connected systems were hacked into, it could cause considerable damage to the ship, people, environment and industry. Recent grounding and collisions of the US Navy warships of the Pacific Fleet raises huge concerns of involvement of such activities.

Mitigation Strategies - The Sri Lankan Perspective

Sri Lanka, being a third-world country which had been plagued by over three decades protracted terrorism and civil unrest, has its own perspective in mitigating the effects of the above stated challenges amongst other things or prevention of the same completely. Sri Lankans, being islanders are nature loving, peaceful and wonderfully resilient people with a considerable demographic diversity. Being insular has not spared this gifted country from the pressures and effects of external activity. We, Sri Lankans are averse to taking sides and always being neutral in outward policy as the unmatched hospitality and unconditional trust on the global community have been the hall mark of our relationship across the seas.

We maintain a non-aligned foreign policy and respect the values of humanity, harmony and the rules of natural law and international laws. We do not have military ambitions other than using such as limited means of preserving our national security. Yet we are, to be honest, a nation with huge economic ambitions given the status of being a wonderfully gifted country; both naturally and strategically.

Mutual Collaboration and Comity of Nations

Mutual Collaboration and Comity of Nations lie at the core of our mitigation strategy. The increased trends in globalisation makes us realise that isolationism is a moribund notion.

How to counter those newly emerging security threats effectively? The direct interaction among the state parties to international agreements and Navies from different nations is a must and necessary method. The challenges posted by the non-traditional security threats in the vast marine environment cannot be resolved without a mutually cooperated scheme being established among the Navies. Therefore, uncontestably the Navy is the backbone to promote and safeguard "a Harmonious Sea".

There are major maritime nations as members of or as key stake holders in the region; the USA, Russia, Japan, China, India whose vested interests compete with each other yet demand unsolicited collaboration with one another or with the IOR states on the whole.

Collaboration not Collusion

Sri Lanka, as stated earlier, due to its non-aligned policy, never wants to align with nor be a proxy of anyone of the big competitors vying to materialise their cynical motives. As Sri Lanka has a huge SAR region which is as big as 27 times of its land area, and lack of maritime and air assets to cover such area amidst the territorial and high seas obligations incumbent on us under the UNCLOS, it is clear that we do have a vast ocean area to cover in terms of sea control and sea denial where presence, protection, power projection, deterrence, dominance and law enforcement take precedence.

In classifying what navies are, Geoffrey Till, in his well-researched book; SEAPOWEP published in 2004, lists out a nine-fold hierarchy with “major global force projection navy - complete” e.g. the US Navy, topping the list and running down through the list with “medium global projection navy” e.g. the French and British navies, to the “constabulary” and “token navies” finishing the list. Though this classification is not exhaustive itself, SLN falls under the constabulary category despite its show of unmatched littoral superiority and victory against the “Sea Tigers” of the then world’s most ruthless terrorist organisation; LTTE.

With all such pride and irrefutable proof, the SLN showed the world what they are capable of with bare minimum capabilities yet with highly motivated, persevering and chivalrous comrades in arms vis-à-vis other top class navies with the pomp of state of the art naval assets struggling hard to achieve in the present largely asymmetric maritime domain. SLN is always ready to share its maritime combat experience with other navies and are working towards sharing such knowledge and experience through enhanced mutual interactions.

However, in the given context, it must be understood that we are looking forward for the support of other navies in the region and elsewhere as and when required by the state. It is therefore proposed to look into the feasibility of forming a SAARC regional fleet to operate as a virtual fleet in being in the South Asian Region so as to achieve the common goals. As the SLN is drawing its modernisation plans with possible acquisition of maritime air assets, international support and aid in terms of hardware, knowledge and training are much solicited.

Strict implementation of regulations and upholding the international maritime laws and effective enforcement of the same is of paramount importance. Establishing Political and Socio-economic stability in the region to a greater extent is prudent to alleviate the effects of the issues in discussion.

The establishment of a joint monitoring system, information sharing system and cross-border collaboration and quick response system with the employment of modern electronic information system is sure to reap positive results. We as Sri Lankans can outline our perspective w.r.t the issues in hand, as follows.

First, it is worthwhile to establish an effective Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre (MRCC) based on the existing lifesaving communication network of each country. The countries, which are in the concerned region or have frequent activities in the region, shall establish a long term and stable information sharing platform and enhance the regular communication and collaboration to reduce misjudgements.

Second, the current ocean monitoring system shall be improved and shared among the related countries. Presently, every country has already established certain coastline, cross-strait surveillance systems to some extent. The information collected independently can be shared based on the peaceful utilization to form a relatively complete marine activity situation, which can

serve the marine security. Openness and transparency on the utilization of this platform can further enhance mutual trust and confidence among related countries.

Third, information sharing platform and common database shall be established. The timely announcement of significant events such as disaster weather warning message, oceanic pollution message, piracy and maritime distress is very much imperative. It can also provide water hydrological information, basic meteorological information and emergency rescue approach for oceanic activities.

Fourth, application and implementation of ISPS code, SOLAS and Best Management Practices (BMP) published by IMO along with a renewed training for Civilian Seafarers in terms of security and public awareness on the modus operandi of the undesirables will surely fetch far reaching positive benefits.

Fifth, the employment of OBST by Private Maritime Security Companies (PMSC) and floating armouries with due diligence have shown great effectiveness and are considered to have 100% success rate in stopping piracy. Due to the vastness of the region and inability to secure all shipping activities by the navies operating in the seas it is prudent and cost effective to have self defence systems for the merchant and other non-military vessels. These measures bring down the costs of maritime security and ensure immunity from piracy, high jacking and related attacks on such.

Sri Lanka will firmly follow the road of peaceful development, unswervingly pursue a win-win opening up strategy, continue to promote equality and mutual trust, mutual tolerance, cooperation spirit in international relations, and jointly safeguard the international equity and justice. Interoperability must be enhanced through joint training and mutual consultation. We promote mutual understanding and cooperation through initiatives like Galle Dialogue, Defence Symposiums and Staff Talks which act as conducive and convivial multi-national platforms.

The fisheries industry of Sri Lanka contributes significantly to the nutrition, employment and food security, foreign exchange earnings, and government revenue of the country, and therefore its sustainability has become a primary concern in the country's economic development. Sri Lanka perceives illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) as a serious threat to the sustainability of the fisheries both in national jurisdictions and high seas, and agrees that such fishing has to be prevented, deterred and eliminated. Towards this end, Sri Lanka is in the process of implementing measures in conformity with the national and international law. Sri Lanka is also committed to co-operate with other States, both directly and through the Indian Ocean Tuna Commission (IOTC) or where necessary through any other Regional Fisheries Management Organization, to prevent, deter and eliminate IUU fishing and poaching.

Bottom trawling and poaching are strictly prohibited by the international

maritime and fishery laws and the use of unregulated fishing gear and the pollutants they leave behind pose a huge threat to marine life where the risk of making once dynamic Palk Strait a “dead sea” in the Indian Ocean cannot be ruled out. This consciously gross disrespect to the international laws and norms reflect an unpleasantly low image about the perpetrating nation to the outside world. The livelihood of the coastal Tamil communities in the northern peninsula is hit as badly as ever thus the whole social fabric in the island’s north is badly affected.

Sri Lanka’s 3-decade long war on terror and “the 60 hour long Mumbai Attack” taught the island, India and the rest of the world certain bitter lessons. Of such, unnoticed and uncontrolled maritime activities take more prominence as the errors leading to otherwise could have prevented terror activities, and Sri Lanka cannot afford for another at any cost. Thus the SLN keeps round the clock surveillance as the first line of defence of the island with their battle exhausted limited vessels and sensors. The amount of gun running, drug trafficking and smuggling are quite common in these waters and the common fishermen and ex-Sea Tiger cadres who have gone into dormancy are the masters of such.

As to coastal and inland defence to prevent illegal immigration and smuggling of all forms, the SLN Coast Guard and SL Naval infantry are to be modernised with inauguration of Marines as a force multiplier to suit any asymmetric threats both inbound and out bound so as to establish substantial coastal surveillance and defence to support maritime operations at sea, mitigation of effects of sea pollution and HA/DR Operations both within and outside the country.

My Opinion and Conclusion

Sri Lanka is a country which has been a strong advocate of peace and harmony yet who has shown sheer resilience to outside aggression and pressure since time immemorial, which we consider as the core of our strengths. If we are to thrive as a nation or as a member of the regional or global community, we need to look back and ponder of what lessons we have learnt from the past.

Terrorism, separatist and extremist forces are increasingly rampant; piracy, armed robbery, smuggling and other transnational crime become more and more serious for the establishment of the freedom of the seas. Non-state actors and state sponsored terrorism is a growing concern. The world is divided on lines of racial, political, religious and linguistic aspects. Thus a peaceful sea cannot be achieved only by way of actual War or Deterrence but also civilized means like Religious, Intellectual and Humanitarian means must be employed to the optimum.

SL Navy is still not a formidable nor a standalone force to challenge this plethora of issues. The Seas cannot be peaceful with unstable land territories such as Somalia. The world is still uni-polar, and the well-to-do countries cast their will on the others – Might is Right! UN is not a powerful body still

to maintain the international law and order. World cannot think as “One” since Sovereignty of states are considered supreme.

The starting point of deterrence logic is that military power is designed to defend not to offend, to preserve without damaging the status quo, and to prevent real or potential opponents or enemies from endangering the security of the current peaceful and stable international environment. The pomp and pageantry of a naval force doesn't lie in the show of force only but in her capability to deliver.

United we stand, divided we fall!

"Whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia. This ocean is the key to the seven seas in the twenty-first century, the destiny of the world will be decided in these waters".

Alfred Thayer Mahan

THE DEMISE OF ISIS AND WHAT LIES AHEAD



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"The rise and fall of ISIS is just a byproduct of power politics played by many major players in the region. It's a game of survival in an anarchic society where rule of jungle dominates. Hence accumulation of power and exercise of power over the weak is a must for survival and the weak will always try to resist the hack of the powerful through different forms. ISIS is no differ to this scenario. If ISIS is now been diminished, the vacuumed will be filled by another entity to maintain the relationship of the master and the slave and to prolong with continuation of power struggle by different entities due to survival. Even if the tactics have changed, the foundation of the clash is the same".

Introduction

With the killing of ISIS leader Abu Bakar Al-Bagdadi, no assurance can be given that menace of ISIS is now over. Since no other development over the past 15 years better epitomizes the clash between and the merger of, modernity and tradition than the rise of Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham, also known as the Daesh. Appearing seemingly out of nowhere over the course of 2013-2014, the organization captured the attention of international audiences through widely broadcast acts of barbarity and acts of martyrdom followed by the proclamation of its own state and upending state borders in the process. The birth of the new state was the most radical change to the political geography of the Middle East since the Sykes-Picot Agreement was implemented in the aftermath of the First World War.

