

Effective application of Airpower in countering threats to national security in IOR

H. W. N. Wanasinghe

*Squadron Leader, No 5 Fighter Squadron, SLAF base Katunayake, Sri Lanka
<niroshwanasinghe@yahoo.com>*

Abstract — *Once Admiral Alfred Mahan said “Whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia. This Ocean is the key to the seven seas in twenty first century, the destiny of the world will be decided in these waters.” Indian Ocean occupies a special strategic position in maritime transportation and considered as one of the key global trading thoroughfare. Sri Lanka is positioned in a critical place of the region where it can serve as the bridge between major economic entities. Also East Asia is considered as the new engine of world economy. Hence maritime and security issues in the region will be of greater importance in future for the comfort of the island nation. We have a potential to be a focal point of shifting strategic calculus from West to East by effectively harnessing this unmatched geostrategic location we are enjoying.*

The present international security environment is dynamic and uncertain, with recurrent disputes, crisis all over and conflicts in many regions. Unlike in the past the present day enemies are dynamic, irregular, networked and even unorthodox. We are currently witnessing unhealthy competition to gain influence in other countries and exploiting internal pressures of other countries to achieve strategic ends. Also in recent years there has been phenomenal rise in intra-state militancy and emergence of non-state actors which had gained strategic autonomy and the ability to undertake high profile acts that can create strategic effects.

Air power is one of the special and unique tools of a nation which can be deployed to ensure Air defense of the nation, to support sister services to perform their roles and to aid the nation in disastrous situations. Unique characteristics of the air power are height, speed and reach, which need to be taken in to the consideration.

At the end of the study following observations were made. There are security threats to Sri Lanka due to the geographic location, power struggle between regional powers, economic potential of the country, increased activities of pirates in Indian Ocean. Further, potential application of third dimension in countering such threats is identified.

Keywords: *Airpower, SLAF, IOR*

I. INTRODUCTION

The sea's roles as a resource and as a transport artery explain why the maritime contribution to many national economies is dramatically rising and, crucially why sea-based shipping remains the main driver in the growth of economic inter-dependence that the world knows as 'globalization', on which so much depends (Till, 2015). Being and island located at the center of mighty Indian Ocean Sri Lanka is enjoying a special strategic importance, rich natural resources and greater economic potential, where unfortunately the nation happened to influenced by the never-ending struggle for power of regional and global powers, due to the vary reasons. Hence there are threats in different nature to the national security from and within the region as well as extra-region, military and non-military, by state and non-state actors which requires military response. It might be lethal or non-lethal depending on the nature. Utilization of air power against such threats would mitigate the potential damages to the national interests and objectives.

II. IOR (INDIAN OCEAN REGION)

The Indian Ocean is the third largest ocean in the world. It's considered as lifeline of international trade and transport, which comprises ½ of world container ships, 1/3 of world's bulk cargo ships and 2/3 of world's oil shipping. The countries of the Indian Ocean Region are remarkably diverse in terms of size, economic strength, language, culture, ethnicity and religion. Due to the vastness of the Indian Ocean Region and its littorals, it faces many traditional and non-traditional security challenges which are elaborated below. This can affect mid- and long-term development and sometimes creates near-term problems in stability that can trigger internal or civil conflict.



Figure: Indian Ocean Region

III.GEOSTRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE ISLAND

Sri Lanka is located at the center of the mighty Indian Ocean, adjacent to one of world’s busiest SLOCs. The geo strategic location had been an attraction for state and non-state actors throughout the history. At the outset invasions were direct. Face of the aggressors has been transformed with time with the influence of many factors. Nevertheless, their lust for power and resources remain unchanged or slightly changed.