The crux of the clash between ISIS and the western alliances is explicated through 'Master-slave Dialectic' or, also known as Lordship and Bondage which was introduced by Hegel to explain the relationship between the proletariat and bourgeoisie during the 19th century. According to Hegel the slave is created by the master for the continuation of 'recognition' of the master's position as the supreme authority over the slave, while slave is depended upon its master for survival through annihilation. The dialectic is often brought to the arena to understand the clash between two irregular subjects, especially in asymmetric warfare and as a result, it aids to understand the clash between the ISIS and the western alliances in a deeper sense.

Origin of ISIS

To some observers, ISIS seemed to appear suddenly and out of nothing. Granted, while the organization did not emerge in a linear fashion, it is clear that, ISIS is a distinct product of its time, geography and circumstances: it grew out of

the convulsions of the war in Iraq from 2003 to 2011, the Arab revolutions from 2010-2014 and the civil war in Syria from 2011-2014. More broadly speaking, ISIS is the outgrowth of broader global trends of Islamization that stress the tensions between religiosity and modernity, compounded by an increase in Islamic militancy.

This created the backdrop for decades of tug-of-wars between nominally secular and nationalist regimes and Islamist movements across the Middle East. Following three developments had a major impact on this dynamic and contributed to the contemporary rise of the Islamic militancy: The first was the oil boom in the 1970s, allowing once poor desert states to adopt ways of life that Islamists found reprehensible and further involving western countries in Middle Eastern affairs. The second key impetus came with the Iranian revolution in 1979, which showed that it was possible to found a state grounded in Islamic precepts. The third seminal event came ten years later with the Soviet occupation and subsequent withdrawal from Afghanistan, which became the birthplace of Islamic militancy.

The subsequent rise of ISIS has been precipitated by the two fateful decisions on the part of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA): the de-Baathification of Iraq's government and dissolving the Iraqi army after the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq by the USA in 2001-2003. These decisions sowed the seeds for Iraq's sectarian conflicts (2006-07) that pitted Sunnis against the Shia. The CPA's decision almost exclusively affected Iraq's Sunni population. The emerging stand-off between Sunnis and Shia clearly played into the hands of Al-Qaeda in Iraq which later became Islamic State of Iraq, or ISI. After 2010, various Sunni tribes in Iraq also began to support Al-Qaeda affiliated Islamic State in Iraq (ISI, predecessor of ISIS) due to "systematic discrimination, marginalization and a series of broken promises" on the part of the government in Baghdad.

All of these developments opened up the way for Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS since April 2013 to his death in October 2019, he consolidated his control over swathes of territory on both sides of the Syrian-Iraqi border. On June 29, 2014, he proclaimed the Islamic States as a worldwide 'Caliphate', reinstating an institution that had not formally existed since its abolishment by Turkey's Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1924. The initial sweep of ISIS across the region was swift. On June 10, 2014, Mosul was taken easily without a fight. Less than a year and a half later, The UN Security Council declared ISIS "A global and unprecedented threat to international peace and security."

Expansion of ISIS

The expansion of ISIS can be explained mainly due to following reasons.

Interpretations and Use of Islam

While ISIS' assertion to represent Islam is often challenged, it is clear that ISIS' claims to be Islamic and to implement Sharia to the letter (in their view) serve

their instrumental purposes very well. The narrow interpretation of Islam and Islamic law espoused by ISIS has a long genealogy. While there is no single 'ISIS ideology' as such, some of its first principles were laid down in its key manual called "The Management of Savagery", written by Abu Bakr Naji. First issued in 2003, it argues that "Acts of daring sacrificial violence whether by individuals or small groups can be used to undermine faith in the ability of governments in the West and the Middle East to provide security for their people and to polarize Muslims and non-Muslims.

Rule through conflict

ISIS was born out of chaos. And it was continuing chaos that provided it with the best chances to persist and expand. Its main goal was to expand its caliphate to all current Muslim countries in the world and fight and win the apocalyptic war against the West. ISIS also combated ideological rivals, challenging the Muslim brotherhood, fighting Al-Qaeda and undercutting the Taliban. Part of this strategy was not to permit cooperation with groups that have a different agenda, but still to accept pledges of bay's, even from tribal leaders who previously had opposed ISI in Iraq.

Recruitment

Key to sustaining IS' strategy is the recruitment of soldiers. Economic motives are an important factor here, for instance through offering much higher salaries than other Jihadist outfits. ISIS also promised access to women for young, single, economically marginalized men. Also, ISIS used cult-like methods of indoctrination to attract foreign fighters to its territory and to keep them there by separating them from their social networks and suppressing their individuality.

Governance

ISIS has found that in creating a 'state', it still has to implement practical governance system and structure. It was helped by the fact that a significant part of ISIS' leadership was made up of former Iraqi Baathist officials. As a consequence, there was a strategy of sorts focused on winning the hearts and minds of the local population with the provision of social services and public goods including power and water services, law enforcement, health care, public control, employment, education and tools to reach out to the public such as radio. But, there was also a system marked by violence and repression against its own people. This system was supported by a network of informants, which even mobilized children to report their parents to the authorities. Concerning ISIS' legitimacy, the very violent landscape in which it operated that also included even less palatable parties in the eyes of many Sunnis in effect made it the most legitimate player.

Finances

In its first report on the movement, the UN wrote that "ISIS is the world's

wealthiest terrorist organization. "A very visible source of income for ISIS has come from lootings, kidnappings and illegal sale of oil. While the focus of ISIS' finances was on the oil trade, its main source of income is actually taxation. It attempted to legitimize this system by calling the "tax" a "religious tax" or "zakat". The tax amounts to at least 2.5% of the capital earned from businesses, goods and agricultural products." Also, it is likely that without regional financial support, it could not have persisted in the way it has up to now arguably.

The Inevitable Fall of ISIS

However, the most likely causes of the eventual demise of the caliphate is the fact that the nation-state as an organizing principle will continue to prevail. In terms of military strategy, "ISIS's distinctive approach to insurgency is not an obvious advantage. Lawrence of Arabia advised that insurgents must be like a mist-everywhere and nowhere-never trying to hold ground or wasting lives in battles with regular armies. And it seems that the setbacks have led to splits or fragmentation within ISIS.

The paradox of ISIS' attempt to create a 'state' is that while it rejects the Westphalia order, it has adopted many of the trappings of Westphalia statehood. This lately, backfired them and shaken the legitimacy of their actions which aligns with Islamic practices.

ISIS' entire strategy is built around a millenarian vision executed with an uncompromising and merciless ideological approach, aimed at the establishment of an enduring caliphate. In the initial stage they focused on the 'near enemy', but later targeted the 'far enemy' similar to Al-Qaeda. However, the prophecy of 'black banners' hailing from east and final battle took place in Sham became the first battle instead of the last. Therefore, the ideology of IS to wage Jihad faded away with the time because of their course of action was controversial to the prophecy that they were trying to fulfil.

In addition, ISIS needs a military leadership that is able to replace losses fast and educated people in order to provide medical and technical services. In fighting between Jihadists can also be a source of weakness for the Jihadist movement in general. These problems have also trickle into the caliphate's governance. One is that the degree of violence has been such that "it cannot de-escalate without losing credibility."

Additionally, the USA strategy to counter ISIS was equipped with five operational tactics: Firstly, deny ISIS safe haven and provide security assistance to those fighting against it. Secondly, disrupt the flow of foreign fighters joining ISIS. Thirdly, disrupt ISIS's access to financial resources. Forthly, provide humanitarian relief and stabilization support to ISIS victims and Fihthly, counter ISIS's messaging and defeat it as an attractive, viable idea.

However, the involvement of the Russians in the conflict was more decisive since they were implementing actions related to 'enemy centric' warfare while

keeping the ISIS militants as the target. They were more precise and conducive in obtaining their goals.

However, the demise of ISIS with their leader could prompt foreign and local Jihadists to move elsewhere, for instance to Europe, albeit the numbers in this case would likely be small. Even more than a security threat, returning and local Jihadists could pose a socio-political threat if they manage to exploit societal tensions, researchers at the ICCT concluded.

What Lies Ahead

The immediate threat of the demise of the IS comes from the returnees who have fled to Syria to join ISIS. Based on official figures from 48 countries, at least 2,000 former Islamic State members have returned to Western countries. Many others remain unaccounted and the flow of foreign fighters and numbers of returnees. When analyzing it closely it allows you to understand the flow of returnees has slowed since last year, but with the disappearance of the last territorial possessions of the caliphate in Syria and Iraq, a growing number of Islamic State supporters are wondering where to go and what to do next.

Under many jurisdictions, returnees will have committed a crime merely by becoming a member of the Islamic State, but the collection of evidences will be hard and time consuming. Also lack of provisions in jurisdictions for foreign fighters or for people who fled to Syria to support the caliphate in non-combatant means, make it hard for law enforcement agencies to prosecute the returnees and even if prosecutions succeed, prisons are already crowded and contain many people on the margins of society who may be vulnerable to radicalization. Allowing committed members of the Islamic State the chance to recruit them could prove to be a mistake but it too could separating the returnees from the rest of the prison population, thus allowing them to forge closer bonds and harden their resolve to fight on. Authorities therefore face the difficult job of weighing the multiple factors that determine the threat posed by each returnee and devising solutions that extend beyond law enforcement.

If authorities hope to catch potential terrorists before they strike, they must also understand why returnees came back. Broadly speaking, returnees can be divided into five categories: Those who left soon after they arrived, Those who left later but became disillusioned with the leadership, Those who left having had enough of conflict but without regrets, Those who left because there was no place to stay as a result of loss of territory and Those who left because they were told by the leadership to go home and mount attacks there.

The level of threat will be different for each category, and for each individual within each category. The women and children who are returning from the Islamic State pose a new and daunting security challenge. Their numbers will be less than for men, but nonetheless significant, with hundreds coming back to countries. Some of these women will have done little while in the caliphate other

than fulfilling the Islamic State's archaic and restrictive conception of the role of wife and mother. But even so, they will have absorbed some of the horror, and perhaps some of the ideology surrounding them. Even if most did not join the Islamic State to commit acts of violence, they nonetheless knew what they were getting into.

Scramble for Power in Syria by Major Players

USA, Russia, Iran, AQ, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar are in a scramble for power in Syria. Series of fundamental inflections in 2017 have shaped the current state of the Middle East. President Trump ordered cruise missile strikes against the Syrian regime's Shayrat Airbase in Western Syria, opening a brief window of potential US reorientation towards a counter-Assad strategy. Secretary Tillerson subsequently stated that the US is not pursuing a strategy to remove President Assad from power immediately, however. The Trump administration set and upheld a new "red line" against the use of banned chemical weapons but emboldened the Syrian regime to act below that threshold. Finally, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman consolidated his rise within the House of Saud, heralding a more aggressive and unpredictable regional posture from Saudi Arabia. These inflections forced all primary actors to adjust their policy assumptions and shifted their ongoing engagements in Syria and Iraq.