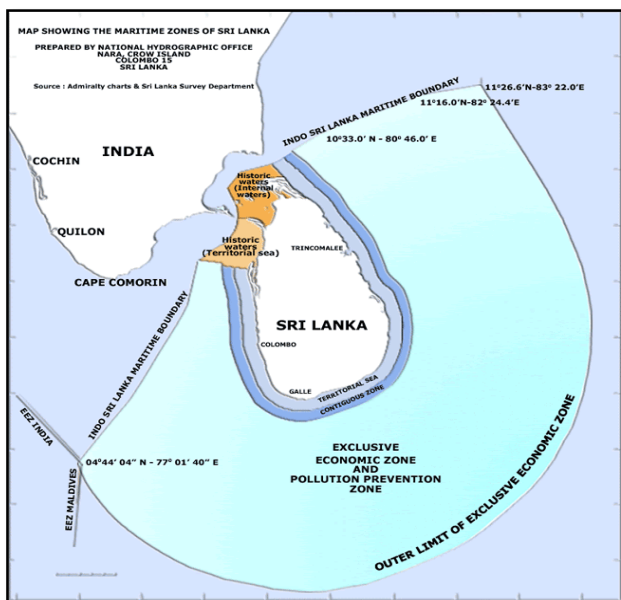
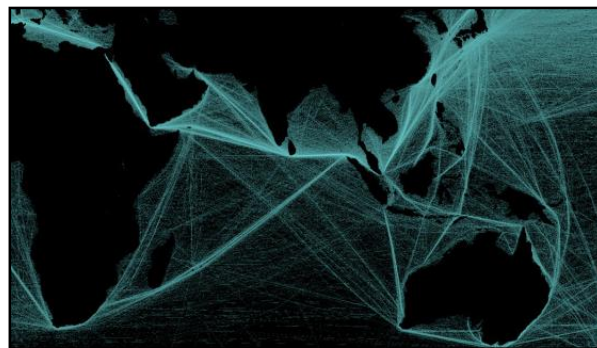


Figure: EEZ, ADIZ, Territorial sea of Sri Lanka

Apart from the strategic advantage, the island is gifted with rich marine resources. Territorial sea of the island is 12 nm from the shore line, which is the same for the ADIZ (Air Defense Identification Zone). And contiguous zone runs up to 24 nm from the base line. Further EEZ (Exclusive



Economic Zone) expands up to 200nm except towards North and North-west. Proposals are been made to expand the EEZ up to 350nm.

Figure: Density of maritime traffic in IOR

Sri Lanka is at the door step of a regional power who is competes to become a global power. History reveals that South Indian dynasties had invaded the country nearly in twenty occasions and managed to clench certain land by sword and fire which marked few of the darkest eras of our history. Landing of Portuguese in 1505 AD marked the beginning of the dominion of colonial powers such as Portuguese, Dutch and British who drained out as much as resources and labor and tumbledown the islands culture and its values.

Due to the very reason Sri Lanka was utilized as a stronghold of Allied forces during WW II where Japanese naval forces eagerly sought the control of the same. After the end of colonial hegemony country faced copious external interventions for its domestic and foreign affairs by regional and global powers up to date. Developing economy and superpower rivalry in the region will ensure that island nation will not sail in peace. Emergence of China as a super power had transformed the power struggle in regional and global context, which significantly changed the Indo-American, Indo-China and Indo-Russian relationships. Since the island is included in China’s string of pearls concept Indo –Sri Lanka ties were slackened. It is suspected that India was behind the Sri Lankan political regime change in 2015 which launched number of mega development projects under the patronage of China.

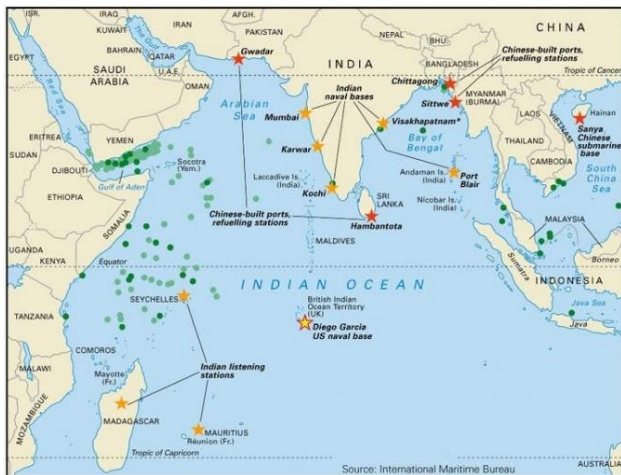


Figure: Great power competition in IOR

IV. ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE COUNTRY

During the near three decade of conflict period, most of the development projects and foreign investments were been frozen due to the uncertainty of stability and security of the country. Three components of stability, which are political, economic and military stabilities, are interconnected and interdependent. If one component becomes unstable the ripple is reflected through others also. Strong leadership and political stability after the elections in 2005 were some of key reasons behind successful elimination of LTTE militancy. Military stability in the island was established, paving way to a stable economy.