Prolong of Cold War between Russia and USA

The intensifying clash between the Russians and the USA has made Syria a proxy to exercise their political and military power. As a result there is a "Cold War" happening between the two super powers. Since the NATO has built up an anti-missile shield in Eastern Europe while escalating the boots on the ground, in response to that Russia has built up an Cruise missile range and an anti-missile range covering Syria, Jorden, Egypt, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey and the Mediterranean sea. Latakia province in Syria has become the major military base of Russia in Middle East directly confronting with the presence of USA in the region. Within this tit-for-tat situation in one end Syria has become the proxy, reminding us of the Korean peninsula and Vietnam during 1950s and 1960s.

Online Radicalization

The usage of Internet and computer literacy has escalated in the Indian subcontinent particularly with regard to Sri Lanka. The fact that age of 15-19 is rapidly escalating with their knowledge in computer literacy. Also the number of internet uses has rapidly escalated in Sri Lanka over the past few years. Not that I am saying all the people who surf the internet are prone for online radicalization, but youngsters who are in the age of 15-25 can be easily radicalized since their minds are fresh and they are eager to experiment new trends. As a result, there is the potential of young people getting radicalized through online means epically through social media plat forms such as Facebook, twitter, whatsapp, telegram etc. Hence, more of the community is becoming computer literate especially,

the youngsters and more possibility is there for them to get radicalized through online.

Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS)

As mentioned before, Al Qaeda is now regaining its presence in Syria and Middle East. As a result, AQ in Indian subcontinent under the re-emergence strategy will eventually become more proactive in the near future.

AQIS, the official South Asian branch of the transnational al-Qaeda network, has spread its tentacles in the region beyond its strongholds. Beyond Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, its influence has reached neighboring India and Myanmar. The emergence of the so-called Base Movement AQIS has not only found support and garnered much ground over the past few years with the existing militant formations and disgruntled militants in India, but it has also taken advantage of existing community conflicts, mostly in southern India, and troubled Kashmir in the North.

Al-Qaeda's South Asian branch is headquartered in Pakistan and Afghanistan, but it has been attempting to infiltrate India since September 2014, when Ayman al-Zawahiri announced the formation of this dedicated South Asian branch (in Arabic, Jamaat Qaidat al-jihad fishibhi al-Qarrat al-Hindiya). However, with a relatively strong presence in neighboring Bangladesh and Pakistan, AQIS has struggled to make headway in India, despite the efforts of its chief, Sheikh Asim Umar-his legal name is Sana ul Haq-an Indian national from Sambhal, Uttar Pradesh, who is now based in Pakistan. April attack in Sri Lanka cannot be ruled out saying no any concrete evidence to prove the direct involvement of AQIS.

Conclusion

However, the reasons for the confrontations between the Islamic States and the rest is due to the absence of clear borders of the Islamic World. Also another reason for such clashes is because, there is no predominant main state which dominates the Islamic world which provides the necessary guidance to maintain relations with the rest of the world. Islamic fundamentalism is not the main problem of the world. Instead, the Islamic civilization itself is the problem. People who belong to this civilization carry the mentality of being part of a superior culture but with less power in world affairs. Hence the clashes between the Islamic World and the rest of the world (which dominates international relations) is obvious due to the power/superiority struggle explained in international relations. Therefore, one can claim that it is less of clash of Islamic and the Western World, but more of a clash between struggles for power by two political entities in international affairs.

However, the rise and fall of ISIS is just a byproduct of power politics played by many major players in the region. Under the notion of 'realism' world is more of a zero-sum game as explained by Thomas Hobbes in his book 'The Leviathan'. It's a game of survival in an anarchic society where rule of jungle dominates.

Hence accumulation of power and exercise of power over the weak is a must for survival. And the weak will always try to resist the hack of the powerful through different forms. ISIS is no differ to this scenario. As Hegel explained it's a bondage between the master and the slave for each other's survival. Until, the man kind exist greedy for power and clashes between entities due to various differences are inevitable.

Since it is difficult to boycott conflict in an anarchic world, even if ISIS is now been diminished, the vacuumed will be filled by another entity to maintain the relationship of the master and the slave and to prolong with continuation of power struggle by different entities due to survival. Whether it is AQ or another entity which is going to fill the vacuum of ISIS, still the struggle will prolong with the new leadership.

During this struggle for power and existence, both master and slave will find 'means to their ends'. As a result, the slave or the weaker will change the formation of their tactics with regard to the capabilities of the master/powerful. Hence, right now we are experiencing a hybrid warfare as a result of the change of capabilities of the entities clashing together. Even if the tactics have changed, the foundation of the clash is the same.

In a nut shell, even if ISIS has been diminished, the security threats left by ISIS have not been overcome by the US or Russia. The reason behind, is that the continuation of mankind will be prolonged through a conflict, from one to another. Therefore, a conflict is inevitable and unavoidable due to the bondage of master and slave and due to the power struggle by different entities for the survival.

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PATHWAYS TO GREATNESS - Coming Together for Change, by A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, Harper Collins Publishers India, 2017



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“What makes a nation great? Is it simply economic prosperity and military strength or something more? What is that we as a nation require to make that last-mile journey what all the plans, investments and projects are meant to lead up to?”

Pathways to Greatness has been written by Dr. A.P.J Abdul Kalam. It was his 35th book and unfortunately the last. He has compiled this book just a few months before his demise on 27th July 2015. Subsequently, the book was published in 2017 by Harper Collins Publishers, India. The target group of this book is very wide. It covers people from all walks of life such as school students to university students, from sarpanches to all leaders to politicians, teachers to farmers, all health care providers, civil servants, judiciary and so on.

This book has arranged into three sections: Musings, Oaths and Final Thoughts. There are sixteen chapters in this book. The first five chapters have been compiled under Section I. Chapter Six to thirteen are dedicated to all target groups and have compiled under Section II. The last three chapters are representing the author's thoughts under the Section III.

The heading of the first chapter is “What Makes a Nation Great?” So, from the very beginning, the author has given a strong message about his book as a whole to readers and way ahead. In the first chapter, Dr. Kalam was analyzing the advances made in research on human evolution. He has recognized two main approaches such as archaeological evidences and the human understanding of the human genome. The lessons learnt from the ancient civilizations have supported humans to live in a civilized way and provided the evidences of the origin of those values. Exploring of the human genome revealed that the basic structure of human genome is same in all human beings. But few portions which differ in the human genome lead to the diversity that we find in the evolution of humans. Therefore, today some nations are great. Some are poor. Hence, Dr. Kalam has emphasized that the “Human Gene” as an answer for “What Makes a Nation Great?” Moreover, he highlighted that citizens of the nation are greater than the nation itself. Hence, this chapter is the base for this book and Dr. Kalam has gradually developed the importance of people for the nation in the reader's mind. In this regard, he has selected few great personalities and also some great nations as examples in the last quarter of the first chapter.

“Back to the Basics” is the second chapter of the book. With the recognition of people or the citizen are greater than the nation itself in the first chapter, Dr.

Kalam has dedicated this chapter to improve the basic values of civilized human. He was discussing the cleanliness, hygiene, toilets and sanitation of the citizens and the responsibilities of the local authorities to improve the basic needs of its citizens. He has suggested long lasting solutions for most of the issues such as sanitation and toilets for general public in India.

He has utilized the third chapter to discuss experiences and the lessons learnt during his travels around India under the topic of “Lessons from My Travels”. All observations in this chapter based on his travel around India and the interactions he had been made with various people during his travels. Dr. Kalam’s visit to Bhadariya Ashram and the interaction made with the head priest of the ashram, Baba Sri Bhadariya Maharaj had made his path way for this book. Dr. Kalam has seen “Bhadariya” (a small place in the middle of the Thar Desert) as a great example for the world. Dr Kalam has described it in the last paragraph as follows;

“It is an example of integrated development of communication, dissemination of knowledge, medical care, cattle rearing and fodder management, all taking place in together in this desert to transform land, resources and human life using local and traditional knowledge, coupled with modern science and technology. This is a fundamental aspect of the path ways to greatness which will discuss in this book and it is valid not just for one nation or a group of nations but for the entire global community”

“Hand in Hand” is the fourth chapter in which Dr. Kalam has further elaborated the truth and the facts derived from “Bhadariya” ashram. In this chapter, the author has explained how every system needs to function for a single purpose with the integrity. He has given instructions to political leaders, lawmakers, citizens, administration, police, scientists and technologists, lawyers, judges, media, artists and writers, non-government and welfare organizations, in this regard within this chapter.

The fifth chapter is the last of the section I of this book under the title of “A Beautiful Nation”. The natural beauty along with the stable, civilized and democratic society invariably creates a beautiful nation. Dr Kalam has recognized the human being as a major factor to create beautiful nations. In order to make enlightened human beings, the author has identified three elements such as education with a good value system, integration of capacities and removal of social discrimination. Moreover, the happy homes are recognized as the base for a beautiful nation. Dr. Kalam has intimated four dimensions for beauty. The habit of reading, the happiness of mothers, transparent, corruption-free and green are the four dimensions.

Section II is fully dedicated for “Oath”. Dr. Kalam has suggested oath for citizens in every sector of society and dedicated one chapter for each discipline such as for the youth, teachers, farmers, sarpanches, health care providers, civil servants, judiciary and political leaders. Every oath has arranged very carefully in order

to make citizens responsible for the society. Responsible citizens would make fearless, free of corruption and beautiful society for nation. Thus, the nation would become greater than other nations not only by military and economy, but also from walks of life in its community. Hence, this chapter is the most important chapter of this book. In view, the author urges from all sections of the society to imbibe these oaths and put them into practice in everyday life. The author has given his opinion about the "Oath" in his conclusion of the book as follows.

"I sincerely hope that this book, particularly the oaths drafted for different groups of people from all walks of life, helps India's citizenry rise to this great responsibility and develop a national character that enables our nation to lead the whole world on the pathways to greatness"

Section III is the final thought and consists of three chapters. The first two chapters are for the society and the environment and first chapter is extensively for leadership and next for the highlight the importance of "PURA". All the thoughts of author's have been comprehensively compiled in the third chapter.

This great book is not only valid for India, but for all developing countries. Not only for the developing countries but also for the developed countries in order to sustain their development. "Pathway to Greatness" is a bible for any citizen who wants to contribute something to make his nation great. Hence, it is recommended to read this book for wider cross section of community from school children to the highest leadership in every discipline of any nation.

HOW FAR SAFE WE ARE WITH THE PRESENT MARITIME SECURITY MEASURES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION



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"The Indian Ocean Region has most important chokepoints which are strategically important for global trade and energy flow between the East and West. Further, IOR consists of both internal and regional conflicts and issues which are prone to foreign political and military interferences. As a result of that, international interest in the whole Indian Ocean is emerging and numbers of regional and extra regional are operating their naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, surfacing of significant numbers of maritime security challenges and militarization in the Indian Ocean involving extra regional powers cannot be ruled out".