The geostrategic location and natural resources are other key motives and potentials behind becoming a transit point and a hub in the region in terms of aviation, maritime, tourism and commerce. Mega development projects started after the conflict such as Highway network projects, Harbor facility expansion, Airport facility enhancement and major city development projects encouraged investors. Hence island was able to achieve noteworthy economic growth rate, even during global economic depression in 2007-08.

The specialty of the island is that wide array of tourist attractions like white sandy beaches, mountainous rainforests beautified by waterfalls, ancient cities, unique cultural events and festivals..etc, few hours apart from each other enriched by renowned hospitality.

Also the island has the potential to become an important choke point by expanding harbor facilities since, one of

world’s busiest SLOCs joining East and West lies just 3-4 nm below point Dondra and airport facilities which are already in action.

V. THREAT CLASSIFICATION

Threat is a communicated intent to inflict harm, damage or any other hostile intent rather an act of coercion. This broad definition can cover numerous varieties of intents and acts with regard to all the elements of national power, policies and interests. Thus certain classification is needed to fix the focus of this particular study. In one view threats to Sri Lankan national security emanate from and within IOR can be categorized as:

- Regional threats
- Extra-regional threats
 - Originate extra regional and operates beyond the region
 - Originate extra regional but operates regionally

For the study, regional threats and extra-regional threats which operate within the region were considered. Also another classification is:

- Military threats
- Non-military threats
 - Performed by armed actors
 - Performed by unarmed actors

For the study military threats and non-military threats performed by armed actors were considered which might require military response. Further the actors might be state, non-state or sub-state in nature. In more complex scenarios, actors could be combined. In case of LTTE terrorists which was a triple-tear; non-state actor (LTTE) facilitated by a sub-state actor (Tamilnadu state) and had significant mediation of a state actor (India) due to the pressure exerted by state of Thamilnadu.

VI. THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY

National security architecture covers all the issues in the disciplines of defence, economic, domestic, foreign and media. These elements of the national security are inter linked and inter depended. Each element has greater influence on others. Since this is a broad field of view, issues are also highly diversified and they need different array of solutions. However there are challenges which, air power can contribute to counter the matter directly or to assist the sister agencies who are dealing with the matter.

However some of the challenges have direct and indirect impact on others. Especially external interferences in domestic and foreign affairs could hide behind the masks of all other challenges, while terrorism, piracy and smuggling have brotherly connection. Hence national security architecture must consider all challenges alike. The identified challenges in the region which can hamper national security and national interests which can be suppressed by the support of Air power are as follows.

A. Possible re-emergence of terrorism and emergence of extremist groups within Sri Lanka

1).Re-emergence of terrorism: The country is at peace after a successful elimination of one of world’s most ruthless terrorist organization LTTE who, demanded for a separate state. Sri Lanka Air Force’s air power was instrumental in this military victory, to achieve desired political end state to the conflict (Mehta, 2010). It is categorized as a low intensity conflict; it exhibited some epitome of conventional war characteristics though. LTTE is an archetypal example for transformation of unconventional warfare, form a conflict other than war, subsequently a low intensity conflict, then sub-conventional warfare, Irregular warfare and hybrid warfare which is the latest phenomenon of unconventional warfare. LTTE terrorists’ final order of battle with an orthodox ground element, maritime element (sea tigers), suicidal element (black tiger) and an air tiger wing backed by Tamil Diaspora and Tamil Nadu State government of India, represents transformation of unconventional warfare to hybrid warfare.

And it is to be accepted that though the separate Tamil state ideology emerged as terrorism which was defeated militarily, other components which supported the militancy are still alive and active. Most of the reconciliation, resettlement and rehabilitation programs are been concluded by the government of Sri Lanka. Some of the programs are still ongoing. Yet the success of the outcome is questionable. Even though we have devastated much of LTTEs operational capabilities within the territory and opportunities to launch attacks, there are ample amount of signs which confirms that the separate Tamil state ideology is still alive. In fact this is currently a trans-state threat where chief minister of state of Tamilnadu who is the legitimate governing body who had been elected legally and who represent the preference of the majority, challenges sovereignty of Sri Lanka openly. Also we need to perceive the kin-state phenomenon behind the scene.

Since the international experience of defeating terror is quite different to the local one, lowering the guard is not wise move. Even, coalition militaries, comprises with superior forces with advanced weaponry, advanced integrated technical support, developed tactics and techniques could not completely eradicate the adversaries from their operating theaters such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria..etc.