Introduction

Alfred Thayer Mahan, American Naval officer and historian who was a highly influential strategist of sea power in the late 19th and early 20th centuries declared that "Whoever controls the Indian Ocean has prospects of ruling the world"¹. The Indian Ocean is beneficiary for all people living around the region with its rich resources. With the presence of first Portuguese and then European's power who established their trade in the East drastically changed the traditional patterns of the people. Further, warships of the extra regional naval powers showing their presence in order to establish dominance in the Indian Ocean and trying to expand further corners of the region. Being naval forces, it is crucial for countering other European activities in the Indian Ocean during colonial period as British naval forces also came to show their presence in the region. As a result of effective utilization of naval power, the British were able to create a large Indian Ocean empire. But British hegemony in the Indian Ocean was ended after the World War II and with the Cold War superpower rivalry emerged in the Indian Ocean enhancing the region's strategic value significantly. With that the Indian Ocean countries were able to discover some of the economic, social and cultural facets which interconnected between Africa, Asia and Australia. Eventually, the new role players like India and China have become major powers and involved with the Indian Ocean maritime security.

Development of the Indian Ocean Maritime trade paved the way for the non-state actors to influence the security in the region. With that backdrop, it is important to maintain good order while projecting naval powers at the Indian Ocean.

¹ (born Sept. 27, 1840, West Point, N.Y., U.S.—died Dec. 1, 1914, Quogue, N.Y.), American naval officer and historian who was a highly influential exponent of sea power in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Strategic Context and Eminence

The Indian Ocean is an area which consists of both internal and regional conflicts. These regional conflicts are prone to foreign political and military interferences. Most of the conflicts are due to weak and failed states, significant level of poverty, absence of democracy, corruptions, competing for scarce resources and interference of foreign powers. Since the region is rich in energy resources and minerals such as Gold, Nickel, Aluminum, Uranium, and abundant fishing resources it is obvious to have sustainable development of human as well as economic by improving the security cooperation within the Indian Ocean Region (IOR).

The IOR having some of the most important chokepoints like the Straits of Hormuz, Malacca, and the Bab al-Mandeb which are strategically important for global trade and energy flow between the East and West. As a result of that, number of regional and extra regional countries have been maintained their naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Further, it is understood that the international interest in the whole Indian Ocean is emerging due to some reasons such as instability of the region, oil production, energy shipment, wealth of resources and scarcity of raw materials.

Characteristics and Threats of Maritime Security

There are considerable maritime security challenges in the region due to weak governments and having limited capacities to control the vast area of the maritime domain and paving the way to flourish the illicit activities emerged in many parts of the Indian Ocean. Hence, militarization of the Indian Ocean involving extra-regional powers cannot be ruled out.

Military Aspects

Considering the limited military capacity to control the maritime security of the region and maritime security abilities of some regional role players in the Indian Ocean, it has been noticed that, some international attention has focused on the region as the United States has extended support to its international partners like India, Australia, Singapore, Japan, France, the United Kingdom and Canada to expand their authority in the region and same time reducing the power of some states like China, Iran and Russia in order to secure access to energy sources and counter terrorism and other security threats.

Same time, countries like China, Iran, Pakistan and even Russia are attempting to strengthen their position in the Indian Ocean and prepare to counter the potential threats which may be given by the countries like the United States and its allies. In addition to that, the activities of the littoral states in the Indian Ocean region regarding the boundary-related disputes and jurisdictional claims which are being connected with national and regional maritime security is another issue in the IOR.

Further, there are some transnational and non-traditional threats which the IOR states are experiencing like environmental challenges, fishing infringements, smuggling and trafficking, security of offshore installations and piracy². Not only that, after 9/11 attack, whole IOR came under the surveillance of the United States and military intervention. Same time Indian Navy has taken a great concern to increase military involvements by expanding the number of ships and submarines including nuclear and aircraft carriers in order to support the US military surveillance³.

It is understood that militarization of the IOR means that aggravating the missile capabilities, increase of weapons of mass destruction, rise of non-traditional threats and projecting foreign military power towards the IOR making the most troublesome region in the world. Hence great security cooperation is required in order to enhance the peace and stability in the region.

Considering the security of the sea lines and the great importance of that, the economies of the regional countries in the IOR mainly depends on the trade link to the global market through the IOR. Hence, the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) are the strategic issues to be concerned⁴. Not only for the regional countries but extra regional countries also put much concern since important oil and gas routes are situated through the Indian Ocean. Due to that strategic importance of free-flowing traffic may easily be interrupted by any extra-regional forces. Deployment of many navies to counter the asymmetric threats like piracy which disrupts the flow of vital energy resources is a good example of foreign military intervention in the region.

The energy resources are very important for the countries like India and China due to its fast-growing industrial and economic process. India concerns much more regarding the energy security and adopted their foreign policy to take long term strategies to secure the energy products from all over the world in order to protect their offshore platforms and ships carrying oil and gas to India. China also offers its military support to the region in conjunction with regional security. But someone could think that behind all these assistance, the primary aim is to take the control and dominance in the IOR.

Maritime Piracy

According to the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), Maritime piracy is included hijacking for ransom, robbery and criminal violence⁵. It has been confirmed that pirates attacks had been done from 2008 to 2012 mainly in four significant areas like the Gulf of Aden, near Somalia and South entrance to the Red Sea; Gulf of Guinea, near Nigeria; Malacca Strait between Indonesia and

2 Climate change, resources scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking and transnational crime.

3 Kanwal, G. (2019). India's Military Modernization: Plans and Strategic Underpinnings - The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR).

4 The Primary maritime routes between ports, used for trade, logistics and naval forces.

5 A specialized department of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Malaysia; and off Indian subcontinent, particularly between India and Sri Lanka⁶.

The Indian Ocean being the highest reported piracy incidents has been decreased since 2003 but has increased in the East coast of Africa⁷. The large number of pirate attacks and hijackings off the Horn of Africa, specifically around Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden resulted in considerable international reaction in the region. Malacca Strait is also prone to have piracy attacks but succeeded to counter due to aggressive patrols of littoral states and inter-state maritime cooperation. Further, it has been stated that there are zero attacks in 2016 to 2018⁸. Pirates induce the ships to reduce her speed by firing and once onboard it is directed to the Somali coast and demand ransom for the ship and its crew. Somalia as a semi-autonomous and no governing authority in some parts (especially in the Southern Somalia) and no law enforcement which allows to the pirates often operate from Somalia and surrounding sea areas. The hijacking of ships for ransom is most common and such activities clearly have a financial motive. Lack of maritime security around the Horn of Africa makes great international concern since it is not only for trade but also for the peace and stability in the region.

Port Security

Most of the IOR states are aid-dependent and has become economic insecurity states. Healthy seaborne trade can be used for the development of the economy and safe harbors and well-functioning ports will emphasis the development. Harbors to be well organized and should not be prone to criminal attacks. Most of the ports have concentrated on their valuable merchandise in one location and pave the way for possible criminal attacks. As per the security measures, the location and the layout of the ports are not displayed but while berthed and anchored ships without armed personnel will be vulnerable targets and subjected to organized crime or terrorist attacks.

Environmental Security

Though the Indian Ocean is full of resources, it is observed that considerable emphasis has not focused on the environment security of the Indian Ocean. Situation has been turned to a serious impact level with the presence of global climate change. It is apparent that, the degradation of the environment and overexploitation of ocean resources are threatening to the interest and the stability of the regional countries and the people. Continue rising of sea temperature has made the threat for natural systems and societies due to adverse impact of flooding, cyclones, landslides and so on. Consequently, small countries like the Maldives will suffer severely. Being the developing countries in the region, there is no proper practicing of discharging the sewage and

6 Tumbarska, A. (2019). Maritime Piracy and Armed Robbery Evolution in 2008 -2017. [online] Stumejournals.com.

7 Randrianantenaina, J. (2019). Maritime Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships: Exploring The Legal And The Operational Solutions. The Case Of Madagascar.

8 Cinnabar Wharf, I. (2019). Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships. [online] Icc-ccs.org.

drainage mechanism as well. Due to that, the Indian Ocean is deteriorating and it will badly affect the dwellers of the coastal areas as most of the population is living in the coastal areas. In addition to the land-based pollution, marine-based pollution is taken place by shipping (spillage, ballast water), drilling and mining⁹. Illegal waste-dumping also considered as a serious concern on marine environment. The waters off Somalia is badly polluted due to non-public awareness, influential and local authorities have allowed toxic waste dumping on exchange of foreign payments¹⁰. Further, some European companies found that it is easy and cheaper to dump the waste in Somalian water than the other parts of the world. Due to that serious economic implications and health-related issues have been occurred in this region.

Security of Ocean Resources

The energy consumption of Asia and Middle-East has been intensified due to the rapid growth in global prosperity and technological advances. India and China can be predicted as the fastest-growing countries and key energy consumers as well. Hence, competing for resources in and under the ocean is rapidly growing significantly. Emerging the conflict between countries for energy competition and securing of energy shipments would not be able to rule out. Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing is the major problem internationally and 75% of global fishing stocks are already exploited or overexploited¹¹. Further, they are mostly foreign-flagged operators who decimate the ocean resources as well as the venturing into coastal water and damage the fishing gears of local fishermen.

Not only the foreign fishermen, but also the local fishermen report undervalued or misreport catches and they also use illegal fishing gears. Sometimes they use dynamite or poison since those methods are very much lucrative than the traditional fishing gears. When we consider the African countries, they are suffering from serious economic losses by not being able to have the fishing stock due to lack the ability to patrol their own waters and the threat of pirate attacks has prompted many vessels to avoid some of the richest fishing spots in the Indian Ocean¹².

Smuggling and Human Trafficking

All the organized crimes including drug trafficking and human smuggling have been connected with global pattern of violence. The Indian Ocean is an easy access for drugs and arms smuggling to the unscrupulous traders and non-state actors who can deliver and distribute their wares including weapons, drugs and counterfeit medicines since there are many countries like Horn of Africa, Afghanistan and Indonesia including Sri Lanka also which conflicts and

9 Ships' ballast tanks to improve stability, balance and trim.

10 Security council, U. (2019). Report of the Secretary-General on the protection of Somali natural resources and waters.

11 Fao.org. (2019). The State Of World Fisheries and Aquaculture 2006.

12 Afdb.org.(2019).https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Maritime%20Piracy_Maritime%20Piracy.pdf.

insurgencies were prevailing and have ready markets to buy those weapons and other wares.

International migration has significantly increased due to political instability, poverty and the lack of order in many developing countries in the IOR. People in developing countries are looking for illegal ways of migration to other countries which are developed. Sometimes, human trafficking is desperate and vulnerable considering the ways they have selected to move. Human trafficking is the best source of income to the organized crime groups and sometimes even not second to the drug trafficking.