2).Emergence of extremist groups : The present day transnational security environment is dynamic and uncertain, with recurrent disputes, crisis everywhere and conflicts in many regions. Unlike in the past, present day enemies are vibrant, irregular, networked and even unorthodox. We currently witness an unhealthy competition to gain influence in others and exploiting internal pressures of other countries to achieve strategic ends. Also in recent years there has been rise in intra-state militancy and rise of non-state actors which had gained strategic autonomy and the ability to undertake high profile acts that can create strategic effects.

Current world order demonstrates that emergence of extremist groups is a possible threat to many nations. These movements may be drawn mainly in the lines of religion and ethnicity. Even ISIS which is the most prevalent terrorist organization the world witnessed so far, had plotted Sri Lanka as a part of its intended caliphate by 2020. ISIS attack in Dhaka on 2 Jul 2016 indicates that, they are on the way to make their envisioned Caliphate a reality. ISIS presence in south East Asia will shake safety and security of Sri Lanka as well, which will negatively impact on economy in addition.



Figure: Intended ISIS Caliphate by 2020

Such non-state actor would become a mighty enemy if the nation happened to fight with, due to the carder strength, possible access to the modern weaponry /technology and financial backup they possess.

Adversary Threat Matrix by Gunarathna forces us to reconsider the possibility of the re-emergence of the terrorism as well as the emergence of other extremist groups.

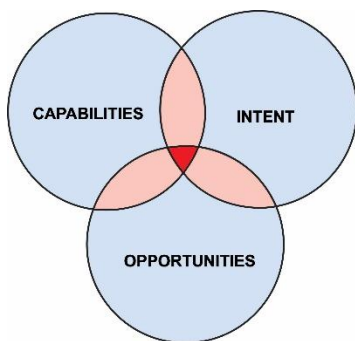


Figure: Adverse Threat matrix diagram

Re-emergence of terrorism and emergence of other extremist groups within Sri Lanka will generate more or less similar impact on safety and security of the Sri Lankan ambience. Once the conflicts start no one would guarantee how long will it be protracted or how much damage it might cause. Prime concern is to be given to deny such risings. However study of how to deal with such, should be a continuum, since the nature of modern conflicts are ever transforming.

B. External interferences in domestic and foreign affairs

History repeats, the face of the reprise might change though. The concept of conquering others land and resources by the powerful nations are as old as the birth of civilization. Though, dialogs continue about democracy, equality, justice, peace, law and order, said concept is perpetual, but with new face which had transformed itself according to the world trends. This has been a penchant of many powerful nations since then. In the ancient, medieval and colonial eras, even during WWs, invasions were direct, where strength and capabilities of the military were decisive factors. Modern day incursions have different approaches which conceals the invader. Now, economic power is used as the main tool in seeking control over others. Geostrategic importance in regional/global power balance, availability of natural resources like energy sources, radioactive elements, rare

raw materials for industries, organic elements, minerals and economic potential have become the main attractions of powerful nations.

Geostrategic location in IOR, recently discovered natural gases, suspected crude oil ores and economic potential mainly due to possibility of becoming a key tourist destination which are the motives behind the attraction of state and non-state actors alike. Today’s developing world order indicates that nations in the cross roads of global strategic energy and security interests become victims of proxy insurgencies (Dissanayake 2009).

C. Maritime Terrorism and Piracy

Simple meaning of piracy is act of robbery and criminal violence at sea. According to the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Working Group, that maritime terrorism is the undertaking of terrorist acts and activities within the maritime environment, using or against vessels or fixed platforms at sea or in port, or against any one of their passengers or personnel, against coastal facilities or settlements, including tourist resorts, port areas and port towns or cities.

The global commerce is under threat of criminal and terrorist elements alike, but for different reasons. It is important to understand that piracy and maritime terrorism are separate “disciplines” that have no direct one-to-one correlation. Piracy is a crime committed for financial gain, while the objective of maritime terrorism is for immediate or strategic political goals (Thomason 2011). When maritime commerce is under attack therefore, the means used to gain control of commercial vessels and platforms will be determined by the objectives of the threat. However oil tankers have become a common attraction for both pirates and terrorists.

Ever continuing shipping industry which joins east and west through maritime silk route which lies just below point of Dondra has added significant value to the nation. There is a heavy presence of piracy in IOR especially in Gulf of Aden. Only few pirating incidents reported close to Sri Lanka up to date. Thus, this fact remains as a threat to the security of naval commerce around the island.

It is evident that both the entities who seek the advantage of by conducting activities like maritime terrorism / pirating and who continuously study about counter measures have become increasingly concerned about the possibility of future maritime terrorism/ piracy. The

maritime environment possesses some unique characteristics that, in principle, could make it attractive to terrorist operations, including the extraterritoriality of the high seas and poor or inconsistent security measures that apply in coastal areas and facilities in many parts of the world. Maritime attacks have the potential to inflict significant harms on persons and property and, in at least some instances, could be highly disruptive to global commerce.

Parasitic bombing and ramming attacks involving improvised explosive devices. With regard to attacks on cruise ships, we considered a broader range of likely attacks, and found that on-board bombings, followed by standoff artillery assaults and food or water contamination scenarios, present the greatest combination of threat and vulnerability.

A crucial fact is that as a transport artery that connects universally, ocean needs to be open and safe for all means of legal mobility. In order to establish a degree of confidence in the integrity of the protective measures for maritime commerce, we must be creative and innovative in our viewpoint of the potential threats, and be willing to invest in long-term solutions which gives due consideration to the adversary's patience, creativity, and commitment to achieving their objectives.

D. Human, drug and weapon smuggling

Among numerous goodies which are been smuggled, these are the top in the rankings of amount been smuggled and popularity among the smugglers. Post conflict national policies focused on transforming the island to a hub of naval commerce, education, aviation, IT so on. However, as usual the criminal elements were prompt, and creative. They took the opportunity to align their illicit activities concerning the strategic importance of the location. Sri Lanka is used as a hub and a transit point for drug trafficking. Further just after the disputes the existed trend to travel Italy by boats illegally was diverted to Australia which created a big annoyance to both the governments. Also ever rising disputes and conflicts in almost all the regions has created a good market for weapon smuggling. Sea routes are one of the famous routes which smugglers prefer to carry on their activities. Hence a maritime nation would be more vulnerable for such activities.

E. Illegal fishing and Poaching

Fishing is a global industry which generates comparatively high profits in elsewhere in the world. Hence, the poaching and illegal fishing are so famous, which happens in large scale, in most of the regions of the world. However everywhere in the sea are not prosperous fishing grounds. There are specific places where harvest is significantly high. These are the attractions of the illegal fishermen.

Illegal Fishing refers to fishing activities conducted by foreign vessels without permission in waters under the jurisdiction of another state, or which contravene its fisheries law and regulations in some other manner (World ocean review). These measures cut-down national income.

F. Maritime pollution

The oceans are so vast and deep that until fairly recently, it was widely assumed that no matter how much trash and chemicals humans dumped into them, the effects would be negligible. Proponents of dumping in the oceans even had a catchphrase: "The solution to pollution is dilution." Illegal dumping of waste oil by commercial ships has been a commonplace around the world which was banned by the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil in 1954. 5-15% of large vessels roughly 5000-7000 ships are believed to breach the law internationally as a routine by illegally dumping 700-210 million gallons per annum. Main reason behind the activity is the attempt to save time at ports and money which is around 3.5 - 6.5% of a ships operating cost for legal disposal of waste oil.

The caused damage is unpredictable and does not depend on the size of the oil spill, rather depends on the closeness to the shoreline and vulnerability of the area. For example, a 9 000-ton diesel fuel spill from the "Tampico Maru", in the Baja California in 1957, damaged over 10 km of coastline. On the other hand, 10 000 tons of crude oil discharged by the "Argea Prima", in Puerto Rico in 1962, caused very little actual damage.

Maritime pollution is a great threat to the marine bio resources and diversity. Drastic and long lasting damages might cause especially to corals and fisheries, which could directly affect the national fishing industry.

VII. EXISTING AIR POWER CAPABILITIES OF SRI LANKA

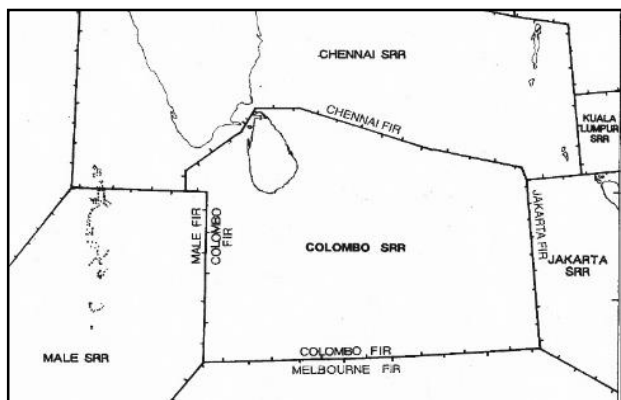


Figure: Colombo SSR (Search and Rescue Region) and Colombo FIR (Flight Information Region)