Nowadays it should be much concerned about the container traffic also since millions of large and small containers are transferring around the world every day. But there is no proper and efficient method or the ability for the port to check all containers. Hence there are many evidences that containers are used to smuggle everything including garbage and even illegal waste. So it is required to call more effective law enforcement and increase the maritime security of the region.

Conclusion

In this paper, it is mainly discussed about the strategic value of the IOR, maritime security, prevailing threats and the international/regional cooperation. Maritime commerce and the maritime activities are the main focus of all the states in the IOR and they endeavor much more attention in order to protect their maritime domain against the ocean-related threats from the non-state and state actors such as piracy activities, terrorism and maritime pollution done by the land based and the ocean based activities. There is no doubt about the importance of cooperated maritime security since all nations take benefits from the maritime activities. The Indian Ocean being the international trade high way, today there is an unprecedented military involvement and presence to ensure the safety of ships navigating in its waterways and encounter any maritime security threat. Disputes between regional countries regarding the boundaries and jurisdictional claims which have mainly connected with national and regional maritime security. Because the maritime security problems in the region have paved the way for potential disruption to the global economy, energy security and SLOCs.

UN Security Council also has passed several resolutions for countering the piracy activities and number of multinational task forces have been operated in such waters like off Horn of Africa. Even China also has participated to ensure the security of the Indian Ocean and some have been welcomed and others may have some suspicion regarding the dominance of the Indian Ocean. China has recently concluded military agreements with Indian Ocean countries and deployed ships to participate in antipiracy operations, thus illustrating its capacity to project power into the region¹³. When we consider the maritime diplomacy of India regarding the Indian Ocean and the South East Asia, it is well ahead of China

13 Gippner, O. (2019). Antipiracy and Unusual Coalitions in the Indian Ocean Region: China's Changing Role and Confidence Building with India.

and hence it is required to have formulated conducive environment for working with China considering its maritime capabilities.

Further, African states have larger part of Indian Ocean but due to political issues they have many significant maritime security problems. Actions to be taken to improve their maritime security by encouraging capacity building and they should be able to act as equal partners as in the IOR. Finally it is required a structure to be addressed regarding the maritime security and greater potential cooperation can be obtained from both international community and regional organizations since the Indian Ocean has rough seas ahead.

POWER RIVALRY IN THE INDO PACIFIC REGION



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"The Indo-Pacific Ocean and its bordering states have been of growing significance in world geopolitics and global geostrategy. It is a region of great diversity and contrasts in terms of politics, population, economy and environment, where foreign powers and local states' interests deeply intermingle. The SLOCs which connects the Atlantic and the increasing appetite for energy resource for the booming Asian economy, security in the Indian and pacific Oceans are a matter of concern and require a collective security architecture which covers entire Indo-Pacific region with the involvement of all stake holder states."

Introduction

Within the shifting of global economic and geopolitical landscape of the 21st century, the Indo-Pacific comprising an amalgamation of the Asia Pacific and the Indo-Pacific Region has been identified as a newly expanded theater of power competition. Developments within the Indo-Pacific Region and its sourly surrounding waters have subsequently held the attention of policy and strategic analysis. The Indo-Pacific Region is central to the issue of energy security. Its Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) are critically located as the transit energy supplies from the Gulf States to the economic powerhouses in South and East Asia with China projected to become the world's largest oil importing country and India to be the largest importer of Coal by 2020. A reorientation of energy trade from the Atlantic basin to the Indo-Pacific is imminent with implication for a cooperative effort to ensure energy security.

Since the end of the 1960s and the 1970s, the Indo-Pacific Ocean and its bordering states have been of growing significance in world geopolitics and global geostrategy. It is a region of great diversity and contrasts in terms of politics, population, economy and environment, as well as being a complex geopolitical framework, where foreign powers and local states' interests deeply intermingle. Since the end of the Cold War, the region has been in a period of great instability and regional rearrangement that is still ongoing today. Taking into account the significance of its strategic energy resources, the importance of its strategic shipping lanes, the 'Rise of China and India' as dominant economic powerhouses and regional and global military powers, the turbulences of the Islamic world, East and South China Sea territorial claims and disputes, the deep and broader involvement of the United States (and its allies) in the region, as well as China's increasingly presence with ambitious "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) project in the Indo-Pacific Ocean Region with aggressive Chinese funded

maritime infrastructure in number of Indian Ocean Region (IOR) countries are increasing the geo strategic competition within the region. There is no doubt that the Indo-Pacific Ocean will remain at the forefront of world geopolitics in the coming decades and most probably through the entire twenty-first century.

Rise of China

Immediately after the end of the Cold War, the demise of the Soviet Union altered the international system profoundly. Western scholars grew concerned about China as a new potential challenger to the US primacy. This was particularly due to the growing Chinese economic and military profile. Middle powers are interesting alliance partners for great powers due to their rather limited global and regional ambitions yet adequate material capabilities and regional standing. Once this commitment of middle powers has shifted from one great power to another, this can be considered to constitute a shift in relational power.

One part of China's equation for increasing prosperity is the sea trade, especially for the import of energy. Indeed, China's reliance on the import of energy via the Indian Ocean is severing as 90% of its hydrocarbons are transported through these waterways. However, unlike in the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean, maritime traffic in the Indian Ocean is restricted to a small number of choke points namely the Strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and the Malacca Strait between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. China's dependence on freedom of passage through these chokepoints led to pay their serious attention to this region.

China's concern about the free passage through Malacca is further intensified concerning the event of a conflict with India. India would use sea denial strategies such as naval blockades to disrupt China's energy supply lines by capturing the Chinese oil and trade lanes in the Indian Ocean. The 'First Island Chain', formed by the US and its partners and allies, is allegedly overpowering China's nautical activities and obstructing the nation's entry into the oceanic routes. According to Chinese analysts, the US and its allies are using this 'chain' to encircle and contain China. It is therefore natural only for China to seek 'relief' in the Indian Ocean. The geostrategic location of the islands would permit India to 'seal off Malacca' and play the role of 'guardian' of the Malacca Strait to resist 'Chinese infiltration of the Indian Ocean'. In 2001, India created the Andaman and Nicobar Command based in Port Blair with the objective of safeguarding India's interests in Southeast Asia and the Malacca Strait by boosting its ability to deploy military assets rapidly in the region. This step raised further concerns in China about India's intentions. To bypass its 'Malacca problem', China has been active in financing the construction of ports and infrastructure in various Indian Ocean littoral states. These projects include Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Sittwe in Burma and Chittagong in Bangladesh, which serve as transport corridors for Chinese oil and trade.

The Chinese government has even been exploring the possibility of financing the construction of a Panama Canal style passage through the Thai Kra

Isthmus which would save around 960 km of the journey from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Further, China's policy of constructing port facilities in the Indian Ocean Region has come to be labelled as the 'String of Pearls' strategy and raises concerns in India that these facilities may one day serve as forward deployment bases for the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN). Similarly, to how China perceives the 'first island chain', India views China's String of Pearls as an attempt to encircle India and, in the event of a conflict, limit its activities in the Indian Ocean. To a certain extent, China's increasingly frequent incursions into the Indian Ocean are a sign of power projection. China's growing naval fleet, bolstered by the newly operational aircraft carrier, has fostered its confidence and assertiveness in defending its territorial claims and interests in the South China Sea and the East China Sea. The basic aim of Chinese naval power building is to ensure a "harmonious sea" through the self-capacity building and international cooperation.

Response by India

From a geostrategic perspective, the triangular shape of Indian's territory, extending into the central waters of the Indian Ocean, gives the country a natural position to dominate the ocean's trade routes. Even though, the Indian Navy does not possess such capacity and despite increasing investments into its fleet, is unlikely to be up to the task in the next ten to fifteen years. Indian maritime doctrines and strategists thus appropriately identify 'The arc from the Persian Gulf to the Straits of Malacca as a legitimate area of interest and the Red Sea, the South China Sea and the Southern Indian Ocean as 'secondary areas' of maritime interest'.

The 'Look East' policy represents India's effort to forge deeper economic and strategic ties with Southeast Asian nations in order to boost its standing as a regional power. This includes the strengthening of India's relations with regional multilateral organizations, such as the East Asia Summit and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which culminated in the creation of a free trade area between India and the ASEAN member states in 2010. India thereby has certain interests in the South China Sea Region and due to its growing relations with Vietnam, Singapore and the Philippines. The policy may be a serious concern of the Chinese but acknowledging that India has interests in the waters around China may help India to admit that China has similar interests in the waters around India.

The People's Liberation Army Navy's (PLAN's) capabilities are still far exceeded by those of the US Navy, but as China's naval power gradually shifts from its traditional 'Coastal Defense' role to a more 'Forward-deployed blue-water navy', and it will increasingly gain the capacity to protect SLOCs on its own and need not to entrust other powers with this task. Nevertheless, the question remains of whether India's aspirations in the Indian Ocean will permit China to play such a role and whether the US will allow them to perform such a role in the region.

Freedom to use the seas and good order at sea is the vital component of India's maritime thinking. However, in an ideal scenario for Indians, the freedom to use the seas in the Indian Ocean would apply exclusively to India. The maritime domain surrounding India raises the question of whether it aspires to possess maximum 'Sea control' capabilities in regard to the entire Indian Ocean or rather 'Sea denial' capabilities. While sea control is a prerequisite in dictating the terms of a naval engagement in a particular maritime space, sea denial has limited application and is meant to deny a stronger adversary use of maritime space.

An important step towards strengthening India's role in the Indian Ocean was the establishment of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) in 2008. The IONS is officially an initiative that seeks to increase maritime co-operation among navies of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region by providing an open and inclusive forum for discussion of regionally relevant maritime issues. However, due to the fact that India strictly distinguishes between 'regional' and 'extra-regional' states, neither the US nor China has been invited to become members of the symposium, despite their interests in the region. Further, India's objectives in the Indian Ocean are undoubtedly driven in part by its concern over the increasing Chinese presence in the region. The String of Pearls raises fears about a potential Chinese 'containment' of India and the prospect that Beijing may seek to occupy the same role in the Indian Ocean as it does in the South and East China Seas.

India's primary objective in the Indian Ocean is to be the dominant power and security provider, yet its capabilities and real determination lag far behind this goal. The contest between these objectives and China's interest is indisputably shaping the current and future security environment in the Indian Ocean, but the role of the US in the region is not negligible, and with a slightly different approach to the disputed issues and challenges, the US could ensure that the interaction between India and China does not grow out of proportion.

Role of the US

The US has been the dominant power in the Indian Ocean and the protector of SLOCs since the United Kingdom announced its withdrawal 'East of Suez' in the late 1960s. During the Cold War, the primary interest of the US was to curtail the USSR influence in the region and protect oil transportation from the Middle East. In the early 1970s, the US commenced the construction of a naval facility at Diego Garcia, an atoll leased from the British which was strategically located in the centre of the Indian Ocean. With the end of the Cold War, the US became the uncontested guarantor of free passage and good order at sea in the Indian Ocean, extensively using Diego Garcia as a naval support facility during its interventions in the Middle East.