Colombo SSR and FIR is the boundary which demarcates the air space and water mass surrounds the island. As a nation we have to ensure that global naval commerce, international and domestic air transportation and friendly counterparts are safe and secure within the specified boundaries. This assurance will clear the ambiguities of the foreign investors who would like to capitalize local resources benefitting both.

Air power is offensive by nature. According to the air power taxonomy, SLAF being a small Air Force is capable of handling some slices of Counter Air campaign, Counter Surface force Campaign and few of Combat support operations. However following are the roles which can be performed by the SLAF against threats to secure the nation.

- Air interceptions
- Surface to air defense
- BAI and BAS
- CAS
- Limited maritime strike capability
- Surveillance and reconnaissance
- CASEVAC

After the end of the conflict budgetary allocation for military had been diverted to the national development projects. Maintenance of air power demands high cost of operation. Hence reduced budgetary allocations had resulted depletion of airpower which we had during the conflict period. However gained knowledge and experiences during the insurgency needs to be preserved and passed to the forthcoming generations. Man behind the machine has the greater significance in man machine interface in delivering of airpower.

Above threats demand, different deployment of airpower. In powerful Air forces specialized platforms are been deployed to carry out different roles. Air superiority fighters, Interceptors, Strike fighters, bombers, Maritime patrol aircrafts, UAVs, UCAVs are such specialized machines which have more potential over others to perform the dedicated role. Maintaining such a package requires huge cost which is not viable considering the present economic and geopolitical situation of the country. To counter the described threats we have to have the power of deterrence, capability of air defense, capability of maritime recce and surveillance, search and strike along with SL Navy, capability of supporting sister services in dealing with COIN operations with innovative hybrid warfare tactics.

The discrete features of air power such as reach, speed, precision, concentration and lethality provide different and exact applications in different environments. Effectiveness of air power over the years has multiplied the options available. Present day Air power can offer decision makers an unprecedented wide range of options to safeguard security policy objectives during peace, crisis and war situations. However since we are at post crisis situation, attention must be paid to peacetime applications of airpower.

A. Preserving Peace

This is one of the key requirements of the nation. Deterrence is a mandatory requirement of maintaining peace. A well-balanced air force with effective and efficient operational capability can project a good deterrence. Actors with hostile intents shall be detected and responds accordingly to ensure the power of deterrence. History reveals that a country without a strong Air force is always at the mercy of any aggressor. "If one does not own adequate offensive systems it is quite difficult to have the power of deterrence solely with defensive systems." -Ismail Demir, Turkish defense industries Undersecretaries proliferation-

This is a critical area where SLAF needs to pay attention and take prompt measure to establish offensive elements to ensure hostilities are deterred. Care should be taken that air assets are obtained and maintained not for prestige and ceremonial purposes but to satisfy national military requirements. Adversaries might vary from small group of terrorists/ extremists to mighty forces. SLAF by any means should not allow repetition of the bitter

experience of 1987 – intrusion of air space by Indian Air Force, which publicly breached Sri Lanka’s sovereignty (Moorcraft, 2013). This incident occurred due to non-availability of offensive systems during that period. Another intrusion by a state or non-state actor, would definitely create a doubt on taxpaying citizenry, on the ability of the air force to protect skies (Dissanayake 2014). If such repeats, the image gained by successful elimination of terrorism will be tarnished, humiliating ourselves internationally. Vigorous air defense systems are mandatory requirement of aggressive defence. SLAF should not allow trespassers to enjoy Sri Lankan air space. Nevertheless, SLAF would not be able to match the aggression in strength and technology. SLAF should possess the ability to force the adversary to think twice before unleash their hostile intents or hold until diplomatic approaches takeover. Otherwise airpower in Sri Lanka will step back where SLAF stumbles in the face of air aggression.

It is not only air, but also the sea. The analogy of a game, however should not suggest that maritime security is anything but a real and demanding campaign. It is a campaign that must be won-insofar as it can be, at any one time-simply because it is so important (Till, 2015). SLAF is the air arm which strengthened the maritime security package which is to be dominated by SL Navy. Actually modern-day maritime security challenges are too complex, where no single military force – however capable – can possibly meet all of them, which demands collective multinational approach, which is global maritime partnership.