As the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific are much interconnected, and most ships passing through the Pacific also have to make their way through

the Indian Ocean, protection of SLOCs is a vital US interest and it needs to be carried out along the entire maritime trade routes. In case of the US interactions with India, another crucial factor is Pakistan. Historical animosities and border disputes make India and Pakistan conflicting rivals, while the US needs to maintain a partnership with Islamabad to control the situation in Afghanistan and to monitor the proliferation of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Therefore, the closer US ties with India are limited by the need to maintain good relations with Pakistan and vice versa. At the same time, Pakistan is being described as the most stable and durable element of China's foreign relations.

Conclusion

The Indo-Pacific Ocean Region has become one of the major spotlights in international security in recent times. With the importance of SLOC which connects the Atlantic and the increasing appetite for energy resource for the booming Asian economy, security in the Indian and Pacific Oceans is a matter of concern for all stakeholders. With the US pivot to Asia policy and China's maritime silk route ambition with India's increasing maritime activities heated up the maritime domain of Indian Ocean in particular. It is in fact that, the Indo-Pacific Ocean region is at the limelight of major economic and military powers owing to many reasons.

It is a reality than the fact that, the Indo-Pacific region is the lifeline of world trade thus ensuring un-impeded sea passage is imperative for any vessel for any country under the obligation of international law that need to be preserved and safe guarded. Due to the complexity of many different issues in the ocean region from nation-states involving East and South China issues to Western Indian Ocean piracy that involves both state and non-state actors are clear impediment and interruption to the freedom of Navigation. There is a necessity of collective security architecture in the place which covers the entire Indo-Pacific region with the involvement of all stakeholder states. The US, China, India, Japan and Australia can play a major and dominant role while other nations in the Indian Ocean Region should play a significant role.

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'CONTINENTAL INDIA' – MOVING TOWARDS A TANGIBLE GRAND STRATEGY



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"Geography provides the scale of defence in depth, basis for survival; history provides common fabric for continuity of human interactions also known as civilization. India is rich in these two aspects and thus has inherited a distinctive culture embraced in diversity. This, combination resulted in the defensive posture embraced by India to-date. This could be the result of a strategic calculation in preserving India's cultural identity while understanding its vulnerability, in the lack of material capacity for a force build-up. Indian strategic thinking continues to be predominantly influenced by different manifestations with a blend of 'hyperrealism' and 'neo-liberalism' as discussed in the different phases of evolution of strategic thought".

Introduction

India over the years has failed to articulate a visible and distinctive grand strategy, to the great dismay of many students of international discourse. The absence of a persistent doctrine of the use of force and utility of international relations exemplifies the issue. This may be attributed as being impaired by its very own continental orientation, largely influenced by three major schools of strategic thought in post-independence India: Nehruvianism, Realpolitik (hyperrealism) and Neo-liberalism. The underlying argument into India's continental orientation is that, it is a manifestation of a common strategic cultural source, influenced through geography, history by the Vedas, Upanishads, in which morals of restraint, reservation dominates.

Meanwhile, Nehruvianism is identified as the most influential Indian strategic discourse but is not blind to the fact that realpolitik and neo-liberalism have had varying degrees of influences in defining and refining Indian strategic thinking especially in the 21st century. The study vends-off Marxism, Hindutva and Gandhianism in the context of inherent limitations of wider acceptance in the body of Indian statecraft and public.

Thus, it is suggested that, Nehruvianism while being the dominant strategy influencing Indian strategic thought has four distinct phases (versions) under different leaderships: Original Nehruvianism (1947-1965), Restrained Realism (1965-1995), Limited Liberalism (1995-2014) and Nehruvianism 2.0 (2014 onwards). Further, the essay also attempts to illuminate Indian strategic behaviour in lite of three contemporary episodes: the Pulawama bombing; Wuhan summit and BRI and the Act East policy in drawing out evidences into India's lack of strategic coherence and shift towards transcendence utility of international relations.

The Dictum of Geography and History

Prof. Bajpai emphasizes India's inclination towards restraint use of force as dictated by Nehruvian ideals. Ian Hall describes Indian strategic thinking along three lines of thoughts: Fatalism, Moralism and Activism. According to Hall, these are manifestations of the 'Strategic Culture' influenced by the plethora of historical literature. In this regard, while acknowledging the different streams of influence on contemporary Indian strategic thinking mentioned above, it is suggested that geography and history are fundamental in defining and deciding a nation's character.

It is my stern belief that geography provides the scale of defence in depth, the basis for survival; history provides the common fabric for continuity of human interactions also known as civilization. Both the authors have fallen short at identifying the importance of geography and its correlation in defining history and national character, and strategic posture. India is rich in these two aspects and thus have inherited a distinctive culture embraced in diversity. This, combination resulted in the defensive posture embraced by India to-date. This could be the result of a strategic calculation in preserving India's cultural identity while understanding its vulnerability, in the lack of material capacity for a force build-up.

The restraint posture was reinforced through the Gandhian philosophy of 'Ahimsa' and those leaders who were at the forefront in the independence struggle. Rather than stating that Indian strategic thinking accepts Westphalia system of nation-state, the author is of the view that western statecraft was not immune to the essence of Indian culture. With reference to the early Indian policymakers, the statement 'European society with an Indian religion' seems ideal.

Manifestation of Nehruvianism

The Original Nehruvianism

Bajpai and Ian Hall in common accepts that Nehruvianism as the dominant strategy of Indian statecraft. Further, Bajpai goes on in length providing an equal weight towards 'Hyperrealism' and 'Neo-liberalism' which is contravened in this essay. Meanwhile, Ian Hall insists that Indian foreign policy is in constant flux. In this regard, it is suggested that post-independence history exhibits different manifestations of Nehruvianism in different contexts and with no clear delineation as suggested by Bajpai. While, accepting the existence of 'Hyperrealism' and 'Neo-liberalism' as alternative schools of thought in the context of India, these are to be identified as extensions or manifestations of the Nehruvian philosophy in Indian statecraft.

Upon independence, understanding the strategic vulnerability of an infant nation, Nehru spearheaded the drive for consolidating dependence through treaties, agreements with cautious restraint in the use of force except in self-defence. His virtues were driven by the idea of freedom against colonial and

imperial forces. It must also be understood that he was not totally averse to the use of force. Immediately following independence Nehru was fighting against communist forces within India, in the Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh. Thus, the basis of Nehru's philosophy could be ascribed into three quadrants: ensuring the survival of India as an infant nation state, providing leadership against anti-colonial and anti-imperial forces for independence and being astute to the realities of the emerging bi-polar world order. As Ian Hall describes the initial phase of Nehruvianism could be marked by its normative leadership in international affairs.

The Second Phase of Nehruvism (Restrained Realism)

The 1962 Indo-China War took Nehru by surprise and ascertained that India's statecraft and strategic thinking were not sensitive to the geopolitical realities. Thus, this ushered a new phase in the evolution of Indian strategic thinking from Nehruvianism towards realism. The second phase of assertive-Nehruvianism (restrained realism), is pronounced in the period from 1965 to 1995. The latter marked a tacit shift of Indian policy towards its version of neo-liberalism under Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh.

Following India's strategic embarrassment in the 1962 Indo-China War, Pakistan in 1965 forced a war on India. Though this time around the Indian military demonstrated its superiority, the successor to Pandit Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri had to sign a peace agreement with Pakistan under the mediation of the Soviet Union. This singular event is to be seen as the end of original Nehruvianism in India.

Subsequent events of India's role in Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan (1971), integration of Sikkim into India (1975), establishment of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) (1968), and India's assertive neighborhood policy from Burma, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet, Maldives are limelight's of the strategic shift. Indira Gandhi (1966-1984) could be stated as the key proponent of realist thought in India. In addition, India's first nuclear test in 1974 could be stated as the pinnacle of India's new outlook into the strategic realism. Meanwhile, Indira Gandhi was astute not to outright distance from the Nehruvian concepts and restrained from the path of hyperrealism. Yet, the perceived flaws of Nehruvianism had already given rise to a wave of hyperrealism in domestic politics. And the BJP and Hindutva factions were profound proponents of this thinking.

In addition, the evolution of an assertive version of Nehruvianism in 1960 could also be attributed to the socio-economic conditions that persisted in the early decades following independence. Despite its enormity and promise, India was heavily dependent on agricultural imports pushing more towards abject poverty. This very state highlights the fact of the incoherence of Nehruvianism as a grand strategy. Thus, 1960s marked India's green revolution and assertiveness towards a more resilient nation. Hence, the readings of Bajpai and Ian Hall exerts less or no emphasis on these realities.

The Third Phase of Nehruvianism (Limited liberalism)

According to researchers' understand, the proponents of the 3rd phase of Nehruvianism are Narasimha Rao (1991-1996), Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1996, 1998-2004) and Dr. Manmohan Singh (2004-2014). This period marked a distinct revival of economic reforms, an ambitious nuclear program and the advent of India's Look-East policy. The key highlight of this period is India consciously distancing itself from Nehru's heritage of non-alignment and assertiveness towards the US and West as strategic and political partners. Meanwhile, India was successfully playing the balance of power role through trade, investment, military and technological partnerships with China, Israel and Russia. The Look-East policy singularly announced India's interests in ASEAN and beyond.

The Nehruvianism 2.0

By 2019 India had become much richer elevating millions out of poverty. Meanwhile, India's success stories in IT, BPO services and the rise of the billionaire Raj ascribed into a more confident Indian nation. Its film industry has become the main cultural exporter leveraging its soft power dominance. By 2030, speculations suggest that India would overtake China as the largest demography. India already boasts of its indigenous military and space program.

All the above suggest that 21st century India has become more intervened with globalization and dependent on world trade. Contrary to the expectations, available evidence suggest that more than 50% of the Indian population is engaged in the low productive agricultural sector which contributes to 17-18% of GDP. Apart the economics, the irony is that Indian growth is driven by domestic consumption (60% of GDP), which reveals the acute void of a grand strategy for an emerging geopolitical power. Thus, this clearly underscores the fact, exists an incoherence of the alignment of India's national instruments in achieving national interests and serving national values.

Meanwhile, in the Mahanian School of Naval Power, for force projection, India's allocation of budget to navy (15% of military expenditure) reinforces its grand strategic incoherence as an aspiring global power. The author views this context of strategic thinking as Nehruvianism 2.0.

Illuminating Strategic Behaviour

The Pulawama Terror Attack

On the Valentine-day of 2019, terrorist suicide bomb attack targeting Indian paramilitary troops and the subsequent episode that unfolded with Pakistan clearly underscores an assertive state that is willing to pursue the use of force against its adversaries. In addition, garnering wider condemnation on Pakistan internationally through the use of diplomatic channels and the intensity of war mongering by Indian mainstream and social media does display the use of national instruments to meet strategic ends. Yet, will this be a consistent

strategic behaviour, remains a million-dollar question. In 2016, a Pakistan based terrorist group attacked an Indian airbase at Pathankot killing 8 persons. The Indian response was muted. Hence, these two incidents demonstrate a bi-polarity of political will, the use of force and utility of international relations that well highlights India's inconsistent strategic behaviour.

Wuhan Summit and BRI

The 2018 informal round of talks held, displays a marked shift of strategic-behaviour of the Indian policy towards negotiations, compromises and cooperation to discuss contentious issues between India and China. India harbours great reservation on the BRI and its main contention, points towards the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that passes through disputed territory. Prime Minister Modi was initially interested in Chinese investments but resorted restraint on the possible influx of Chinese labour into India. Meanwhile, Indian premier's visit to China also highlights India's desire, not to be seen as an ardent critique of China.

Though there are mixed feelings on the Wuhan Summit, the event gave India impetus for greater cooperation with China embracing a straight forward bilateral partnership. Key highlights of the summit: to increase strategic cooperation between respective military forces to deal with contentious border issues (unresolved Doklam and Arunachal Pradesh), joint cooperation in projects in Afghanistan, China's pledge to support India's bid to join the nuclear suppliers group and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) illustrates a more pragmatic and assertive India policy shift.

Act East Policy

New Delhi's Act East policy under the Modi government signals India's assertiveness towards a greater leadership role in Asia. Its declaration of Indian Ocean Region open for all, also highlights India moving towards addressing the developing bipolarity in the Asian region or is this India playing a balancing act to reinforce embracing China as a strategic partner?

Thus, in conclusion, it is reiterated that Indian does lack a visible and pronounced grand strategy which accentuates the essence of coherent and persistent use of national instruments. Hence, the above contradicts Bajpai's optimistic narrative that India has a grand strategy. Further, it is suggested that Indian strategic thinking continues to be predominantly influenced by the Nehruvian thinking in different manifestations with a blend of 'hyperrealism' and 'neo-liberalism' as discussed in the different phases of evolution of strategic thought.

The author is of the view the above contexts discussed provides evidence to suggest that India has understood that proximity of China provides dual possibilities for friendship and conflict, in which following the former would yield more dividends. This shift of strategic behaviour could not be asserted as

a distinctive deviation of the age-old Nehruvian philosophy, but appeasement of transcendence strategy balancing China, US, West, Russia and ASEAN. India's growing emphasis on a multilateral system. Until that India will remain a prisoner of its own making, the 'Continental Dilemma'.

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THE SUBTLE DEATH TRAP: THE HARMFUL EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL AND SMOKING IN NAVAL PERSONNEL



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"The harmful use of alcohol results in the death of 3 million people annually. There are 230 different types of diseases where alcohol plays a significant role. It also causes harm to the wellbeing and health of the people around the drinkers. In 2016, the worldwide total consumption was equal to 6.4 liters of pure alcohol per person above 15 years and older. Unrecorded consumption accounts for 26% of the worldwide total consumption".

Introduction

A common deceiver of today's society, promises on short-term happiness, strength and amusement. Most men engaged with many prospects in order to find a benefit for their own ease, comfort and pleasure. All of these comes with a price. A price that will cost the lives of you and your loved ones.

One of the most common social issues in today's context is the addiction of drugs, alcohol and smoking which are the habits that are widely spreading and lead to many deleterious effects over the community. Happiness of the addicted individuals, may continue for short duration but the bad repercussions of this meaningless practice remains for prolonged duration.

As personnel employed in Sri Lanka Navy, and as responsible individuals, it is essential to recognize the consequences of the limitless usage of alcohol and smoking. Indeed, the navy plays a vital role, with regard to the security of the country both at land and sea. Therefore, all naval personnel must perform their respective duties and responsibilities with an objective and with prestige. Hence, to maintain a sound state of health, it is important to limit the usage of alcohol and smoking by individuals.

It is most unfortunate to mention that most addicted individuals fail to realize the harmful consequences of such habitual practices as they are unnoticeable at the beginning. But eventually, the signs rise and the chances of curing may be very doubtful. Hence, it is a subtle death trap, which lead to a life time regret.

Substance/drug abuse, substance/drug addiction, (also includes smoking and alcohol use) is a universal problem especially among the young adults. Many are dependent on different types of substances and stimulation medications that comes hand in hand with narcotic effects. In the present day it is evident that a heavy usage of drugs mainly among young adults are spreading rapidly.

Drugs define as a medicine or other substance which has a physiological

effect when introduced into the body. However, the term drugs not only mean medicine but also fatal narcotics with different specifications where most of human beings do not distinguish fundamentally. Further, the drugs can be categorized as follows.

- **Depressants:** These are substances that make you relax but larger doses can cause unconsciousness such as Alcohol, Heroin, and Cannabis/Marijuana/Ganja.
- **Stimulants:** Substances that cause a sense of excessive alertness and confidence by stimulating one's nervous system such as Caffeine, Nicotine in tobacco, Ephedrine, Speed ice or Crystal moth or Cocaine (Coke).
- **Hallucinogens:** Substances that disturb the users' perception, such as Ecstasy, Ketamine and Magic mushrooms.

Drug / substance abuse as defined simply as the excess utilization of the drugs or substance, whilst drug addiction is a chronic and often compulsive seeking of drug or substance as well as the use of it despite the harmful consequences to the individual and to those dear to them by physically, mentally, socially and economically.

The World Population and its Consumption

According to the "World Drug Report 2018- about 275 million people worldwide, which is roughly 5.6 percent of the global population aged 15 to 64 years, used drugs at least once during the year 2016. According to the World Health Organization statistics 2018, the harmful effects of alcohol causes nearly 3 million deaths per year. According to the World Health Organization statistics June 2019, tobacco causes more than 8 million deaths per year worldwide, out of which more than 7 million are a result of direct tobacco use while around 1.2 million are a result of non-smokers being exposed to second hand smoke.

In Sri Lanka, the estimated annual mortality from tobacco-related illnesses is about 20,000 deaths (according to Alcohol and Drug Information System 2017) i.e. approximately 57 deaths per day due to tobacco use. According to the National Alcohol and Tobacco Authority (NATA) statement in 2016, the annual alcohol related deaths sum over 23,000, and i.e. 65 deaths per day.

Distribution of Drugs Worldwide

In Sri Lanka, the most commonly used substances are cannabis (Kerala ganja), heroin, opium, alcohol and tobacco. The recent trends of consumption have been rising among the young including male and female victims.

Common reasons among target group that lead to drug abuse and addiction are failure to deal with personal and, or family problems, high level of stress, social pressure, lack of parental involvement in child activities, certain mental health conditions, physiological trauma, exposure to drug abusive environment

at young age, and a child will inhabit these actions as one's norm and most commonly will lack of self-confidence. On the contrary, except for a few, most successful drug dealers do not use the substance they trade.

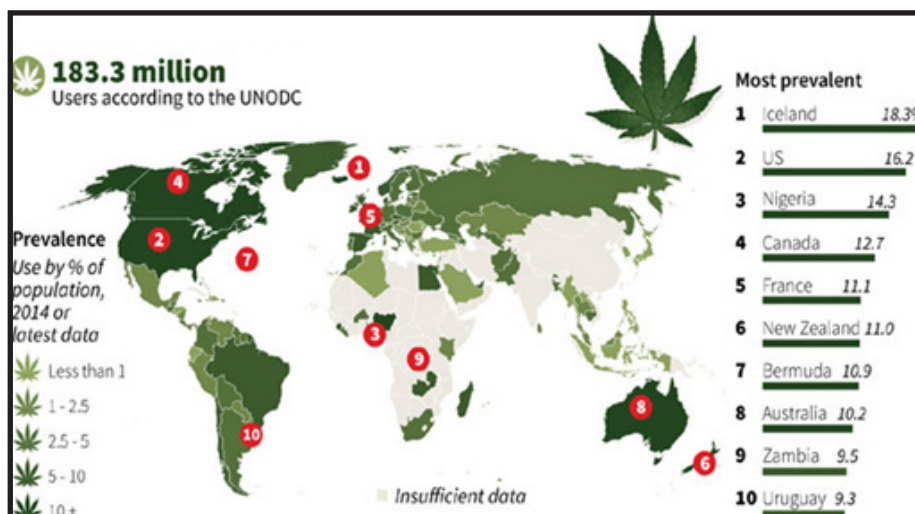


Figure 1: Worldwide usage and prevalence of Cannabis

Source: JAMA / UNDOC World Drug Report 2017

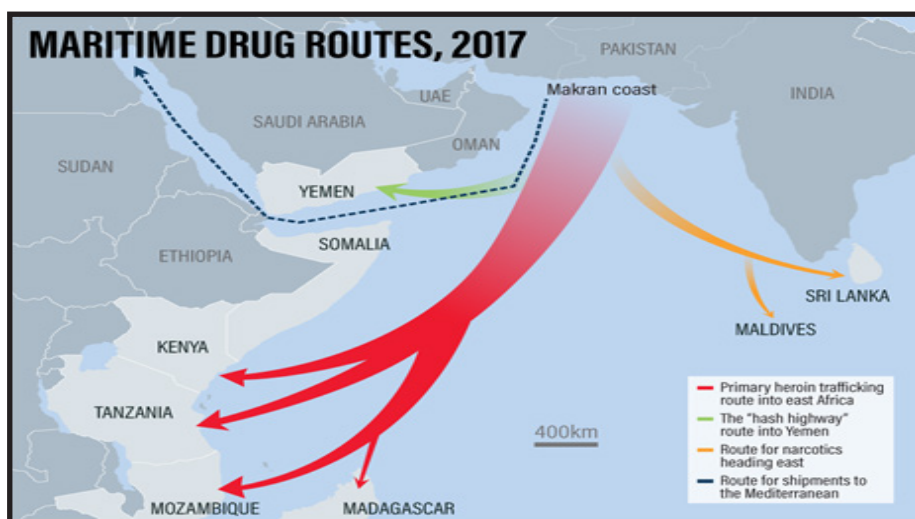


Figure 2: Maritime drug trafficking routes in the Indian Ocean 2017

Source: www. National.ae-e-news website

There are numerous methods in means of transporting of drugs from one place to another in the world. The most convenient process of transport and accessibility is through the maritime drug trafficking route where there is a least possibility of detection. Certain drug traders have international acquaintances amongst the dealers in order to preserve and sustain their drug transactions across many countries.

Although, government authorities have taken many attempts to overcome this

tragic situation from the society, by conducting various legal proceedings against drug related activities, it has not been possible to end the matter completely. It is appalling to come across the number of crimes that have emerged following substances misuse in Sri Lanka.