Surveillance and reconnaissance would provide required assistance to sister agencies for their maritime security operations relate to piracy, maritime terrorism, illegal fishing, poaching and maritime pollution.

B. Disaster Relief

Sri Lanka is a country which suffers lesser scale natural disasters compared to regional counterparts. However when natural disasters hit the nation, speedy response is vital. The unique characteristics of airpower, such as speed and reach would help to relief the sufferings. However, SLAF had proved its abilities in search and rescue in numerous occasions especially tsunami, wildfires and floods. Yet there is plenty of room to improve.

C. Sustaining Ground Forces

In present scenario armed forces of Sri Lanka does not demand such needs. However during the anti-terrorism operations SLAF proved its capability of sustaining ground forces that held the northern territories in Jaffna by continuous airlift.

D. Sustaining Civil Population in Inhospitable Terrain

Fortunately, anywhere in the island territory is inhospitable for living. However during the insurgency SLAF aid the civil population in captive as a human shield by the LTTE terrorists.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Formulate an air power doctrine which articulates the current threat environment and counter measures effectively.
2. Induct new / upgrade existing systems to enhance the capabilities of existing platforms.
 - a. New weapon systems for F-7 fighter fleet.
 - b. Upgrading of F-7 and Kfir platforms.(Avionics and armament package)
 - c. Transform C-130 and B200 in to a maritime patrol aircraft.
 - d. Upgrade search and rescue capabilities of utility helicopters.
 - e. Empower and encourage UAV project on going.
3. Encourage R&D projects targeting the innovative, indigenous development of existing capabilities of the current platforms.
4. Induct an appropriate multirole fighter with accordant armament package and avionics package after an in-depth study. The study should focus on issues in procuring, capabilities of the platform to cater the envisioned requirement, number of platforms required, sustainability, operational cost and interoperability, national interests and national security objectives.

IX.CONCLUSION

SLAF should formulate long term plans to take the air force to the next generation and become a deterrent force capable of safeguarding the territorial integrity of the country (Warnes, 2009). Further, visible display of air power often plays significant role in conventional deterrence. Since we are surrounded by an ocean we have maritime boundaries to protect. Clearly, asymmetric

threats can no longer be considered secondary or peripheral to conventional threats.

As a nation if we can assure that international air and maritime traffic is safe and secure within Colombo FIR/SSR, they will prefer to make through this safer corridor. Vice versa, will make their routes avoiding Colombo IFR and SSR denying huge income to the national economy.

REFERENCES

Cordesma, H. A., Toukan, A., Dewit, D., Berntsen, G. (2014). *The Indian Ocean Region, Strategic Net Assessment*, A Report on CSIS Bruke Chair in Strategy.

Dissanayake, C. (2014). *Algorithms of air power in counterinsurgency Sri Lanka: case study* AWC Journal 2014.

Greenberg, M., Chalk, P., Willis, H., Khilko I, Ortiz D (2006) *Maritime Terrorism: Risk and Liability*, RAND Cooperation, Center for Terrorism Risk Management Policy.

Gunarathna, R., Acharya, A., and Chua, S. (2006). *Conflict and Terrorism in Southern Thailand, Singapore*: Marshall Cavendish Academic.

Rakapaksa, G. (2014). Sri Lanka's National Security. PRISM 4. Pp-145.

Till, Ge. (2015). *Balance of investment: The campaign choices that navies face*, HIS Janes's Navy International January /February 2016.vol121.Issue 1.

Interview with Air Marshal Harsha Abeywickrama Former Commander of SLAF

Interview with Air Commodore Sagara Kotakadeniya Base Commander SLAF Base Kat and OOCAD

Interview with Group Captain Sajeewa Hendawitharana (Retied) Former CO No 12 Fighter Squadron

Interview with Dr. Dayan Jayathilake

Interview with Dr. Sithara Fernando

BIOGRAPHY OF AUTHOR

The author is a Fighter Pilot of the No 5 Fighter Squadron of the Sri Lanka Air Force. He has earned his Bachelor's Degree in Management and Technical Sciences from Kotelawala Defense University in 2008 and is currently reading for his Masters in Human Resource Management at the University of Colombo. His research areas includes Airpower and Air Defense.