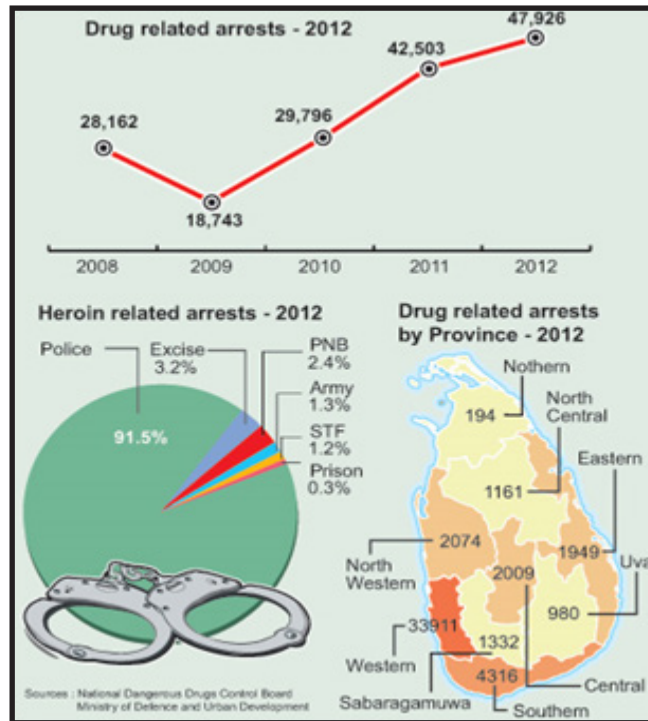


Figure 3: Drug related arrests in Sri Lanka 2012

Source: National dangerous drug control board

However, the most consumed substance out of the above is alcohol and cigarette smoking. Furthermore, consumption of alcohol and/or smoking is a common habit, among Sri Lanka Navy personnel.

Being armed forces personnel, it is mandatory to maintain a good physical status, mental robustness and keep a good untarnished image of the navy with respect to the civil society. Since armed personnel should work with much responsibility when working and handling of arms and ammunition, as well as when they corporate with civil society, it is indeed a necessity to maintain ones' physical and mental stability. Thus, a more courteous, well-mannered and respectable personality is an essential factor. Furthermore, all individuals can accomplish the duties and responsibilities as anticipated by the naval organization.

Usage of alcohol and smoking habits cannot be brought to an end completely. But an attempt to curtail such practices will produce an upright, good physically shaped and psychological strengthened and balanced personnel in the navy. Thereby, the Sri Lanka Navy will comprise of healthy manpower.

Side Effects and Health Problems of Substance Use and Addiction

There are many negative effects both physically and mentally with regard to alcohol and smoking addiction. Some of the short-term effects are lack of sense of perception and impaired decision making. Emotional effects such as mood swings, depression, violence, aggressive behavior, anxiety, and confusion are a few. Long term mental effects are difficult in concentration, memory loss, reduced attention span, disturbed sleep, anxiety disorders, panic disorders and depression. These consequences can affect one's day to day work, activity and such personalities may ultimately be socially secluded.

Long Term Physical Effects of Alcohol

There are many risks of serious health problems: decrease of activities and difficulty in actively working, high blood pressure (Hypertension), high blood sugar (Diabetes Mellitus), heart attacks / heart muscle damage leading to heart failure, effects to brain (Stroke and Seizures), pancreatitis (leading to Deterioration to Pancreas), damage to liver (leading to Hepatitis, Cirrhosis), and cancer (ex: Cancer in mouth, throat, breast, liver and bowel).

Long Term Effects of Smoking

There are several effects such as : damage to lungs (Causing Lung cancer, Bronchitis, Asthma, and other chronic respiratory diseases), high blood pressure (Hypertension), high blood sugar (Diabetes Mellitus), heart attacks / heart muscle damage leading to heart failure, damaged to blood vessels (causing hair loss, leg weakness and pain, ulcers on foot and legs, Impotence in men), infertility problems, weakened immunity system (increased risk of infection and delaying wound healing), other cancers (Cancers in mouth, throat, kidney, liver, bowel and even blood cancer ex: Leukemia) and risks following second hand / passive smoking (causes lung diseases, infections, heart diseases in infants, children and adults exposed, as well as, risks in pregnancy outcomes in women exposed to smoke)

It also must be mentioned that a substance addict will continue the use of that substance on a regular basis despite the knowledge of its effects. An addiction is basically the habitual craving towards the substance due to the changes in the functioning of brain. Hence, there is an uncontrollable desire to consume it as a result to which the addicted victim engages in a compulsive behavior to take it. In other words, a sense of dependency toward the substance.

Usually early experimentation with such substance is rooted with curiosity, however, as one's frequency increases, the body begins to depend on it to function properly.

Concerning naval personnel, the current trends of alcohol consumption and tobacco smoking is at a rise. There are many reasons for one to attempt and continue such habits. These could be: severe work load stress, post-traumatic

stress disorder and personal issues, relationship problems and family problems, economic stress following low income status and being the sole bread winner of the family, restriction with regard to leave and inability to meet family, subjection to law, orders and instructions unlike civil personnel, pre-existing mental health conditions, level of education, lack of skills at work, lack of social skills, personality disorders (imitating or mirroring another especially famous individuals in the society), lack of knowledge and awareness regarding rules, regulations and laws, addiction and dependency towards gambling, influence of famous or significant person in the country or in the world (ex: actor, renowned person etc.) and easy access to such substances.

The misconception of an easy method of solving ones emotional, physical, mental and economic burden by a shot of alcohol and a puff of cigarette is at definite fault. This concept has walked into the drained lives filled with such distress as a hypocrite.

Impact to Duties and Responsibilities

The side effects and disadvantages not only affect the individual and his family but also to the sustainable capabilities of the naval force. It is an obligatory fact that each and every naval person should be in sound state of mind and health. Inability to conduct one's duties in an organized manner, sleep disturbance will affect day time work, poor decision making, behavior of confrontation with supervisors and co-workers, lack of coordination, decrease in productivity, reduced staff morale are few of them.

The risk of misuse and misconduct of amour is a likely possibility and leads to action such as suicide or homicide. Therefore, to reduce such incidents, one must be conscious and aware during weapon handling and security duties and an optimum state of mind is very important.

All members must be vigilant and be in a sound state of mind while on duty. Therefore alcohol and smoking must be avoided to reduce unnecessary mishaps and mistakes due to inaccuracy and carelessness.

Prevention and Control

A suggestive method to address this issue in a systematic manner would be on the basis of awareness, prevention and rehabilitation. Firstly, implementing organized statistics categorized as; consumption of alcohol or and smoking by navy personnel (including amounts, such as number of glasses per day / week and number of cigarettes per day), individuals with chronic usage, individuals having physical and psychological health issues both pre-existing and newly recognized, individuals with family or domestic problems and pre-existing mental illnesses. This initial step will be a systematic and feasible method that will also be important in future reference as well.

Steps Taken by the Sri Lanka Navy to Prevent Substance Addiction

Provision of health education on this topic is a must approach. Navy personnel can be made well educated on this subject via workshops and it should target all staff from grass root level. Disadvantages with regard to health, family and one's economy must be highlighted. Currently, there are organized awareness programmes by the Psychology Counsellor's Unit.

- Individual counselling sessions for Navy personnel with minimal addiction or habits.
- Recognizing such individuals during medical check-ups and referring them for counselling by medical officer.
- Reference by self or via medical officer during treatment of physical illnesses such as high blood pressure, Diabetes mellitus, and high level of cholesterol, heart disease, following the use of alcohol or smoking.
- Self-awareness and self-reference to a counselling unit.
- Recognizing and detecting of the subordinates by divisional officers and better referring them for counselling sessions.
- Island wide awareness programmes by psychology counsellors of Presidential Task Force on drug prevention in collaboration with the Naval Psychological Counsellors' Unit.
- Mental health problems or disorders caused by addiction or following other causes need to be recognized and referred for counselling and rehabilitation.
- Sri Lanka Navy facilitates counselling and rehabilitation for navy personnel with substance addiction issues. This is in concurrence with concept of "A country free of Intoxicants" which is a program under the purview of His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka.

Other Suggestive Methods

- Regulation and control of the usage of alcohol and smoking within the naval premises.
- Limitation of usage of alcohol and smoking by junior personnel and avoid the risk at an early stage.
- Assist people to get rid of the social stigma and improve the quality of psychocological health by providing Mental health awareness or psychological support, counselling and awareness programs.
- Proper inspiration and motivation to overcome lack of self-confidence and to face life along with difficulties with a sense of understanding.
- Awareness and psychological support to individuals and family. This in turn will avoid domestic issues as well as create a more understanding work environment.
- Follow up an alcohol and smoking policy in Sri Lanka Navy, during duty at ships and establishment.

Challenges

Difficulty in data collection, lack of confidence of opening up regarding one's addiction due to stigma and false idea of spoiling one's image and difficulties in adapting to changes of new rules and regulations.

Positive Impact on Duties and Responsibilities

All individuals will dedicate and become conscious about one's tasks and duties. It will also reduce the unnecessary risk and misuse of weapon or attempts of suicide or harm to others. Other long-term health problems can be minimized and capable healthy group of individuals will be present. They will be able to do naval as well as their personal duties with sense of awareness and sound mind. These improvements can increase the capacity and potential, which in turn will form proficient and competent personnel in the field.

Public Perception about Military Personnel

There are many misconceptions of the public towards the military on this topic. Reasons for such false perceptions are due to the media, news, television and even films. This in turn would also affect the military personnel and augment social stigma.

The concept of health education and awareness of alcohol misuse and smoking will not only cause a positive impact on navy personnel but also in the society via families and friends. Thereby, the society's attitudes and habits may also take a turn towards the better and the public recognition and trust in society will increase.

Impact on Families

Certainly, the impact of service life itself can mainly effect to the family members. But substance addiction and psychological illness can affect those family members in a worse manner.

Therefore, provision of counselling and rehabilitation of the individual and immediate family members would be an acceptable approach. This comprehensive method of prevention and control will indeed produce positive outcome.

Conclusion

Substance misuse is a rising problem in Sri Lanka. The usage of alcohol and smoking is a common habit among navy personnel. This universal issue causes many negative health effects to the consumer as well as others in one's family and workplace.

Psychological instability following consumption is a very dreadful outcome. Therefore, it is our duty to address this issue in a comprehensive manner both to the personnel and immediate family members. This in turn will result in good

outcome to the individual, the navy as well as the family.

Perception of the public towards military personnel will also change for the better and the public will also change social attitudes with regard to substance misuse. As citizens of the country, it is our responsibility to approach this issue and cause impact even in an indirect way.

They may not be in your family or your neighborhood but, there may be many individuals known to you and some guidance may change one's attitude towards their addiction. Others, under social pressure may open up to you and some words of advice may even save a life.

As reputed personnel, with an obligation towards our motherland, it is our duty to bring forth good attitudes and understanding to prevent such immoral behavior as well as false misconception regarding substance misuse.

We cannot eradicate such usage completely. But there is a possibility to limit. We may not see results immediately as soon as today, but small steps of responsibility make way to a healthier naval force, both physically and psychologically, which will gradually pave the path to form a much more efficient and competent navy of the nation.

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